BY THESE ARTICLES which God of his mercifull prouidence cauſeth the enemies of his truth to keepe in their regiſters maye appeare how mercifully God hath looked vppon this realme, retayning within it ſome ſparke of his light, euen in the time of greateſt darknes. Neither ought any mā to wonder albeit that ſome things be obſcurely and ſome thinges doubtfully ſpoken. But rather ought al faithfull to magnifie Gods mercy who without publike doctrine gaue ſo great light. And further we ought to conſider that ſeeing that the enemies of Ieſus Chriſte gathered the foreſaide articles there vppon to accuſe the perſones aforeſaide, that they woulde depraue the meaninge of Gods ſeruauntes ſo farre as they coulde, as we doubt not but they haue done, in the heads of excommunication, ſwearing and of matrimony: In the which it is no doubt but the ſeruaunts of God did damne the abuſe onelye, and not the right ordinance of God: for who knowes not that excommunication in theſe dayes was altogeather abuſed? That ſwearing aboundeth without puniſhment or remorſe of conſcience: And that diuorcementes was made, for ſuch cauſes as worldly men had inuented: but to our hiſtory. Albeit that the accuſation of the Biſhop and of his complices was very grieuous, yet God ſo aſſiſted his ſeruauntes partly by inclining the kinges heart to gentlenes (for diuerſe of them were his great familiars) and partly by giuing bold and godly aunſwers to their accuſators, that the enemies in the ende were fruſtrate of their purpoſe. For while the Biſhop in mockage ſaide to Adam reade of blaſpheming, read beleeue ye that God is in heauen? he anſwered, Not as I do the ſacramentes ſeuen: whereat the biſhop thinking to haue triumphed ſaid: Sir loe

he denies that God is in heauen? Whereat the king wondring ſaide, Adam read what ſay ye? The other aunſwered, pleaſeth your grace to heare the end betwixt the churle and me: and therewith he tourned to the biſhop and ſaid: I neither thinke nor beleeue, as thou thinkeſt that god is in heauen: but I am moſt aſſured that he is not only in heauen, but alſo in the earth. But thou and thy faction declare by your workes, that either ye thinke there is no God at all, or els that he is ſo ſet vp in heauen that he regardes not what is done vnto the earth: for if thou firmely beleeuedſt that God were in the heauē thou ſhouldeſt not make thy ſelfe checke mate to the kinge, & altogeather forget the charge that Ieſus Chriſt the ſonne of God gaue to his Apoſtles, which was to preach his Goſpell, and not to play the proud Prelates, as all the rable of you doe this day, and now ſir ſaid he to the king iudge yee whether the biſhop or I beleeue beſt that God is in heauen. While the biſhop and his bande coulde not well reuenge them ſelues, and while manye taunts were giuen them in their teeth: the king willing to put an end to futher reaſoning, ſayde to the ſaide Adam read: Wilt thou burne thy bill? He anſwered, ſir ye biſhop and ye will: With theſe and the like ſcoffes the biſhop and his band were ſo daſhed out of countenaunce that the greateſt part of accuſation was turned to laughter. After that diet we finde almoſte no queſtion for matters of religion the ſpace nier of thirtie yeares, for not long after to wit in the yeare of god 1500, the ſaide biſhop *Blakſtar* departed his life going in his ſuperſticious deuotion to Ieruſalem: vnto whom ſucceeded M. *Iames Betone* ſonne to the lord of Balfor in Firfe, who was more carefull for the world, then he was to preach Chriſt, or yet to aduance

uaunce any religion. But for the faſhion onelye, and as he ſought the world it fled him not. For it was well knowne that at once hee was Archbiſhop of Sainct Andrewes, Abbote of Dunfermeling, Aberbrothe kylwinning, and Chauncellour of Scotland: For after the vnhappie field of Flowdonne in the which periſhed kinge Iames the fourth with the greateſt part of the Nobilitie of the realme, the ſaid *Betonne* with the reſt of the Prelates had the whole regiment of the realme. And by reaſon thereof helde and trauailed to holde the truth of God in thraldome and bondage, till that it pleaſed God of his great mercye in the yeare of God 1527, to raiſe vp his ſeruaunt M. *Patrike Hammilton* at whom our hiſtory doth begin. Of whoſe progenie, life and erudition becauſe men of fame and renowne haue in diuers workes written, we omit all curious repetition, ſending ſuch as would know further of him then we write to *Frances Lambert*, *Iohn Frith*, and to that notable worke lately ſet foorth by *Iohn Foxe* Engliſh man of the liues and deathes of Martyrs within this Iſle in this our age.

The ſeruaunt of God the ſayde *M. Patrike* beeing in his youth prouided to reaſonable honours and liuing (he was intituled Abbot of Fern) as one hating the worlde and the vanitie thereof left Scotlande and paſſed to the Schooles in Germany: For then the fame of the Vniuerſitie of Whittingberge was greatly diuulgate in all countreis where by Gods prouidence he became familiar with thoſe lights & notable ſeruãts of Chriſt Ieſus of that time, *Martin Luther*, *Phillip Melanĉthon*: & the ſaid *Frauncis Lambert*, did ſo growe and aduaunce in godlye knowledge ioyned with feruencye and integritie of life, that he was in admiration with many. The zeale

of Gods glory did ſo eat him vp that he could of no long continuance remayne there, but retourned to his countrey where the bright beames of the true light which by Gods grace was planted in his heart began moſt aboundantly to burſt foorth as well in publike as in ſecreat. For he was (beſides his godly knowledge) well learned in Philoſophie, he abhorred Sophiſtrie, and would that the text of Ariſtotle ſhoulde haue beene better vnderſtoode and more vſed in the ſchooles then than it was: for Sophiſtrie had corrupted all as well in diuinitie, as in humanitie. In ſhort proceſſe of time the fame of his reaſons and doctrine troubled the Clergie, and came to the eares of biſhop Iames Betonne, of whom before we haue made mention, who beeing a coniured enemy to Chriſt Ieſus, and one that long hath had the whole regiment of this realme, bare impatiently that any trouble ſhould be made to the kingdome of darkenes, whereof within this realme he was the head. And therefore he ſo trauailed with the ſaid M. Patrike that he gat him to Sanct Andrewes, where after the conference of diuers dayes he had his freedome and liberty. The ſaid biſhop and his bloudy butchers called Doctors ſeemed to approoue his doctrine, and to graunt that manye thinges craued reformation in the Eccleſiaſticall regiment. And amongſt the reſt there was one that ſecreatly conſented with him almoſt in all thinges named freare Alexander Campbell a man of good wit and learning, but yet corrupt by the world as after we will heare: when the biſhops and clergy had fully vnderſtoode the minde and iudgement of the ſaide M. Patrike, and fearing that by him their kingdome ſhould be endamaged, they trauailed with the king, who then was young and altogeather addict

to

to their commaundement,that hee ſhoulde paſſe in pilgrymage to Sainct Dotheſſe in Roſſe,to the ende that no interceſſion ſhoulde be made for the life of the innocent ſeruaunt of God, who ſuſpecting no ſuch crueltie as in their heartes was concluded, remained ſtill,(a lambe amongeſt the wolfes)till that vpō a night he was intercepted in his chamber and by the biſhops band was carried to the caſtle where that night he was kept,and vpō the morne product in iudgement he was condemned to dye by fire for the teſtimony of Gods truth. The articles for the which he ſuffered were,but of pilgrimage, purgatorie,prayer to ſaincts,and for the dead, and ſuch trifles. Albeit that matters of greater importance had beene in queſtion as his treatiſe which in the ende we haue added may witneſſe. Now that the condemnation of the ſaid *M. Patrike* ſhould haue greater authoritie they cauſed the ſame to be ſubſcribed by all thoſe of anye eſtimation that with them were preſent,and to make their number great they tooke the ſubſcription of children if they were of the Nobilitie: for the Earle of *Caſſilles* which laſt deceaſed in Fraunce then beeinge but twelue or thirteene yeares of age was compelled to ſubſcribe his death as him ſelfe did confeſſe. Immediatelie after dinner the fire was prepared before the olde Colledge,and he led to the place of execution, and yet men ſuppoſed that all was done but to giue vnto him terror & to haue cauſed him to haue recanted & haue become recreant to thoſe blouddy beaſtes:but God for his owne glory for the comfort of his ſeruaunt,and for manifeſtation of their beaſtlye tyrannie had otherwiſe decreed: For he ſo ſtrengthened his faithfull witneſſes,that neither the loue of life, nor yet the feare of that cruell death coulde mooue him a

iote to ſwarue from the truth once profeſſed. At the place of execution he gaue to his ſeruannt who had beene chamberlaine to him of a long time his gowne, his coate, bonet and ſuch like garmentes, ſaying, theſe will not profite in the fire, they will profite thee, after this of me thou canſt receiue no commoditie, except the example of my death, which I pray thee beare in mind, for albeit it be bitter to the fleſh, and fearefull before men, yet is it the entraunce vnto eternall life, which none ſhall poſſeſſe that denies Chriſte Ieſus before this wicked generation. The innocent ſeruaunt of God beeinge bounde to the ſtake in the middeſt of ſome coales, ſome timber and other matter appointed for the fire, a traine of powlder was made and ſet on fire, which ſcorched the left hande of the bleſſed Martyr of God, yea and alſo that ſide of his face, but neither kindled the woode nor yet the coales, and ſo remayned the appointed to death in torment, till that men ranne to the Caſtle againe for more powlder, and fire wood more able to take fire, which at laſt beeing kindled, with loude voyce cried Lorde Ieſus receaue my ſpirit: how long ſhal darkeneſſe ouerwhelme this realme? And how long wilt thou ſuffer this tyrannie of men? The fire was ſlow and therefore was his torment the more: but moſt of all was he grieued by certaine wicked men, amongeſt whome *Campbell* the blacke Freare (of whome we ſpake before) was principall, who continually cryed, conuert heretike, call vppon our Ladye, ſay *Salue Regina, &c.* To whome he aunſweared, depart and trouble me not thou meſſenger of ſathan. But while that the aforeſaid frear ſtil roared, one thing in great vehemence he ſayde vnto him:

wicked

wicked man, thou knoweſt the contrarye, and the contrarye to me thou haſte confeſſed, I appeale thee before the tribunall ſeate of Chriſte Ieſus. After which and other wordes which well coulde not bee vnderſtoode nor marked becauſe of the tumult, and vehemency of the fire. The witneſſe of Ieſus Chriſte gate victorye after longe ſufferaunce. The laſte of February in the yeare of God a thouſande fiue hundred twenty and ſeuen yeares the ſayde Freare departed this lyfe within fewe dayes after, in what eſtate we referre to the manifeſtation of the generall daye. But it was plainlye knowne that he dyed in Glaſgow in a phreneſie and as one diſpaired.

Now that all men maye vnderſtande what was the ſingular erudition, and godly knowledge of the ſayde *Maiſter Patrike* we haue inſerted this his little pithie worke contayning his aſſertions and determinations, concerning the lawe, the office of the ſame, concerning faith, and the true fruites thereof, firſt by the ſayde *Maiſter Patrike* collected in Latin, and after tranſlated into Engliſhe.

Of the Law.

THE lawe is a doctrine that biddeth good and forbiddeth euill, as the commandementes here conteyned do ſpecifie.

The tenne Commaundementes.

THOV ſhalt worſhip but one God. 2. Thou ſhalt make thee no image to worſhip it. 3. Thou ſhalt

not ſweare by his name in vaine. 4. Hold the Sabboth day holy. 5. Honour thy father and thy mother. 6. Thou ſhalt not kill. 7. Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie. 8. Thou ſhalt not ſteale. 9. Thou ſhalt beare no falſe witneſſe. 10. Thou ſhalt not deſire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

Maior. Deut. 6. *Math 12.* He that loueth God and his neighbour, keepeth all the commaundements of God. Loue the Lorde thy God with all thine heart, with all thy ſoule, and with all thy minde: this is the firſt and great commaundement. The ſecond is like vnto this, Loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe, in theſe two commaundements hang all the Lawe and Prophets. *Minor. 1. Ioan. 4.* He that loueth God, loueth his neighbour, if any man ſaye he loue God, and yet hateth his neighbour, he is a lyer: he that loueth not his brother whom he hath ſeene, howe can he loue God whome he hath not ſeene. *Concluſio. Math. 7.* He that loueth his neighbour as him ſelfe, keepeth the whole cõmaundements of God. Whatſoeuer that ye would that men ſhould do vnto you, euen ſo do vnto them, for this is the Lawe and the Prophets. *Rom. 13.* He that loueth his neighbour fulfilleth the Lawe, Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie, Thou ſhalt not kill, Thou ſhalt not ſteale, Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt thy neighbour. Thou ſhalt not deſire and ſo forth if there be any other commaundement all are comprehended vnder this ſaying: Loue thy neighbour as thy ſelfe. *Gallat. 5.* He that loueth his neighbour keepeth all the commaundements of God *Maior. Rom. 13.* Rom. 13. Gal. 5. He that loueth God loueth his neighbour. *Minor.* 1. Ioan. 4. Ergo he that loueth God keepeth all his cõmaundements. He that hath the faith loueth God, My father loueth you, becauſe ye loue me, and beleeue that I came of God. *Ioan. 19.* He that hath the faith keepeth all the cõmaundements of God,

of God, he that hath the faith loueth God, and he that loueth God keepeth all the commaundements of God. Ergo he that hath faith keepeth all the cõmaundements of God. He that keepeth one commaundement keepeth them all. For without faith it is impoſſible to keepe any of the cõmaundements of God, and he that hath faith keepeth all the commaundementes of God. Ergo he that keepeth one commaundement of God keepeth them all.

Concluſio.

Chriſt is the ende and fulfillinge of the lawe to euerie one that beleueth.

He that keepeth not all the commaundements of God, he keepeth none of them, he that keepeth one of the commaundementes of God he keepeth all: Ergo he that keepeth not all the commaundements, he keepeth none of them. It is not in our power without grace to keep any of Gods cõmaundemẽts. Without grace it is impoſſible to keepe one of Gods commaundements, and grace is not in our power. Ergo it is not in our power to keepe anie of the commaundementes of God. Euen ſo may you reaſon concerning the holy Ghoſt and faith. The Lawe was giuen vs to ſhewe vs our ſinne. By the Lawe commeth the knowledge of ſinne, I knew not what ſinne meant, but through the Law. I knew not what luſt had ment, except the Lawe had ſayd, thou ſhalt not luſt. Without the Lawe ſinne was deade, that is, it moued me not, neither wiſt I that it was ſinne which notwithſtanding was ſinne, and forbidden by the Law. The Law biddeth vs do that which is impoſſible for vs: for it biddes vs keepe all the cõmaundements of God, and yet it is not in our power to keepe any of them. Ergo it biddeth vs doe that which is impoſſible for vs. Thou wilt ſay wherefore doth God commaund vs, that which is impoſſible for vs. I anſwer, to make thee knowe, that thou art but euill, and that there is no remedie to ſaue thee

Rom. 10.14.

Rom. 3.

Rom. 7.

in thine owne hand: and that thou maiſt ſeeke remedie at ſome other: For the Lawe doth nothing but commaund thee.

Of the Goſpell.

THE Goſpell is as much to ſay in our tongue as good tidings like as euery one of theſe ſentences be.

Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world.
Chriſt is our Sauiour.
Chriſt died for vs.
Chriſt died for our ſinnes.
Chriſt offered him ſelfe for vs.
Chriſt bare our ſinnes vpon his backe.
Chriſt bought vs with his bloud.
Chriſt waſht vs with his bloud.
Chriſt came into the world to ſaue ſinners.
Chriſt came into this worlde to take away our ſinnes.
Chriſt was the price that was giuen for vs & our ſinnes.
Chriſt was made debtour for our ſinnes.
Chriſt hath payed our debt, for he dyed for vs.
Chriſt hath made ſatisfaction for vs, and for our ſinnes.
Chriſt is our righteouſneſſe.
Chriſt is our wiſedome.
Chriſt is our ſanctification.
Chriſt is our Redemption.
Chriſt is our ſatisfaction.
Chriſt is our goodneſſe.
Chriſt hath pacified the father of heauen.
Chriſt is ours and all his.
Chriſt hath deliuered vs from the Lawe, from the deuill and hell.

The

The father of heauē hath forgiuen vs for Chriſts ſake.

Or any ſuch other as declare vnto vs the mercies of God.

The nature of the Lawe and of the Goſpell.

The Lawe ſheweth vs
Our ſinne.
Our condemnation.
Is the word of ire.
Is the word of diſpaire.
Is the word of diſpleaſure.
The Goſpell ſheweth vs
A remedie for it.
Our redemption.
Is the word of grace.
Is the word of comfort.
Is the word of peace.

A diſputation betwix the Lawe and the Goſpell.

The Lawe ſayeth
Pay thy debt.
Thou art a deſperat ſinner.
Thou ſhalt die.
The Goſpell ſayth
Chriſt hath payed it.
Thy ſinnes are forgeuen thee.
Be of good comfort, thou art ſaued.
The Lawe ſayth
Make amendes for thy ſinne.
The Father of heauen is wrath with thee.

Where is thy righteouſneſſe, goodneſſ and ſatisfaction.
Thou art bound and obliged vnto me, the deuill and hell.
The Goſpell ſayth
Chriſt hath made it for me.
Chriſt hath pacified him with his bloud.
Chriſt is thy righteouſneſſe, goodneſſe, and ſatisfaction.
Chriſt hath deliuered thee from them all.

Of Fayth.

Gen.15. *Iam.5.* FAITH is to beleeue God, like as Abraham beleeued God, and it was counted to him for righteouſneſſe. He that beleeued God beleeued his word. To beleeue in him is to beleeue his word and accompt it true that he ſpeaketh: he that beleeueth not Gods worde, he compteth him falſe and a lyer, and beleeueth not that he may and will fulfill his word, and ſo he denieth both the might of God and *Iacob.1.* him ſelfe. Faith is the gifte of God: Euerie good thing is the gift of God. Faith is good, Ergo faith is the gift of God. The gift of God is not in our power: faith is the gift of God, Ergo faith is not in our power. Without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe God, all that commeth not of faith is ſinne: for without *Rom.14.* *Heb.11.* faith can no man pleaſe God. Beſides that, he that lacketh faith, he truſteth not God: he that truſteth not God, truſteth not in his word: he that truſteth not in his word, holdeth him falſe and a lyer: he that holdeth him falſe and a lyer, he beleeueth not that he may do that he promiſeth, and ſo denieth he that he is God. O how can a man being of this faſhion pleaſe God? No maner of wayes, yea

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe he did all the workes of man and Angell.

All that is done in faith pleaſeth God. Right is the worde of God, and all his workes in faith: Lord thine eyes looke to faith. That is as much to ſay, as, Lord thou delighteſt in faith, God loueth him that beleeueth in him, how can they then diſpleaſe him? He that hath the faith is iuſt and good, and a good tree bringeth forth good frute, Ergo all that is done in faith pleaſeth God. Moreouer he that hath the faith beleeueth God, he that beleeueth God beleeueth his word, he that beleeueth his worde wotteth well that he is true and faithfull, and may not lye. But knoweth well that he both may and will, fulfill his word. How can he then diſpleaſe him? For thou canſt not doe a greater honour vnto God, then to count him true. Thou wilt then ſay, that theft, murder, adulterie, and all vice pleaſe God? No verelie, for they cannot be done in faith, for a good tree beareth good fruite. He that hath the faith wotteth well that he pleaſeth God, for all that is done in faith pleaſeth God, faith is a ſureneſſe: faith is a ſure cõfidence of things which are hoped for, and a certaintie of things which are not ſeene. The ſame ſpirite certifieth our ſpirite that we are the children of God. Moreouer he that hath the faith wotteth well that God will fulfill his worde. Ergo faith is a ſureneſſe. *Heb.* 11. *Rom.* 8. *Rom.* 4.

A man is iuſtified by faith.

ABRAHAM beleeued God, and it was imputed to him for righteouſneſſe, we ſuppoſe therefore that a man is iuſtified (ſayth the Apoſtle) without the workes of the Lawe. He that worketh not, but beleeueth in him that iuſtifieth the vngodly, his faith is counted vnto him for righteouſneſſe. The *Rom.* 4.

iuſt man liueth by faith. Abacuk.2.Rom.1.We know
Abac.2. *Rom.1.* that a man that is iuſtified, is not iuſtified by the workes of the Lawe,but by the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and not by the deedes of the Lawe.

Of the faith of Chriſt.

THE faith of Chriſt is to beleeue in him, that is to beleeue his word,and to beleeue that he will helpe thee in all thy neede and deliuer thee from
Ioan.6. euill. Thou wilt aske me what worde: I aunſwer the Goſpel:he that beleeueth in Chriſt ſhalbe ſaued.He that beleeueth the ſonne hath eternall life, Verily
1.Ioan.5. verily I ſay vnto you, he that beleeueth in me hath euerlaſting life. This I write vnto you,that belieuing in the name of the ſonne of God, ye may know that ye haue eternal life.Thomas becauſe thou haſt ſene me, thou beleeueſt, but happie are they that haue not ſeene and yet beleeue in me. All the Prophetes to him beare witneſſe, that whoſoeuer beleeueth in him ſhall haue remiſſion of their ſinnes. What
Act.10. muſt I doe that I may be ſaued? the Apoſtle aunſwereth, beleeue in the Lord Ieſus Chriſt,and thou
Rom.10. ſhalt be ſaued. If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Ieſus is the Lorde, and beleeue in thine heart, that God rayſed him vp from the death, thou ſhalt
Ioan.3. be ſafe. He that beleeueth not in Chriſt ſhall be condemned. He that beleeueth not the ſonne ſhall neuer ſee life, but the ire of God abideth vpon him. The holy Ghoſt ſhall reproue the world of ſinne, becauſe they beleeue not in me. They that beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt are the ſonnes of God.Ye are all the ſonnes of God becauſe ye beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt.
Gal,3. He that beleeueth in Chriſt the ſonne of God is
Matth.19. ſafe. Peter ſayd thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing

uing God, Ieſus aunſwered and ſayd vnto him: happie art thou Simon the ſonne of Ionas, for fleſh and bloud hath not opened vnto thee that, but my father which is in heauen. We haue beleeued and knowen that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God. I beleeue that thou art Chriſt the ſonne of the liuing God which ſhould come into the world. theſe things are written that ye might beleeue that Ieſus Chriſt is the ſonne of God, and that in beleeuing ye might haue life. I beleeue that Ieſus is the ſonne of the liuing God. He that beleeueth God, beleeueth the Goſpell. He that beleeueth God beleeueth his word, and the Goſpell is his word. Therfore he that beleeueth God beleeueth his Goſpell. As Chriſt is the Sauiour of the world, Chriſt is our Sauiour, Chriſt bought vs with his bloud, Chriſt waſhed vs with his bloud, Chriſt offered him ſelfe for vs. Chriſt bare our ſinnes vpon his backe. He that beleeueth not the Goſpell, beleeueth not God: he that beleeueth not Gods worde, beleeueth not him ſelfe: and the Goſpell is Gods worde. Ergo he that beleeueth not the Goſpell, beleeueth not God him ſelfe. And conſequently they that beleeue not as is aboue written and ſuch other beleeue not God. He that beleeueth the Goſpell ſhall be ſaued, go ye into all the worlde and preache the Goſpell vnto euerie creature, he that beleeueth and is baptiſed ſhall be ſaued, but he that beleeueth not, ſhall be condemned. *Ioan.9.*

A compariſon betwixt Fayth and incredulitie.

Fayth is the roote of all good
Maketh God and man friendes,

Bringeth God and man togeather.
Incredulitie is the root of all euill.
Maketh them deadly foes,
Bringeth them a ſunder.
All that proceedeth from faith pleaſeth God: All that proceedeth from incredulitie diſpleaſeth God.
Faith onely maketh a man good and righteous.
Incredulitie maketh him vniuſt and euill.
Faith onely maketh a man
the member of Chriſt,
The inheritour of heauen,
The ſeruaunt of God.
Faith ſheweth God to be a ſweete father, faith holdeth ſtiffe by the word of God. Counteth God to be true: faith knoweth God: loueth God and his neighbour: Faith onelye ſaueth: Extolleth God and his workes.
Incredulitie maketh him
The member of the deuill, The inheritour of hel,
The ſeruant of the deuill.
Incredulitie maketh God
A terrible iudge, it cauſeth man wander here & there, maketh him falſe and a liar. Incredulitie knoweth him not, incredulitie loueth neither God nor neighbour, Onely condemneth, Extolleth fleſh and hir owne deedes.

Of Hope.

HOpe is a truſtie looking for of thinges that are promiſed to come vnto vs, as we hope the euerlaſting ioy which Chriſt hath promiſed vnto all that beleeue in him, we ſhoulde put our hope and truſt in God onely, and in no other thing. It is good to truſt in God and not in man. He that truſteth in his

his owne heart, he is a foole: It is good to truſt in god and not in princes. They ſhal be lyke vnto Images that make thé, & al that truſt in thé: He that truſteth in his owne thoughtes doth vngodlie. Curſed be he that truſteth in man. Bid the rich men of this world that they truſt not in their vnſtable riches but that they truſt in the liuing god. It is hard for them that truſt in mony to enter into the kingdom of god Moreouer we ſhould truſt in him only, that he may help vs, yea we ſhould truſt in him only. Well is him that truſteth in god, & wo to thé that truſt him not. Well is the man that truſteth in god, for god ſhallbe his truſt. He that truſteth in him ſhall vnderſtand the trueth. They ſhall all reioyce that truſt in thee, they ſhall all euer be gladde, and thou wilt defend them. *Pſal.* 117.

Of Charitie.

CHaritie is the loue of thy neighbour: the rule of charity is to do, as thou wouldeſt were done vn to thee, for charitie eſtemeth all alike, the rich and the poore, the freind and the foe, the thankfull and vnthankefull, the kinſman and ſtraunger.

This is to be vnderſtood of circumſtance of wordly men and not of them of god for the nerer that men draw to God we are bound the more to loue them

A compariſon betwixt faith hope and charitie.

FAith commeth of the word of God: Hope commeth of faith, & charitie ſpringeth of them both: faith beleues the word, hope truſteth after that which is promiſed by the word, and charitie doth good vnto her neighbour, through the loue that ſhe hath to God, and gladnes that is within her ſelf. Faith looketh to god and his worde. Hope looketh vnto his gift and reward, Charitie looketh vnto her neighbours proffit, faith receaueth god. Hope rece-

ueth his reward, charitie looketh vnto her neighbor with a glad heart and that without any respect of reward. Faith pertaineth to God onelye, hope to his reward, and charitie to her neighbour.

Of good workes.

Galath.3. NO maner of workes make vs righteous: we beleeue that a man shall bee iustified without workes. No man is iustified by the deedes of the law, but by the faith of Iesus Christ, and we beleeue in Iesus Christ, that we may be iustified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deedes of the law. If righteousnes come by the law, it is manifest, for a righteous man liueth by his faith: but the lawe is not of faith. Moreouer, since Christ the maker of heauen and earth, and all that therein is behoued to die for vs: We are compelled to graunt, that we were so far drowned in sinne, that neither the deedes nor all the creatures that euer God made or might make might helpe vs out of them, Ergo no deedes nor workes may make vs righteous: no workes make vs vnrighteous, for if any worke made vs vnrighteous then the contrary workes would make vs righteous. But it is prouided that no workes can make vs righteous, Ergo no workes make vs vnrighteous.

VVorkes make vs neither good nor euill.

IT is prooued that workes neither make vs righteous nor vnrighteous. Ergo no workes neither make vs good nor euill for righteous and good are one thing, and vnrighteous and euill, one. Good

workes

workes make not a good man, nor euill workes an euill man. But a good man maketh good workes and an euill man euill workes, good fruite maketh not the tree good: nor euill fruite the tree euill. But a good tree beareth good fruite, and an euill tree euill fruite. A good man can not do euill workes, nor an euill man good workes, for an euill tree can not beare good fruite, nor a good tree euil fruite. A good man is good before hee doe good workes, and an euill man is euill before he do euill workes, for the tree is good before it beare good fruite, and euill before it beare euill fruite. Euerye man is either good or euill, either make the tree good, and the fruite good also, or els make the tree euill, and the fruite likewise euill. Euery mans worke is either good or euill, for all fruite is either good or euill. Either make the tree good and the fruite also, or els make the tree euill and the fruite of it likewise euill. A good man is knowne by his workes, for a good man doth good workes, and an euill, euill workes. Yee shall know them by their fruites. For a good tree bringeth foorth good fruite and an euill tree euill fruite. A man is likened to the tree, and his workes to the fruite of the tree. Beware of the false Prophetes which come vnto you in sheepes cloathing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues: yee shall know them by their fruite. *Matth.* 13. *Matth.* 7.

None of our workes either saue vs nor condemne vs.

IT is prooued that no workes make vs either righteous or vnrighteous, good or euill: but first we are good before that we do good workes & euill

before we do euill workes. Ergo no worke neyther ſaueth vs nor cõdemneth vs. Thou wilt ſay, thé maketh it no matter what we do? I aunſwere thee: yis. For if thou do euill, it is a ſure argument that thou art euill and wanteſt fayth: if thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and haſt faith; for a good tree beareth good frute, and an euill tree euill frute, Yet good frute maketh not the tree good: nor euill frute the tree euill. So that man is good before he do good works, and euil before he do euil works. The man is the tree, the workes are the frute. Faith maketh the good tree, Incredulitie the euill tree Such a tree ſuch a frute. Such man ſuch workes. For all that is done in faith pleaſeth god and are good works, And all that is done without faith diſpleaſeth god and are euill workes. Whoſoeuer thinketh to be ſaued by his workes denyeth that Chriſt is our Sauiour, and that Chriſt died for him, and finallie all thing that belongeth to Chriſt. For how is he thy Sauiour, if thou mighteſt ſaue thy ſelf with thy works? Or to what end ſhould he haue died for thee, if any workes of thine might haue ſaued thee. What is this to ſay Chriſt died for thee? is it not that thou ſhouldeſt haue died perpetuallie, & that Chriſt to deliuer thee from death died for thee? And chãged thy perpetuall death, into his owne death? for thou madeſt the fault, and he ſuffered the paine, and that for the loue he had to thee, before euer thou waſt borne. whé thou haddeſt done nether good nor euill. Now ſince he hathpaied thy debt, thou dieſt not, no thou canſt not, but ſhouldeſt haue bene damned, if his death were not: But ſince he was puniſhed for thee, thou ſhalt not be puniſhed: Finallie he hath deliuered thee from the condemnation, and deſireth not of thee, but that thou ſhouldeſt acknowledge what he

he hath done for thee,& beare it in mind. And that thou wouldſt helpother,for his ſake both in word & deede,euen as he hath helped thee, for nought and without reward. O how readie would we be to help others,if we knew his goodnes, and gentlenes towardes vs?he is a good and a gentle Lord, & he doth all thinges for nought: Let vs I beſeech you follow his footeſtepes,whom all the world ought to praiſe and worſhipp. Amen.

He that thinketh to be ſaued by his workes calleth him ſelfe Chriſt.

FOr he calleth him ſelfe a Sauiour, which appertaineth to Chriſt only. What is a Sauiour? But he that ſaueth? And thou ſayeſt, I ſaue my ſelf, which is aſmuch to ſay,as I am Chriſt. For Chriſt is only the Sauiour of the world. We ſhould do no good works for that intent to get the inheritance of heauen or remiſſion of ſinnes through them. For whoſoeuer beleeueth to get the inheritauce of heauen, or remiſſion of ſinnes through workes, he beleeueth not to get that for Chriſtes ſake. And they beleue that their ſinnes are not forgeuen them, and that they ſhallbe ſaued for Chriſtes ſake, they beleue not the goſpell:for the Goſpell ſayth:thou ſhalt be ſaued for Chriſtes ſake: Sinnes are forgeuen you for Chriſtes ſake. He that beleeueth not the Goſpell, beleaueth not God. And conſequentlie they that beleeue to be ſaued by their workes, or to get remiſſion of ſinnes by their owne deedes, beleeue not God, but accompt him a liar,and ſo vtterly denie him to be god Thou wilt ſay, ſhall we then doe no good workes? I ſay not ſo: But I ſay we ſhould do no good workes, for that intent, to get the kingdome of heauen or

remiſſion of ſinnes: for if yee beleeue to get the inheritaunce of heauen through good workes, then we beleeue not to get it throgh the promiſe of God. Or if we thinke to get remiſſion of our ſinnes as is ſayde, we beleeue not that they are forgiuen vs by Chriſt, and ſo we count God a liar: for God ſaith thou ſhalt haue the inheritaunce of heauen for my ſonnes ſake. You ſaye it is not ſo, but I will winne it through mine owne workes. So I condemne not good workes, but I condemne the falſe truſt in anye workes: For all the workes that a man putteth confidence in, are therewith intoxicate or impoyſoned, and become euil. Wherefore doe good workes, but beware thou do thē not, to get any good throgh thē for if thou doe, thou receaueſt the good, not as the gift of God, but as debt vnto thee, and makſt thy ſelf fellow with God, becauſe thou wilt take nothing frō him for nought. What nedeth he any thing of thine who giueth all things, and is not the poorer. Therefore doe nothing to him, but take of him for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder heart wil giue vs all things that we need, then we take it of him. So that if we want any thing, let vs blame our ſelues. Preſſe not then to the inheritance of heauen, through preſūption of thy good workes, forif thou doſt thou coūteſt thyſelf holy & equal vnto him becauſe thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And ſo ſhalt thou fall as Lucifer fel from heauen for his pryde. Thus endis *M. Patriks* articles. And ſo we return to our hiſtory. When thoſe crewel wolues had (as they ſuppoſed) cleane deuoured the pray, they found themſelues in worſe caſe then they were before: for then within Sainct Andrewes yea almoſt within the whole realm (who hard of that fact) there was none found who beganne not to inquire, wherefore M. *Patrike Hammilton*

milson was burnt? & when his articles were rehearſed Queſtion was holden, if ſuch articles were neceſſarye to bee beleeued, vnder the paine of damnation. And ſo within ſhort ſpace, many beganne to call in doubt, that which before they helde for a certaine verity, in ſo much that the vniuerſitie of Sainct Andrewes, and Sainct Leonardes colledge principally by the labours of maiſter *Gawin Ly*, and the Nouiſes of the Abbey by the ſupprior began to ſmell ſomewhat of the veritie, and to eſpie the vanitie of the receaued ſuperſtition: yea within few yeares after began both blacke and gray Frears publikely to preach againſt the pride and idle life of biſhops, and againſt the abuſes of the whole eccleſiaſtical eſtate: amongeſt whom was one called Williã Archbiſhop, who in a ſermon preached in Dundie, ſpake ſomewhat more liberallye againſte the licencious life of the biſhops nor they coulde well beare. He ſpake further againſte the abuſe of curſſing and of miracles. The biſhop of Brechain hauing his Placebois, and lackmen in the towne, buffeted the Frear, and called him hereticke. The freare impatient of the iniury receaued, paſt to Sainct Andrewes and did communicate the heads of his ſermon with maiſter *Iohn Mair*, whoſe word then was holden as an Oracle in matters of religion: and being aſſured of him, that ſuch doctrine might wel be defended, & that he would defend it, for it contained no hereſie. There was one day appointed to the ſaid frear, to make repetitiõ of the ſame ſermon: & aduertiſemẽt was giuẽ to al ſuch as was offended at the former to be preſent. And ſo in the pariſhchurch of S. Andrews vpon the day appointed appeared the ſaid frear & had amongſt his Auditors M *Iohn Mair*, M, *George Lockart* the abot of *Cambuskineth* M. *Patrike Hepburn* prior of

S. Andrewes, with all the doctors, and Maisters of the vniuersities. The theame of his sermon was. Veritie is the strongest of all thinges. His discourse of cursing was that if it were warely vsed it were the most fearefull thing vpon the face of the earth, for it were the very seperatiō of mā from god But that it should not be vsed rashly & for euery light cause but only against opé & incorrigible siners. But now said he, the auarice of priestes, & the ignorāce of their office hath caused it altogether to be vilepended. For the priest (said he) whose duetie and office is, to pray for the people, standeth vp on Sunday and cryeth, Aue hes tuit aue spurtill, There is a flaill stolen beyond the barne, The goodwife on the other side of the gate hath lost a horne spone: Gods curse and myne I giue to them that knoweth of this geire and restoureth it not. How the people mocked their cursing, he further told a merrie taile, how after a sermon that he made at Dumfermeling he came to a howse where gossipes were drincking there sondayes penny, & he being dry asked drinck yes father (said one of the gossipes,) ye shall haue drinke, but ye must first resolue one doubt which is risen among vs. To witt, what seruant will serue a man best on least expenses. The good angel said I, who is mans keeper, who maketh good seruice without expenses. Tush said the gossipe we meane not so heigh matters: We meane what honest man will do greatest seruice for least expenses. And while I was musing (said the frear) what that should meane he said, I see father, that the greatest clerks, are not the wyest men. Know ye not how the bishopps and their officiales shewes vs husbād men, will they not giue to vs a letter of cursing for a plack to last for a yeare to curse all that looke ouer our ditch, and that

keepes

keepes our corne better, nor the ſleaping boy that will haue three ſhellings of fee, a ſhurt and a paire of ſhowes in the yeare. And therefore if there curſing doe any thing, we hold the biſhoppes beſt cheape ſeruauntes in that behalfe that are within the realme. As concerning miracles, he declared what diligence the ancientes tooke to trye trew miracles from falſe. But now ſaid he, the gredines of preaſtes not only receaue falſe miracles, but alſo they cheriſh and fees knaues for that purpoſe, that there chappells may be the better renowmed, and offerings may be augmented. And thereupon are many chappells founded, as that if our Ladie were mightier, and that ſhe tooke more pleaſure in one place then in an other. As of laite days our ladie of karſgreng hath hopped from one greene hillock to an other, But honeſt men of Saint Androwes (ſaid he) if ye loue your wifes and daughters hould them at home, or elſe ſend them in good honeſt company. For if ye knew what miracles were wrought ther ye would neyther thanke god nor our ladie. And thus he mearelie tanted their prieſts of whordome and adulterie v ſed at ſuch deuotion.

An other article was Iudged more hard: for he alleaged the common law, that the ciuile magiſtrate might correct the churchmen, and depriue them of the ir benefices for open vices. An other day the ſame frear made an other ſermon of the Abbot vnreaſone, vnto whome, and whoſe lawes he compareth prelats of that age, for they were ſubiect to no lawes, no more then was the abbot vnreaſon. And among other thinges, he told ſuch a merrie ieſt. There was ſaid he a prelate, or at leaſt a prelates peere, a trewe ſeruaunte to the king of life, who vppoun a nyght after ſupper aſked

at his gentlemen, by the faith that they ought to the king of Ioue, that they trewly declare how many ſundry womē euery one of thē haue had, & how many of them were mens wiues. One aunſwered he had lyne with fiue, & two of them were maried. The other anſwered I haue had ſeuē, & thre of thē are maried, it came at laſt to my Lord himſelfe who making it very nice for a litle ſpace, gaue in the end a plaine confeſſion, and ſaid: I am the yongeſt man, and yet haue I had the round doſen, and ſeuen of them are mens wiues. Now ſaid the frear, This god and king of loue, to whome our prelats make homage is the Maiſter Deuill of hell from whome ſuch fruites and workes do proceed. This prelate was knowne by his proper tokens to haue bene Prior *Patricke* hepburne now biſhop of murray, Who to this day hath cōtinued, in the profeſſiō that he hath made to his God and king of loue.

It was ſuppoſed notwithſtanding this kinde of preaching that this frear remayned papiſt in his heart. For the reſt of the frears fearing to leeſe the benediction of the biſhoppes, To witt, their mault and their meale, and there other appointed penſions, Cauſed the ſaid freir to flie to England, where for deféce of the pope & papiſtry he was caſt into priſon at king haries cōmādemēt. But ſo it pleaſed god to open the mouth of baalams owne aſſe to cry out againſt the vitious lyues of the cleargie of that age. Shortly after this new conſultation was taken therthat ſome ſhould be burnt: for mē began very liberallie to ſpeake. A mearie gentleman named Ihō lindeſay familiar to Biſhop Iames betonne, ſtāding by, whē conſultatiō was had, ſaid My lord if ye burn any moe except ye follow my counſall, ye wil vtterly deſtroy your ſelues, if ye will burne them, let thē

be

be burnt in hollow ſellars, for the ſmoke of Maiſter *Patricke Hamilton* hath infected as many as it blewe vpon. Thus it pleaſed God, that they ſhould be taũted in their owne face, but here followeth the moſt mearie of all. *Sandie Furrour* who had bene imprisoned ſeuen yeares in the Tower of London, *Sir Iohn Dungwaill* according to the charitie of Church men entertained his wife, and waſted the poore mans ſubſtance, for the which cauſe at his returning, he ſpake more liberallie of prieſtes, then they coulde beare. And ſo was he declared to be accuſed for hereſie, and called to his aunſwer to S. Andrewes, he leapt vp mearily vpon the ſcaffold, and caſting a gambald ſayd: Where are the reſt of the players? *Maiſter Andrew Olyphant* offended therewith ſayd, It ſhall be no play to you ſir before ye depart, and ſo began to reade his accuſation. The firſt article wherof was: That he deſpiſed the Maſſe. His aunſwer was, I heare more Maſſes in eight dayes then three biſhops there ſitting ſay in a yeare. Accuſed ſecondly of contempt of the Sacraments. The prieſts ſayd he was the moſt common contemner of Sacramentes, and ſpecially of Matrimonie, and that he witneſſed by manie of the prieſtes there preſent, & named the mans wife with whom they had medled, and eſpecially *Sir Iohn Dungwaill*, who had ſeuen yeares together abuſed his own wife and conſumed his ſubſtance: and ſayd becauſe I complaine of ſuch iniuries, I am here ſummoned and accuſed as one that is worthie to be burnt: for Gods ſake, ſayd he, will ye take wiues of your owne, that I and others whoſe wiues ye haue abuſed may be reuenged vpon you. Then Biſhop *Gawin Dumbar* named the olde Biſhop of Aberdein, thinking to iuſtifie him ſelfe before the people ſayd: Carle thou ſhalt not knowe

my wife. The ſayd *Alexander* aunſwered, My Lord ye are too olde, but with the grace of God I ſhall drinke with your daughter ere I depart, and thereat was ſmiling of the beſt, and loude laughter of ſome, for the Biſhop had a daughter maried with *Andrewe Balſone* in that ſame towne. Then the Biſhops badde away with the carle. But he aunſwered, Nay I will not depart this houre, for I haue more to ſpeake againſt the vices of prieſtes, then I can expreſſe this whole day. And ſo after diuerſe purpoſes, they commaunded him to burne his bill. And he demaunding the cauſe, they ſayd becauſe ye haue ſpoken theſe articles whereof ye are accuſed. His aunſwer was. The great deuill beare them away that firſt and laſt ſayd them, and ſo he tooke the bill and chawing it, he after ſpat it in *Maiſter Andrewe Olyphants* face, ſaying, Nowe burne it or drowne it whether ye will, ye heare no more of me. But I muſt haue ſomewhat of euerie one of you to beginne my packe againe, which a prieſt and my wife a prieſtes whoore haue ſpent. And ſo euerie prelate and rich prieſt glad to be quite of his euill gaue him ſomewhat, and ſo departed he, for he vnderſtood nothing of religion. But ſo fearefull it was then to ſpeake any thing againſt prieſtes, that the leaſt worde ſpoken againſt them, yea albeit it was ſpoken in a mans ſleepe, was iudged hereſie, and that was practiſed vpon *Richard Carmichell* yet liuing in Fyfe, who being young, and ſinger in the chappell royall of Stytueling happened in his ſleepe to ſay, The deuill take away the prieſtes for they are a greedie packe. He therefore accuſed by *Sir George Clapperton* Deane of the ſayd Chappell was compelled therfore to burne his bill. But God ſhortly after rayſed vp againſt them ſtronger champions. For *Alexander Seton* a blacke Frear

of good

of good learning and eſtimation began to taſte the corrupt doctrine of the Papiſtrie. For the ſpace of a whole Lent, he taught the commaundements onely, euer beating in the eares of his auditors, that the Lawe of God had of manie yeares not bene truly taught: for mens traditions had obſcured the puritie of it. Theſe were his accuſtomed propoſitions. Firſt Chriſt Ieſus is the ende and perfection of the Lawe. 2. There is no ſinne where Gods Lawe is not violated. 3. To ſatisfie for ſinnes lyes not in mannes power: but the remiſſion thereof cometh by vnfayned repentaunce, and by fayth apprehending God the father mercifull in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne. While oftentimes he put his auditors in minde of this and the lik heads, he maketh no mention of purgatorie, pardons, pilgrimage, prayer to Saincts, nor of ſuch trifles, the Dumbe doctors, and the reſt of that forſworne rabble began to ſuſpect him, & yet ſayd they nothing publikely, till Lent was ended. And he paſſed to Dundie. And then one in his abſence hired for that purpoſe, openly condemned the whole doctrine that before he had taught. Which cõming to the eares of the ſayd Frear Alexander, then being in Dundie, without delay he returned to Saint Andrewes, cauſed immediatly to toll the bell, and to giue ſignification that he would preach, as that he did in deede, in the which ſermon he affirmeth (and that more plainely then at any other time) whatſoeuer in all his whole ſermons he had taught before, the whole Lent paſt. Adding that within Scotland there were no true biſhops: if that biſhops ſhould be knowne by ſuch notes and vertues as S. Paule requires in biſhops. This delation flewe with wings to the biſhops eares, who without further delay ſente for the ſayd Frear Alexander, who began ſharply to

accuſe that he had ſo ſlanderouſlie ſpoken of the dignitie of biſhoppes, As to ſay, that it behoued a biſhop to be a preacher, or els he was but a dome dog and fed not the flocke, but fed his owne bellie. The man being wittie, and minded of that which was his moſt aſſured defence, ſaid my lord, The reportars of ſuche thinges are manifeſt lyars Whereat the biſhop reioyſed, & ſaid your anſwer pleaſeth me well I neuer could thinke of you that ye wolde be ſo fooliſh, as affirme ſuch thinges. wheare are they knaues that haue brought me this tale. Who comparing and affirming the ſame that they did before: he ſtill replyeth that they were lyers. But while the witneſſes were multiplyed and men were brought to attention, he turned him to the biſhop and ſaid. My lord ye may heare and conſider, what eares theſe aſſes haue who cã not diſcerne betwixt *Paul, Eſai, Zacharie,* and *Malachie,*: And frear Alexander Seton. In very deed My lord I ſaid, That Paul ſayeth: It behoueth a biſhop to be a teacher, Eſay ſaid, that they that fed not the flocke are domme dogges, And Zacharie ſayeth. they are Idoll paſtors I of myne owne head affirmed nothing but declared what the ſpirit of god before pronounced. At whome my Lord, if ye be not offended, iuſtlie ye can not be offended at me. And ſo yet againe my Lord I ſay that they are manifeſt lyers that reported vnto you that I ſaid that ye & others, that preach not, are no biſhopps but bellie goddes. Albeit after that the biſhop was heighlie offended aſwell at the ſkoffe and bitter mocke, as at the bold libertie of that learned man, yet durſt he not hazard for that preſent to execute his malice conceaued. For nought only feareth he the lerning, and bold ſpirite of the man, but alſo the fauoure that he had

aſwell

aſwell of the people as of the Prince king *Iames* the fift, of whome he had good credit, for he was at that time his confeſſour, and had exhorted him to the feare of God, to the meditation of Gods Lawe, and vnto puritie of life. But the ſayd Biſhop with his cõplices foreſeeing what daunger might come to their eſtate, if ſuch familiaritie ſhould continue betwixt the Prince and a man ſo learned, and ſo repugning to their affections, laboureth by all means to make the ſayd Frear *Alexander* odious vnto the kinges grace, and eaſily found the meanes by the gray Frears (who by their hypocriſie deceaued many) to traduce the innocent as an hereticke. This accuſation was eaſily beleeued of the carnal prince, who altogether was giuen to the filthie luſtes of the fleſh. Abhorred all counſell that repugned thereto. And becauſe he did remember, what a terrour the admonitions of the ſayd *Alexander* was vnto his corrupted conſcience, without reſiſtance he ſubſcribed to their accuſation, affirming that he knewe more thẽ they did in that matter. For he vnderſtood well enough that he ſmelled of the new doctrine by ſuch thinges as he had ſhewed to him vnder confeſſion. And therefore he promiſed that he ſhould followe the counſell of the biſhops in puniſhing of him and of all others of that ſect. Theſe thinges vnderſtood by the ſayd *Alexander* as well by information of his friendes, and familiars, as by the ſtrange countenaunce of the king vnto him. Prouideth the next waye to auoyde the furie of a bloudie Prince, and ſo in his habite he departeth the realme, and comming to Barwicke, wrote backe againe to the Kings grace, his complaint and admonition, The verie tenour and coppie whereof followeth, and is this.

MOst gracious and ſoueraigne Lorde, vnder the Lord and king of all, of whorne onely thy highneſſe and maieſtie haſt power and authoritie, to exerciſe iuſtice within this thy realme vnder God, who is King and Lord of all realmes, and thy grace and all mortall kinges are but onely ſeruants vnto that onely immortall Prince Chriſt Ieſus &c. It is not I wot vnknowne to thy gracious highneſſe, howe that thy graces ſometime ſeruant and orator (and euer ſhall be to my liues ende) is departed out of thy realme vnto the next adiacent of Englande, Neuertheleſſe I beleeue the cauſe of my departing is vnknowen to thy gracious Maieſtie. Which onely is becauſe the Biſhops & Churchmen of thy realme haue had heretofore ſuch authoritie vpon thy ſubiects, that apparantly they were rather king, and thou the ſubiect, which vniuſt regiment is of it ſelfe falſe and contrarie to holy Scripture, & Gods Law. Then thou art their king and maiſter, and they thy ſubiectes, which is verie true and teſtified expreſſie by the word of God. And alſo becauſe they will giue no man of any degree or ſtate (whom they often cal heretickes) audience, time nor place to ſpeake and haue defence, which is againſt all lawe. Both the olde lawe (called the lawe of Moyſes) and the newe lawe of the Goſpell: So that if I might haue had audience and place to ſpeake, and haue ſhewed my iuſt defence, conformable to the Lawe of God, I ſhould neuer haue fled to any other realme, ſuppoſe it ſhould haue coſt me my life. But becauſe I beleeued that I ſhould haue no audience, nor place to aunſwer (they are ſo great with thy grace) I departed not doubting, but mooued of God, vnto a better time, that God illuminate thy grace euen to giue euery man audience (as thou ſhouldeſt, and mayſt,

and

and is bound by the law of God). Who are accuſed to the death. And to certifie thy highneſſe, that theſe are no vaine wordes, but of deade and effect. Here I offer me to thy grace to come in thy realme againe, ſo that thy grace will giue me audience, and heare what I haue for me of the law of God: and cauſe any biſhop or Abbot, Freare or ſecular, which is moſt conuenient (ſome of them can not reade their mattins who are made Iudges of hereſie) to impugne me by the lawe of God, and if my part be found wrong, thy grace beeing preſent and Iudge, I refuſe no paine worthye or condigne for my fault. And if that I conuict them by the lawe of God, and that they haue nothing to laye to my charge, but the law of man and their owne inuentions to vphold their owne glorye and pridefull life and dayly ſcourging of thy poore ſubiectes, I report me to thy grace as Iudge, whether he hath the victorye that holdes him at the law of God, which can not fayle nor be falſe, or they that holdes them at the law of man, which is right oft plaine contrary and againſte the law of God. And therefore of neceſſitie falſe and full of leaſinges. For all thinges that is contrary to the veritie (which is Chriſte and his lawe) is of neceſſitie a leaſinge. And to witneſſe that this comes of all my heart, I ſhall remaine in Berwike while I get thy graces aunſwere, and ſhall without faile returne hauing thy hand write, that I may haue audience and place to ſpeake. No more I deſire of thee, whereof if I had beene ſure I ſhoulde neuer haue departed, and that thou mayſt know the truth thereof, if feare of the iuſtnes of my cauſe, or dreade of perſecution for the ſame, had mooued me to depart, I could not ſo pleaſauntly reuert, onely diſtruſt was the cauſe of my departing. Pardon me to ſay

that which lies to thy graces charge. Thou art boũd by the law of God (ſuppoſe they falſly lie) ſaying it pertaineth not to thy grace to intermeddle with ſuch matters) to cauſe euery man in any caſe accuſed of his life, to haue his iuſt defence & his accuſors conforme to their owne law. They blind thy graces eyes, that knowes nothing of thy lawe: but if I proue not this out of their owne lawe, I offer me to the death. Thy grace therefore by experience, may dayly learne (ſeeing they neither feare the king of heauen, as their liues teſtifie, neither the naturall prince, as their vſurped power in their actions ſhewes) why thy highnes ſhould lie no longer blinded. Thou maiſt conſider that they pretend nothing els, but only the maintenance & vpholding of their barbed mules, augmenting of their inſatiable auarice, and continuall ouerthrowing and ſwallowinge vp thy pore ſubiects, neither preaching nor teching out of the lawe of God (as they ſhoulde) to the rude ignoraunt people, but contend who maye be moſte high, moſte riche, and neereſte thy grace: to put the temporall Lordes and leigeis out of thy counſell & fauour, who ſhould be and are moſt tender ſeruants to thy grace in all time of neede, to the defence of thee & thy crowne, and where they deſire thy grace to put out thy temporal Lordes and leigeis, becauſe they diſpiſe their vitious life, what els intende they but onely thy death and deſtruction, as thou mayſt eaſely perceiue, ſuppoſe they cullour their falſe intent and minde with the purſuite of hereſie. For when thy Barrons are put downe, what art thou but the king of bane: and then of neceſſitye muſt be guided by them. And there (no doubt) where a blinde man is guide, muſt be a fall in the myre. Therefore let thy grace take boldneſſe and authoritie, which thou

thou haſt of God, and ſuffer not their cruell perſecution to proceed, without audience giuen to him, that is accuſed, and iuſt place of defence. And then no doubt thou ſhalt haue thy ſubiectes hearts, and all that they can or may doe in time of neede, tranquillity iuſtice and policie in thy realme: and finally the kingdome of the heauens. Pleaſeth you to giue this or the copie to the cleargie and church men, & keepe the principall, and thy grace ſhal haue experience, if I go againſt one worde that I haue ſpoken. I ſhall daylye make my heartelye deuotion for thy grace, and for the proſperity and welfare of thy body and ſoule. I doubt not but thy gracious highnes will giue aunſwere of thoſe preſents vnto the preſentor of this vnto thy highnes. At *Berwike* by thy highnes ſeruaunt and Orator. Sic ſubſcribitur *Alexander Seton.*

This letter was deliuered to the kinges owne handes, and of many read. But what coulde greatly auaile where the pride and corruption of Prelates commaunded what they pleaſed, and the flatterie of courteours foſtered the inſolent Prince in all impietie. From the death of that conſtant witnes of Ieſus Chriſt M. *Patrike Hammilton*, God diſcloſing the wickedneſſe of the wicked as before we haue heard. There was one Forreſſe of Lynlitquow taken who after longe impriſonment in the ſaid towre of Sainct Andrewes was adiudged to the fire, by the ſaid Biſhop *Iames Betonne* and his doctors for no other crime, but becauſe he had a new Teſtament in Engliſh. Further of that hiſtory we haue not, except that he died conſtantly, and with great patience at Sainct Andrewes. After whoſe death the flame of perſecution ceaſſed till the death of M. *Normond*

Gurlaw, the ſpace of tenne yeares or thereby, not that the blouddye beaſtes ceaſſed by all meanes to ſuppreſſe the light of God, and to trouble ſuch as in anye ſort were ſuſpected to abhorre their corruption: But becauſe the Realme was troubled with inteſtine and cruell warres in the whiche much bloud was ſhed. Firſt at Melroſſe betwixt the Dowglas and Baltle wich in the yeare of God 1526. the 24, day of Iuly. Next at Lyniltquilk betwixt the Hammiltonnes and the Earle of Lemax where the ſaide Earle with manye others loſt his life, the thirteene day of September. And laſt betwixt the king him ſelfe and the ſaid Dawglas whome he baniſhed the realme and helde him in exile during his whole dayes. By reaſon of theſe we ſay and of other troubles the biſhops and their blouddy bandes coulde not finde the time ſo fauourable vnto them, as they required to execute their tiranny.

In this middle time ſo did the wiſedome of God prouide, that Henry the eight king of Englande did aboliſhe from his realme the name and authoritie of the Pope of Rome, ſuppreſſed the Abbeyes & other places of idolatrie which gaue great hope to diuers realmes that ſome godly reformation, ſhould thereof haue enſued: And therefore from this our countrey did diuers learned men and others that liued in feare of perſecution repaire to that realme, where albeit they founde not ſuch puritie as they wiſhed (and therefore diuerſe of them ſought other countreys) yet they eſcaped the tirannie of mercileſſe men, and were reſerued to better times that they might fructifie within his Church in diuerſe places and partes, and in diuerſe vocations. *Alexander Setonne* remained in Englande, and publikelye (with great praiſe and comfort of many) taught the Goſ-

Goſpell in all ſinceritie certaine yeares. And albeit the craftines of Winchester, & of others circumuented the ſaid *Alexander* that they cauſed him at Paules croſſe, to affirme certaine thinges that repugned to his former doctrine: yet it is no doubt but that God potentlye had aſſiſted him in all his life, but that alſo in his death (which ſhortly after followed) he found the mercy of his God, whervpon he euer exhorted all men to depend. *Alexander Alaſius*, *M. Iohn Fyſe* and that famous man Doctor *Machabeus* departed vnto Duchland, where by Gods prouidence they were diſtributed to ſeuerall places. Makdwell for his ſingular prudence beſides his learning and godlines was elected borrow Maſter in one of their ſteades. Alaſius was appointed to the Vniuerſitie of Lipſia, and ſo was M. *Iohn Fiff*, where for their honeſt behauiour and great eruditon they were holden in admiration with all the godly. And in what honour credit and eſtimation Doctor *Machabeus* was with Chriſtian king of Denmarke Cawpmanhowen and famous men of diuers Nations can teſtifie. This did God prouide for his ſeruauntes, and did fruſtrate the expectation of theſe bloddy beaſtes, who by the death of one in whom the light of God did clearely ſhine, intended to haue ſuppreſſed Chriſtes truth for euer within this realme, but the contrarye had God decreed. For his death was the cauſe (as is ſayde) that many did awake from the deadlye ſleepe of ignoraunce, and ſo did Ieſus Chriſte the onelye true light ſhine vnto many, for the waye taken of one. And albe it that theſe notable men did neuer after (Maiſter Iohn Fife onely excepted) comfort his countrey with their bodely preſence, yet made he them fructifie in his church, and raiſed them vp lightes out of

darknes,to the praiſe of his owne mercy,and to the iuſt condemnation of them that then ruled. To wit of the Kinge, Counſell and Nobilitie, yea of the whole people, who ſuffered ſuch notable perſonages without crimes counted to be vniuſtly perſecuted,and ſo exiled, others were after euen ſo intreated,but of them we ſhall ſpeake in their own place.

No ſoner gat the biſhops oportunitie (which alwaies they ſought) but ſo ſoone renewed they the battaile againſt Ieſus Chriſt. For the aforeſaide leprous biſhop in the yeare of God 1534,cauſed to be ſummoned Sir William Kirk, Adam Dayis, Henrye Kernes,Iohn Stewarth of Leyt, with diuers others, ſuch as M.William Iohnſton our Aduocat,M. Henry Henderſone ſchoole maiſter of Edenburgh, of whom ſome compared in the Abbay Kirk of Halyrindhouſe,and ſo abiured,and publikely burnt their billes: others compared not and therefore was exiled. But in iudgement were produced two, to wit Dauid Straton a gentleman,and Maſter Normound Gowrlay a man of reaſonable erudition, of whome we may ſhortly ſpeake. In maiſter Normond appeared knowledge, albeit ioyned with weakenes: but in Dauid Straton could onelye be eſpied for the firſt a hatred againſt the pride and auaritiouſnes of Prieſtes,for the cauſe of his delation was, he had made to him ſelfe,one fiſh boat to go to the ſea.The biſhop of Murray then being Prior of S. Andrewes and his factors vrged him for the time thereof, his aunſwere was,if they woulde haue taken that which his ſeruaunts wan in the ſea, it were but reaſon that they ſhoulde come and receaue it where they gate the ſtock,and ſo as was conſtantly affirmed,he cauſed his ſeruants tocaſt the 10. fiſh in the ſea againe. Proces of curſing was laid againſt him for not paying

ing ſuch loſſes, which when he contemned he was ſummoned to aunſwer for hereſie. It troubled him vehemently, and therefore he began to frequent the company of ſuch as were godly. For before he had bene a man verie ſtubborne, and one that deſpiſed all reading (chiefly of thoſe things that wer godly) but miraculouſly as it were, he appeareth to be chaunged, for he delighteth in nothing but in reading (albeit him ſelf could not reade) & was a vehement exhorter of all men, to concord & quietneſſe, and to the contempt of the worlde. He frequented much the company of the Laird of Dun, whom God in thoſe dayes had maruelouſly illuminated: vpon a day as the Laird of Lowriſton that yet liueth, then being a young man, was reading vnto him vpon the new teſtament in a certaine quiet place in the fields as God had appointed, he chauneed to reade theſe ſentẽces of our maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, he that denieth me before men, or is aſhamed of me in the midſt of this wicked generation, I will deny him in the preſence of my Father, & before his Angels. At which words he ſodenly being as one reuiued, caſt him ſelf vpõ his knees & extending both hand & viſage cõſtantly to the heauen a reaſonable time, at lẽgth he burſt forth in theſe words. O Lord I haue bene wicked, & iuſtly maiſt thou extract thy grace frõ me: but Lord for thy mercies ſake, let me neuer deny thee, nor thy truth, for feare of death or corporall paine. The iſſue declared that his prayer was not vaine: for when he with the foreſayd *Maiſter Normond*, was produced in iudgement in the Abbey of Halyrudhouſe: the king him ſelfe (all cladde in redde) being preſent, great labour was made, that the ſayde *Dauid Straton*, ſhould haue recanted, and burnt his bill: but he euer ſtandinge at his defence

alleadging that he had not offended, in the ende was adiudged to the fire, and then when he perceaued the daunger, asked grace at the king (which he would willingly haue graũted vnto him) the bishops proudly aunswered that the kinges handes were bound in that case, & that he had no grace to giue, to such as by their lawe were condemned. And so was he with the sayde *Maister Normonde* after diner, vpon the seuen and twentieth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1534 aforesaid, led to a place besides the roode of greene side: and there they two were both hanged and burnt according to the mercie of the Papisticall church. To that same diet were summoned as before we haue sayd, others of whom some escaped into England, and so for that present escaped the death. This their tyranny notwithstanding, the knowledge of God did wonderfullie increase within this realme, partly by reading, partly by brotherly conference, which in those daũgerous dayes was vsed to the comfort of manie: but chiefly by marchauntes and mariners, who frequenting other countreyes, heard the true doctrine affirmed, and the vanitie of the Papisticall religion openlie rebuked. Amongest whome were *Dondie* and *Leyth* principalles: against whome was made a very strait inquisition, by *Dauid Becon* cruell Cardinall. And diuerse were compelled to abiure and burne their billes, some in Saint Andrewes, and some at Edinburgh. About the same time, captaine *Iohn Borthwicke* was burnt in figure, but by Gods prouidence escaped their furie. And this was done for a spectacle, and triumph to *Marie* of Louane lately arriued from Fraunce, as wife to *Iames* the fift king of Scots: what plagues she brought with her, and howe they yet continue, such as are not blind may manifestly

see.

ſee. The rage of theſe bloudy beaſtes proceeded ſo farre, that the kinges court it ſelfe, eſcaped not that daunger. For in it diuerſe were ſuſpected, and ſome accuſed. And yet euer did ſome light burſt out in the middeſt of darkeneſſe. For the truth of Chriſt Ieſus entered euen into the cloiſters as well of Frears as of Monkes and Channons. *Iohn Lyn* a graye Frear, left his hypocriticall habite, and the denne of thoſe murtherers the gray Frears. A blacke Frear called Frear *Killor* ſet foorth the hiſtorie of Chriſtes paſſion in forme of a play, which he both preached and practiſed openly in Stirueling, the king him ſelfe being preſent, vpon a good friday in the morning, in the which all things were ſo liuely expreſſed, that the very ſimple people vnderſtood and confeſſed, that as the prieſtes and obſtinate Phariſeis perſwaded the people to refuſe Chriſt Ieſus, and cauſed Pilate to condemne him: So did the Biſhops and men called religious blinde the people and perſwade Princes and Iudges to perſecute ſuch as profeſſe Chriſt Ieſus his bleſſed Goſpel. This plaine ſpeaking ſo enflamed the hearres of all that bare the beaſtes marke, that they ceaſſed not, till the ſayd Frear *Killor* and with him Frear *Beanerege*, *Sir Duncane Symſon*, *Robert Foreſter* a gentleman, and Deane *Thomas Forrat* Channon regular and Vicar of Dolor, a man of vpright life, who altogether were cruelly murthered in one fire, vpon the caſtle hill the laſt of Februarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1538. This crueltie was vſed by the ſayd Cardinall, the Chauncellour, the Biſhop of Glaſgu, and the inceſtuous Byſhop of Dumblane. After that this crueltie was vſed in Edinburgh vpon the Caſtle hill, to the effect that the reſt of the Byſhoppes might ſhewe them ſelues no leſſe feruent to ſuppreſſe the light of

God then he of Saint Andrewes was: were apprehended two of the Dioceſſe of of Glaſgow. The one was named *Ieronimus Ruſſall*, a gray Frear, a young man of a meeke nature, quicke ſpirite, and good learning. And one *Kemedie* who paſſed not eyghteene yeares of age, one of excellent witte and Scottiſh poeſie. To aſſiſt the Biſhop of Glaſgow in that cruell iudgement, or at leaſt to dip his handes in the bloud of the Sainctes of God, were ſente *Maiſter Iohn Lawder*, *Maiſter Andrewe Olyphant*, and Frear *Meitman* ſeruauntes of Sathan, apte for that purpoſe: The day appointed to the crueltie approched: the two poore Sainctes of God were preſented before thoſe bloudie butchers, greuous were the crimes that were layed to their charge. *Kennedie* at the firſt was faint and gladlye would haue recanted: but while the place of repentaunce was denied vnto him, the ſpirite of God, which is the ſpirite of all comforte, began to worke in him. Yea the inwarde comfort began to burſt foorth as well in viſage as in tongue and worde, for his countenance began to be cheerfull, & with a ioyfull voyce vpon his knees he ſayd. O eternall God how wonderfull is that loue and mercie that thou beareſt vnto mankinde, and vnto me the caitife and miſerable wretch aboue all others: for euen now when I woulde haue denied thee and thy ſonne our Lord Ieſus Chriſt my onely Sauiour, and ſo haue caſt my ſelfe into euerlaſting damnation. Thou by thine owne hand haſt pulled me from the verie bottome of hell, and made me to feele that heauenly comfort, which takes from me that vngodly feare wherwith before I was oppreſſed. Now I defie death, do what ye pleaſe, I praiſe my God, I am ready. The godly and learned *Ieronymus* rayled vpon, by theſe godleſſe

godleſſe tyrants, aunſwered, This is your hower and power of darkeneſſe, Nowe ſit ye as Iudges, and we ſtand wrongfully accuſed, and more wrongfully to be condemned: but the day ſhall come, when our innocencie ſhall appeare, & that ye ſhall ſe your owne blindneſſe to your euerlaſting confuſion. Goe forward and fulfill the meaſure of your iniquity. While that theſe ſeruants of God thus behaued thē ſelues, a variance ariſeth betwixt the Biſhop and the beaſts that came from the Cardinall. For the Biſhop ſayd, I thinke it better to ſpare theſe men, then to put thē to death. Whereat the idiot Doctors offended ſayd: What will ye do my Lord? will ye condemne all that my Lord Cardinall, and the other Biſhops and we haue done, if ſo ye do, ye ſhew your ſelfe enemy to the Church and vs, and ſo we will repute you be ye aſſured. At which wordes the faithleſſe man affrayd adiudged the innocents to die, according to the deſire of the wicked. The meeke and gentle *Ieromie Ruſſall* comforted the other with many comfortable ſentences: oft ſaying vnto him, Brother, feare not, more mighty is he that is in vs, then is he that is in the world, the paine that we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort and ſhall be light: but our ioy and conſolation ſhall neuer haue end: and therefore let vs contend to enter in, vnto our maiſter and Sauiour, by the ſame ſtrait waye, which he hath taken before vs. Death can not deſtroy vs, for it is deſtroyed alreadie by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer. With theſe & the like comfortable ſentences they paſſed to the place of execution, and conſtantly triumphed ouer death & Sathan, euen in the midſt of the flaming fire. And thus did thoſe cruel beaſts intend nothing but murther, in all the quarters of this realme. For ſo farre had that blinded and moſt vitious man (the prince

(moſt vitious we call him, for he neither ſpared mãs wife nor maiden, no more after his mariage then he did before) ſo farre I ſay had he giuen him ſelfe to obey the tyranny of thoſe bloudy beaſts, that he had made a ſolemne vowe: That none ſhould be ſpared that was ſuſpect of hereſie, yea although it were his owne ſonne. To preſſe and puſh him forward in this his furie he lacked not flatterers enow, for manie of his miniõs were penſionars to prieſts. Amongſt whõ *Oliuer Synclare* yet remaining enemie to God, was the principall. And yet did not God ceaſſe to giue to that blinded prince documentes that ſome ſodeine plague was to fall vpon him if he did not repent his wicked life, & that his owne mouth did confeſſe. For after that *Sir Iames Hammilton* was beheaded (iuſtlie or iniuſtly we diſpute not) this viſion came vnto him as to his familiars him ſelfe did declare, the ſaid *Sir Iames* appeared vnto him, hauing in hands a drawne ſword, with the which he ſtroke from the king both the armes, ſaying to him theſe words, Take that till thou receaue a finall payment for all thy impietie. This viſion with ſorowfull countenaunce he ſhewed on the morow, and ſhortly thereafter died his two ſonnes both within the ſpace of 24. houres, yea ſome ſay within the ſpace of ſix houres. In his owne preſence *George Steill* his greateſt flatterer and greateſt enemie to God that was in his court dropped of his horſe & died without word that ſame day, that in opẽ audience of many the ſayd *George* had refuſed his portion of Chriſts kingdom if the praiers of the Virgine Marie ſhould not bring him thereto. How terrible a viſiõ the ſaid Prince ſaw lying in Lintlightwell that night that *Thomas Scot* Iuſtice clerke died in Edinburgh mẽ of good credit cã yet report. For afraid at midnight or after he cried for torches, & raiſed all

that

that lay beſide him in the pallace,& told that *Thome* ſcott was dead:For he had bin at him with a cõpany of diuells and had ſaid vnto him theſe words. O wo to the day that euer I knew thee or thy ſeruice: for ſeruing of thee againſt god,againſt his ſeruãts,& againſt Iuſtice I am adiudged to endles tormẽt. How terrible voyces the ſaid *Thomas Scott* pronounced before his death,men of all eſtates heard,and ſome that yet liue can witnes his voyce was euer,*Iuſto Dei iudicio condemnatus ſum*, That is,I am condemned by gods iuſt iudgemẽt. He was moſt oppreſſed for the delation and falſe accuſation of ſuch as profeſſed Chriſtes Euangel as *M.Thomas Mairioribanckes*, & *M.Hewrig* then aduocates did confeſſe to *M.Henry Balnaues*,who frõ the ſaid *Thomas Scott* came to him as he and *M.Thomas Ballenden* were ſitting in Saint Gyles Church & aſked him forgeuenes of the ſaid *Thomas*. None of theſe terrible forwarenings could either chaunge or mollifie the heart of the indurat leacherous and auaritious tyrant. But ſtill he did proceede from Impietie to Impietie.For in the middeſt of theſe admonitions he cauſed to put hands on that notable man *M.George Balgubamam*,To whome for his ſingular erudition and honeſt behauiour was cõmitted the charge to inſtruct ſome of his baſtard children.But by the mercifull prouidence of god he eſcaped (albeit with great difficultie.) the rage of theſe that ſought his blood. And remaynes alyue to this day in the yeare of God 1566 yeares to the glorie of God, to the great honour of this nation,and vnto the comfort of thoſe, that delight in letters and vertue.That ſinguler work of Dauid his pſalmes in latin meter and pœſie beſides many others can witnes ỹ rare graces of God geuen to that man which that tyrant by inſtigation of the graye

frears and of his other flatterers would altogether haue deuoured, if god had not prouided remeady to his seruant by escaping. This crueltie and persecution notwithstanding the monstors and hypocrites the gray frears day by day came farder in contempt for not only did the learned espye and detest their abominable hypocrisie, but also mē in whom nōe such graces nor giftes were thought to haue bene, began plainlie to paint the same forth to the people. As this ryme which here we haue inserted for the same purpose made by Alexander Earle of gleuearne yet aliue can witnes. Intituled an *Epistle* directed frō the holy Heremit of allareit to his Brethren the graye frears.

I Thomas armite in Lavite
Saint frances brother do hartely greete
Beseeching you with ferme intents
To be wathfull and diligent
For there Lutherans rissen of new
Our ordour dayly doth pursew
There smackis do set their whole intents
To read this Englisch new testament
And sayth we haue them cleane disceyued
Therefore in hast the must be stopped
Our statelie hypocrisie they prisch
And vs blasphemes on this wisch
Saying that we are heretiks
Cumsterars and quallers of Christis kirk
Such lasie scamlers that will not wirk
But Idelie our liuing winnes
Deuouring wolfes into sheepe skinnes
Hurkland with huidis into our neck
With Iudas mind to lowcke and bek
Christes people to deuoure

Te

The ouerthrowers of gods glori
Profeſſors of hypocriſie.
Doctors in Idolatrie
Fiſhears with the feyndis nett
The vpcloſers of heauen yet
Cancared corruptars of the creede
Hemlock ſowers among good ſeede
To throw in brambles that do men twiſt
The hye way kennand them from Chriſt
Monſters with the beaſtes marke
Dogges that neuer ſtintes to Barke
Church men that are with Chriſt vnkend
A ſect that Sathans ſelfe has ſend
Lurk and in hollowes lyke trator toodes
Maintainers of Idolles and falſe godes
Fantaſtike fooles and frewzie flatterers
To turne from the trueth the weary teachers
For to declare their whole ſentence
VVould much cumber your conſcience
To ſay your fayth it is ſo ſtark
Your cord and looſie cote and ſark
Ye Cippin may you bring to ſaluation
And quyte excludes Chriſts paſſion
I dread this doctrine and it laſt
Shall either gar vs worke or faſt
Therefore with ſpeede we muſt prouide
And not our proffit to ouerſlide
I frame my ſelfe within ſhort while
To curſe our Ladie in Argyle
And their on craftie wyſe to worke
Till that we builded had one kirk
Since miracles made by your aduice
The kitterells thought they had but lyce.
The ſecond part to vs they will bring
But orderlie to dreſſe this thing

Againſt I purpoſe for to gange
By counſayll of frear walter lang
VVhich ſhall make certaine demonſtrations
To help vs in our procurations
Your holie ordor to decore
That practiſe he proued once before
Betwixt Kirkcaldie and Kinggorne
But lymmaris made ther at ſuch ſkorne
And to his fame made ſuch degreſſion
Senſine he heard not the kinges confeſſion
Though at that time he came with ſpeede
I pray you take good will as deede
And ſome among your ſelues receaue
As one worth many of the leaue
VVhat I obtaine may through his art
Reaſon wold ye had your part
Your order handles no money
But for other caſualitie
As beefe, meale butter and cheeſe
Or what haue that ye pleaſe
Send your breithren & habete
As now not els but valete
Be Thomas your brother at commaund
A Culurune kitched through many a land.

When god had geuen vnto that Indurat prince ſufficient documents that his rebellion againſt his bleſſed Goſpell ſhould not proſperouſlie ſucceede He raiſed vp againſt him warres as that he did againſt obſtinate Saul, In the which he miſerably periſhed as we ſhall hereafter heare.

The occaſiõ of the warre was, this, Harie the eight king of England had a great deſire to haue ſpoken with our king, and in that point traveyled ſo long til that he gat a full promiſſe made to his Embaſſadour

Lord

Lord *William Haward*. The place of meeting was appointed Yorke, which the king of Englande kept with ſuch ſolemnitie and preparations as neuer for ſuch a purpoſe was ſeene in England before. Great brute of that iorney, & ſome preparatiõ for the ſame was made in Scotland. But in the end, by perſwaſion of the Cardinall *Dauid Becon*, & by others of his faction that iourney was ſtayed, & the kings promiſe falſified. Whereupon were ſharp letters of reproch ſent vnto the king and alſo vnto his counſell. King *Henry* fruſtrate returneth to London, & after his indignation declared, began to fortifie with men his frontiers towarde Scotlande. There was ſent to the borders, *Sir Robert Bowes*, the Earle of Anguſt, & his brother *Sir George Dowglas*. Vpon what other trifling queſtions (as for the debetable land and ſuch) the warre brake vp, we omit to write. The principall occaſion was the falſifying of the promiſes before made. Our king perceauing that warre would riſe, asked the Prelates and Churchmen what ſupporte they would make to the ſuſtaining of the ſame: for rather would he yet ſatisfie the deſire of his vncle, then he would hazard warre where he ſawe not his force able to reſiſt. They promiſed mountaines of gold (as Sathan their father did to Chriſt Ieſus if he would worſhip him) for rather woulde they haue gone to hell, then he ſhould haue met with king *Henrie*, for then thought they farewell our kingdom, and farewell, thought the Cardinall, his credit, and glorie in Fraunce. In the ende they promiſed fiftie thouſand crownes by yeare, to be well payd ſo long as the warre laſted: and further that their ſeruants and other that appertained to them, and were exempted from common ſeruice ſhould neuertheleſſe ſerue in time of neceſſitie. Theſe vaine promiſes lif-

ted vp in pride the hart of the vnhappie king, and ſo beginnes the warre: the realme was quartered, and men were layd in Iedburgh and Kelſoo. All men (fooles we meane) bragged of victorie, and in verie deede the beginning gaue vs a faire ſhewe. For at the firſt warden reade which was made on the Saint Bartholomewes day in the yeare of our Lord, 1542. was the Wardé *Sir Robart Bowes*, his brother *Richard Bowes* captaine of Norhame, *Sir VVilliam Mawebery* knight, a baſtard ſonne of the Earle of Anguſt, and *Iames Dowglas* of Parkhead then rebels, with a great number of borderers ſouldiers and gentlemen taken, The reade was termed Haldene rig. The Earle of Anguſt, and *Sir George* his brother did narrowly eſcape. Our Papiſts and prieſts proud of this victorie, encouraged the king, ſo that there was nothing hard, but all is ours. They be but hereticks, if we be a thouſand and they ten thouſand, they dare not fight: Fraunce ſhall enter to one part and we the other, & ſo ſhall England be conqueſt within a yeare, if any man was ſeene to ſmile at ſuch vanitie, he was no more but a traytour and an hereticke. And yet by theſe meanes men had greater libertie then they had before, as concerning their conſcience, for then ceaſſed the perſecution. The warre continued till midde September. And then was ſente downe the olde Duke of Norfolke with ſuch an armie as a hundred yeares before had not come into Scotland. They were in gathering their forces and ſetting forwarde of their preparations and munitions, which were exceeding great, till midde October and after. And then they marched from Barwicke tended to the waſt, euer holding Tweid vpon their owne ſide, and neuer camped from that riuer the ſpace of a mile during the whole time they

continued in Scotland, which was tenne or twelue dayes. Foreſtes were runne vpon the day to Smallame, Stichell and ſuch places neare about, but manie ſnappers they gat, ſome corne they burnt, beſides that which the great hoſt conſumed, but ſmall bootie they caried away. The king aſſembled his forces at Falowe (for he was aduertiſed that they had promiſed to come to Edinburgh) and tooke the muſters all at an houre two dayes before Hallowe euen. There were founde with him eyghteene thowſande able men: vpon the borders that awayted vpon the Engliſh armie were tenne thouſand men, and with the Earle of Huntlie, Lordes Erskin, Seton and Honne. Theſe were iudged men inowe to hazarde battell, albeit the other were eſteemed fortie thouſand. While the king lay at Fawla abiding vpon the Gunes and vpon aduertiſement from the army. The Lords begin to remember howe the king had bin lõg abuſed by his flatterers, & principally by the penſioners of the prieſts. It was then concluded that they would make ſome new remembrãce of Lawder brig: To ſee if that wold for a ſeaſon ſomwhat help the eſtate of their cũtry. But becauſe the Lords could not agree among them ſelues vpon the perſons that deſerued puniſhmẽt (for euery man fauored his friend) the whole eſcaped, & the purpoſe was opened vnto the king, & by him to the courtears who till they came to Edinburgh ſtoode in no litle feare: but that was ſodenly forgotté, as we ſhall after heare. While time is thus protracted, the Engliſh army for want of victuals (as was bruted) retire them ouer Tweid in the night, and ſo beginne to skale, whereof the king aduertiſed, deſired the Lordes and Barons to aſſiſt him to followe them into Englande. Whoſe aunſwer was with one conſent, that

to defend his perſon and realme they would hazard life and whatſouer they had. But to inuade England neither had they ſo iuſt title as they deſired, neither yet could they be able to do any thing to the hurt of England, conſidering that they had long before bin abſente from their houſes, their prouiſion was ſpente, their horſes wearied, & that which was greateſt of all, the time of the yeare did vtterly reclaime. This their aunſwer ſeemed to ſatisfie the king: for he in wordes prayſed their prudent foreſight and wiſe counſell. But the mint made to his courtiers, and that bold repulſe of his deſires geuen to him in his owne face, ſo wounded his proude heart (for long had he runne as him ſelfe liſt) that he decreeth a notable reuenge, which no doubt he had not fayled to haue executed, if God by his owne hand had not cut the cordes of his impietie. He returnes to Edinburgh, the nobilitie, barons, gentlemen & commons to their habitations. And this was the ſecond and third dayes of Nouember.

Without longer delaye at the place of Halirudhouſe was a newe councell aſſembled: a councell we meane of his abuſers, wherein were accuſations layd againſt the moſt part of the Nobilitie. Some were heretickes, ſome fauourers of England, ſome friends to the *Douglas*, and ſo could there be none faithfull to the king in their opinion. The Cardinall and the prieſts caſt fagottes in the fire with all their force, and finding the king wholly addicted to their deuotion, deliuered vnto him a ſchroll, containing the names of ſuch as they in their inquiſition had conuict for heretickes. For this was the order of iuſtice which theſe holy fathers kept in condemning of innocent men. Whoſoeuer would accuſe anie of hereſie he was heard, no reſpect nor conſideration had

had what mind the accuſer bare to the perſon accuſed. Whoſoeuer was produced for witneſſe were admitted, howe ſuſpitious and infamous ſo euer they were, if two or three had proued any point that by their law was holden hereſie, that was an hereticke. There reſtes no more but a day to be affixed to his condemnation, and to the execution of their corrupt ſentence. What man could be innocent where ſuch Iudges were partie? the worlde may this day conſider. True it is by falſe iudgement & falſe witneſſes haue innocents bene oppreſſed from the beginning. But this freedome to ſhed innocent bloud got neuer the deuill but in the kingdome of Antichriſt, that the innocent ſhould die, and neither knowe accuſer, nor yet the witneſſe that teſtifieth againſt him. But how ſhall the Antichriſt be known if he ſhall not be contrarious to God the Father, and his Sonne Chriſt Ieſus, in lawe, life and doctrine. But this we omit. The ſame ſchroll had the Cardinall and Prelates once preſented to the king before, what time he retourned from the nauigation about the Iles. But then it was refuſed by the prudent and ſtout counſell of the Laird of Grainge, who opened cleerely to the king the practices of the Prelates, and the daunger that thereof might enſue. Which conſidered by the king (for being out of his paſſion he was tractable) gaue this aunſwer in the pallace of Halyrudhouſe to the Cardinall and Prelates, after that they had vttered their malice, and ſhewed what profit might ariſe to the crowne, if he woulde followe their counſell. Packe you Iefwellis, get you to your charges, and reforme your owne lifes, and be not inſtrumentes of diſcorde betwixt my nobilitie and me. Or elſe I vowe to God I ſhall reforme you, not as the king

An aunſwer worthie of a Prince.

of Denmarke by imprisonment doeth, neither yet as the king of Englande doth by hanging and heading. But I shall reproue you by sharpe punishmentes, if euer I heare such motion of you againe. The Prelates dasht and astonished with this answer, ceassed for a season to attempt anie further by rigour against the Nobilitie. But nowe being informed of all proceadinges by their pensioners *Oliuer Sincler Rosse* Laird of Tragie and others who were to them faythfull in all thinges, they conclude to hazarde once againe their former sute. Which was no sooner proponed, but as soone it was accepted with no small regrace by the kinges owne mouth, that he had so long despised their counsell. For (sayd he) nowe I plainely see your wordes to be true. The Nobilitie neither desire my honour, nor countenaunce, for they would not ride a myle for my pleasure to followe mine enemies. Will ye therefore finde me the meanes howe that I may haue a roade made into Englande without their knowledge and consent, that I may be knowne to be mine owne reade, and I shall binde me to your counsell for euer. There concurred together Achab and his false Prophetes. There were gratulations and clapping of hands, there were promises of diligence, closeneſſe and fidelitie. Finallie concluſion was taken that the waſt borders of England which was moſt empty of men and garriſon, ſhould be inuaded. The kings owne banner ſhould be theirs, *Oliuer* the great minion ſhould be generall Lieuetenaunt, but no man ſhould be priuie (except the counſell that was then preſent) of the enterpriſe, till the verie daye and execution thereof, The Byſhoppes gladlye tooke the charge of that deuiſe. Letters were ſent to ſuch

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as they would charge To meat the king the day and place appointed : The cardinall with the Earle of Errane was directed to go to Hadington to make a ſhew againſt the Eaſt bordour , when the others were in readines to inuade the Weſt : And thus neither lacked counſaile, practiſe , cloſnes nor diligence to ſet forward that Enterpriſe, and ſo among theſe conſultaries there was no doubt of any good ſucceſſe. And ſo was the ſcrow thanfullie receaued by the king himſelfe and put into his owne pockett where it remayned to the day of his death , and then was found. In it were contained mo then an hundreth landed men beſides other of meaner degree. Among whom was the lord Hamilton him ſelfe then ſecond perſon of the Realme dilated . It was bruted that this rayd was deuiſed by the Lord Maxwell , but the certaintie thereof we haue not. The night before the day appointed to the Enterpriſe the king was found at Lowmabane . To him comes companies from all quarters as they were appointed , no man knowing of an other (for no generall proclamations paſt but priuie letters) neither yet did the multitude know any thing of the purpoſe till after midnight when that the trumpett blew. And commaunded all men to march foreward and to follow the king (who was conſtantlie ſuppoſed to haue bene in the hoſt) guides were appointed to conduct them towardes England, as both faithfullie and cloſlie they did, vpon the point of day they approched to the enemies ground, & ſo paſſed the water without any great reſiſtance made vnto them. The forward goeth forth, feare ryſes, daunger might haue bin ſeene, on euery ſide. The vnprouided people were altogether amaſed , for bright day appearing, they ſaw an army of tē thouſād men. Their

vpon euery ſide ſend flammes of fire vnto the heauen. To them it was more then a wonder that ſuch a multitude could haue bene aſſembled and conueyed no knowledge thereof comming to any of their wardones. For ſupport they looked not, and ſo at the firſt they were vtterly deſpaired, and yet begann they to aſſemble together ten in one company twentie in an other. and ſo as the fray proceeded their troupes encreaſed, but to no number (for Carleile fearing to haue ben aſſaulted ſuffered no man to iſſue out of their gates) & ſo the greateſt number that euer appeared or approched before the diſcomfitour paſt not three or foure hundreth men, and yet they made hot ſkirmiſhing as in their owne ground, in ſuch feates they are moſt expert, about ten howers when fyers were kindelled and almoſt ſlaked on euery ſide, thought Oliuer time to ſhew his glory, & ſo incontinent was diſplayed the kings banner Olyuer vpon ſpeares lift vp vpon mēs ſhoulders, and ther with ſound of trumpet, was he proclamed generall Liuetenant and all men commanded to obey him, as the kinges owne perſone vnder all hieſt paines. There was preſent the Lord Maxwell warden to whome the regiment of things in abſence of the king properlie appertaineth. He hard and ſaw all, but thought more then he ſpake, their were alſo preſent the Earles glencarne and caſſels with the Lord flemyng and many other Lordes, Barrons, and gentelmen of Lowthiane fif Auguſt and mearues. In this mountaine did the ſkirmiſhing growe hotter thē it was before, ſhowtes were hard on eue- ry ſide, ſome ſchottiſhmē were ſtricken downe, ſome at knowing the ground were mired and loſt their horſes. Some Engliſh horſe of purpoſe were let loſe to prouoke greedie and Imprudent men to preſſe

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at thé asmany did but foũd no aduãtage. while ſuch diſordour riſes more & more in the Armie, Mé cryed in euerie eare My Lord Lieuetenant what will ye do. Charge was geuen that al men ſhould light & go to array, for they would fight it, others cryed againſt whom wil ye fight, yõder men will fight none otherways then ye ſee them do, if ye will ſtand here while the morne. New purpoſe was taken, that the footemen (the had with them certaine bandes of ſouldiors) ſhould ſafelie retyre towardes Scotland and the horſemen ſhould take their horſe againe & ſo follow in ordour. Great was the noyſe and confuſion that was hard, while that euery man calleth his owne ſluggard, the day was neere ſpent, and that was the cauſe of the greateſt feare. The Lord Maxwell perceauing what would be the end of ſuch beginnings ſtoode vpon his feete with his freinds, who being admoniſhed to take his horſe and prouide for him ſelfe: Aunſwered, Nay, I will rather abyde here the chaunce that it ſhall pleaſe god to ſend me, then to go home and there be hanged, And ſo he remayned vpon his foote, and was taken while the multitude fled and tooke the greater ſhame. The ennemies perceauing ỹ diſordour encreaſed in courage Before they ſhowted but then they ſtroke, they ſhot ſpeares and dugged arrowes where the companies were thickeſt, ſome recount were made, but nothing auailleth, the ſouldears caſt from them their pickes culueringes and other weapons fenſable the horſemen left there ſpeares & ſo without iudgemẽt all mẽ fled. The ſea was filled, & ſo the water made great ſtope, but the feare was ſuch as happy was he that might get a taker, Such as paſſed the water and eſcaped that daunger, not well acquainted with the grownd fell into the ſlimy moſſe the enterie there-

of was pleasing inough. But as they proceeded all that tooke that way eyther lost their horse or else themselues & horse both. To be short a greater feare and discomfitour without cause hath seeldome bene seene. For it is said that where the men were not sufficient to take the bandes of prisoners some ran to howses and rendered themselues to women. Stout Oliuer was without stroke taken fleing full mãfully. And so was his glory (stincking and fooliſh prownes we should call it) suddanly turned to confusion and shame. In that discomfetour were taken the two Earles foresaid, the Lordes fleming somerwell, and many other barrones and gentle men, besides the great multitude of seruauntes. Worldly men say that al this come but by misordour and fortune as they tearme it. But whosoeuer hath the least spark of the knowledge of God may as euidently see the work of his hand in this discomfitour as euer was seene in any of the battailes left to vs in regiſter by the holy ghoſt. For what more euident declaration haue wee, that god faught againſt Benhadab king of Aram when he was discomfited at Samaria? Then that we haue that god faught with his owne arme againſt Scotland in this former discomfitour? Their died two hundreth & thirtie persones in the skirmish with seuẽ thowsand following thẽ in the great battaile put to flight the said Bẽhedab with thirty kings in his companie. But heare ther is in this shamefull discõfitour of scotland very few more then three hundreth men without knowledge of any booke or battelle to follow put to flight tenn thowsand mẽ without rẽsiſtance made. Ther did euerie man recouter his marrow till that the 230 slew such as matched thẽ. But hear without slaughter the multitude fled. Their had those of Samaria the prophet

phet of god to cõfort, to inſtruct & to promiſſe victory vnto them. But Englãd in that purſute had nothing, but as god ſecretly wrought by his prouidẽce in the men that knew nothing of his working: neither yet of the cauſe therof more then the wall that fell vpon the reſt of benhadabs army knew what it did. And therfore yet again we ſay that ſuch as in that ſuddain deiection beholds not the hand of god fighting againſt pride for freedome of his owne littell flock iniuſtlie perſecuted, doth willingly and malitiouſlie obſcure the glorie of god, but the end therof is yet more notable. The certaine knowledge of the diſcomfitour comming to the kings eares (who wated vpon newes at lowmaban) he was ſtricken with a ſuddane fear & aſtoniſhment ſo that ſkarſlie could he ſpeake, or had purpoſe with any man: The night conſtrained him to remaine where he was And ſo went to bed, but roſe without reſt or quyet ſleepe: his continuall complaint was. Oh fled Oliuer, is Oliuer taken, oh fled Oliuer, and theſe wordes in his Melancholie and as it were caryed in a traunce repeated he from tyme to tyme to the very houre of his death. Vpon the morne which was S. Katherins day returned he to Edinburgh, and ſo did the cardinall from hadingtõ. But the one being aſhamed of the other, the brute of their communication came not to publique audience. The king made Inuentorie of his poiſe, of all his iewells and other ſubſtance And thereafter aſhamed to looke any man in the face ſecretly departed to fyfe and cumming to hawzairdis was humãlie receaued of the lady of grange an auncient & godlie Matron (the Laird at his cumming was abſent) In his company was only with him William Kirkaldy now Lard of grange, & ſome other that waited vpon his chamber. The lady at ſupper.

perceauing him penſiue beganne to comfort him and willeth him to take the worke God in good part ? My portion ſaid he of this world is ſhort, for I will not bee with you fifteene dayes. His ſeruants repairing vnto him aſked where he would haue prouiſion made for Chriſtmas, which then approched, he aunſweared with a diſdainefull countenaunce, I can not tell chuſe you the place: But this I can tell you, or Chriſtmas daye you will be maiſterleſſe, and the realme without a king, becauſe of his diſpleaſure no man durſt make contradiction vnto him. So after that he had viſited the caſtle of Carny pertaining to the Erle of Crawfurde, where the ſaide Earles daughter one of his whores was returned to Falkland and tooke bedde. And albeit there appeared vnto him no ſignes of death, yet he conſtantly affirmed before ſuch a day I ſhall be dead. In this meane time was the queene vpon the point of her deliuerie in Lynlitquow, who was deliuered the 8. of December in the yeare of God 1542. yeares of Marie, that then was borne, and now doth reigne for a plague to this realme as the progreſſe of her whole life had to this daye declareth. The certaintie that a daughter was borne vnto him comming to his eares, he turned from ſuch as ſpake with him and ſaide the Deuill goe with it, it will end as it beganne, it came from a woman and it will ende with a woman, after that he ſpake not many wordes that were ſenſible but euer he harped on his old ſong. Fie, fled *Oliuer* is *Oliuer* taken, all is loſt. In this meane time in his great extremitye comes the Cardinall (and asked comfort for a deſperate man) he cries in his eare. Take order ſir with your realme, who ſhall rule during the minoritie of your daughter: yee haue knowne my ſeruice, what will ye haue

Regina natiuitas.

haue done? Shal there not be foure regents choſen? And ſhall not I be principall of them? Whatſoeuer the king aunſweared: Documentes were taken, that ſo it ſhould be as my Lord Cardinall thought expedient. As many affirme a deade mans hande was made to ſubſcribe one blanck that they might write aboue it what pleaſed them beſt. This finiſhed the Cardinall poſted to the Queene, lately before deliuered as is ſaid. At the firſt ſight of the Cardinall ſhe ſaide welcome my Lorde, is not the king deade. What mooued her ſo to coniectour diuers men are of diuers iudgementes. Many whiſper that of olde his pate was in the pot, and that the ſuſpicion therof cauſed him to be inhibite the queenes company. Howſoeuer it was before, it is plaine that after the kinges death and duringe the Cardinalls life, who ſoeuer guided the court, he gat his ſecreat buſines ſped, of that gracious Lady either by daye or by night. Howſoeuer the tidinges liked her ſhe mended with as great expedition of that daughter as euer ſhe did before of any ſonne ſhe bare. The time of her purification was ſooner then the Leuiticall law appoints. But ſhe was no Iew and therefore in that ſhee offended not. The noyſe of the death of kinge Iames diuulgate who departed his life the 13. day of December the yeare of God 1542 afore ſaid, the heartes of men began to be diſcloſed. All men lamented that the realme was left without a male to ſucceed. Yet ſome reioyced that ſuch an enemy to Gods truth was taken away. He was called of ſome a good poore mans kinge: of others he was termed a murtherer of the Nobilitie, and one that had decreed their whole deſtruction. Some praiſed him for the repreſſing of theft and oppreſſion, others diſpraiſed him for the defilinge of mens

Regis exitus

wiues and virgins. And thus men ſpake euen as their affection led them, and yet none ſpake altogeather beſides the truth For part of theſe aforeſaid were ſo manifeſt, that as the vertues could not be denied, ſo could not the vices by any craft be cloaked . The queſtion of gouernment was through this realme vniuerſally mooued. The Cardinall proclaimed the kinges laſt will , and therein were expreſſed foure protectours or regentes of whome him ſelfe was the firſte and principall, and with him were ioyned the Earles of Huntly Argyle and Murhay: this was done the monday at the Market croſſe of Edinburgh. But the monday following tooke the whole regentes, remiſſion for their vſurpation . For by the ſtout and wiſe counſell of the Lairde of Grange did the Earle of Errane, then ſecond perſon to the crowne cauſe aſſemble the nobilitie of the realme, and required the equity of their iudgements in that his iuſt ſuite to the gouernment of this realm during the minoritye of her to whom he was to ſucced: failling of her and of her lawfull ſucceſſion. His friends conuened the nobility aſſembled . The day of deciſion is appointed, the Cardinall & his faction appoints them to the gouernement of one man, and eſpeciallye to the regiment of one called Hammilton . For who knowes not (ſaid the Cardinall) that the Hammiltõs are cruel murtherers, oppreſſors of innocẽts, proud, auaritious, dubble and falſe & finally the peſtilence in this common wealth, whereto the ſaid Earle aunſwered. Defraud me not of my right, & call me what ye pleaſe: whatſoeuer my friends haue bene yet vnto this day hath no man cauſe to complaine vpon me, neither yet am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their euill doing, but by Gods grace ſhalbe as forward to correct their enormities as anye within the realme

realme can reasonably require of me, and therefore yet againe my Lordes in Gods name I craue that yee do me no wrong nor defraude me not of my iust title before yee haue experience of my gouerment. At these wordes were all that feared God or loued honesty so mooued, that with one voyce they cryed that petition is most iust, and vnlesse we will doe against Gods iustice and equity it can not be denied. And so in dispite of the Cardinall and his suborned faction was he declared gouernour, and with publike proclamation so denounced to the people. The kinges pallace, treasure, iewels, garments, horse and plate was deliuered vnto him by the officers that had the former charge. And he honored feared and obeyed more hartely then euer any king was before so long as he aboad at God. The cause of the great fauour that was borne vnto him was. That it was bruted that he fauoured Gods word and because it was wel knowne that he was one appointed to haue beene persecuted, as the scrole founde in the kinges pocket after his death did witnes, These two things together with an opinion that men had of his simplicitie bowed the heartes of many vnto him in the beginning: who after with dolour of heartes were compelled to chaunge their opinions. But hereof we will after speake. The varietie of matters that occurred we omit, such as the order taken for keeping of the young Queene: of the prouision for the mother. The hoame calling of the Dowglas and other such as appertaine to a vniuersall historye of the time. For as before we haue saide, we minde onely to follow the progresse of the religion, and of the matters that can not be disseuered from the same.

The gouernour established in gouernment godly

men repaired vnto him, exhorted him to call to mind for what end god had exalted him, out of what danger he had deliuered him and what expectation all men of honesty had of him. At their instant suite more then of his owne motion was Thomas Gwilliame a blacke Freare called to bee preaher. The man was of sound iudgement, reasonable lettered (as for that age) and of a prompt and good vtteraunce. His doctrine was wholesome without great vehemency against superstition. Preached also sometimes Iohn Rowght (who after for the verity of Christ Iesus suffered in England) albeit not so learned, yet more simple and more vehement against all impietie. The doctrine of these two prouoked against them and against the gouernour also the hatred of all such, as more fauoured darkenesse then light, and their owne letters more then God. The gray Frears (and amongst the rest Freare Scot who before had giuen him selfe forth for the greatest professour of Christ Iesus within Scotland, and vnder that cullour had disclosed and so endaungered many). These slaues of Sathan rowped as they had beene rauens: yea rather they yelled and rored as Diuels in hell: Heresie, heresie, Gwilliame and Rughr will carry the gouernour to the Diuell. The towne of Edinburrough for the moste part, was deuoured in superstition. Edward Hope, yong William Demsone, Sibilla Lyndsay, Patrike Lyndsay, Frauncis Aikman, & in the cannongate Iohn Mackaw, and Niuian Browne with few others had the bruike of knowledge in these dayes. One Wilson seruaunt to the bishop of Dunckell, who neither knew the newe Testament nor the olde made a dispiteful railing ballad against the preachers and against the Gouernour, for the which he narrowlye escaped

hanging

hanging. The Cardinall mooued both heauen and hell to trouble the gouernour and to ſtay the preaching, But yet was the battaile ſtoutly fought for a ſeaſon: for he was taken and put firſt in Dalkeyt, after in Seaton. But at length by notice giuen to the ſaide Lord Seaton, and to the old Laird of Lethington he was reſtored to Sainct Andrews frō whence he wrought all miſchiefe as we ſhal after heare. The Parliament approched which was before Eaſter, there began queſtion of the aboliſhing of certaine tirannicall actes made before at deuotion of the Prelats for maintaining of their kingdome of darkneſſe. To wit that vnder paine of hereſie no man ſhould reade any part of the ſcriptures in Engliſhe tongue, neither yet any tractat or expoſition of anye place of ſcripture: ſuch articles beganne to come in queſtion we ſay. And men began to inquire, if it was not lawfull to men that vnderſtoode no Latine to vſe the worde of their ſaluation in the tongue they vnderſtood as it was for Latin men to haue it in Latin, Grecians or Hebrews to haue it in their tonges. It was anſwered that the church firſt had forbidden all tongues but the three. But men demaunded when that inhibition was giuen, and what counſell had ordained that, conſidering that in the dayes of Chriſoſtome, he complained that the people vſed not the Pſalmes and other holye bookes in their owne tongues, and if yee will ſay they were Greekes and vnderſtood the Greeke tongue, we aunſwere that Chriſte Ieſus commaunded his worde to bee preached to all nations: Now if it ought to be preached to all Nations, it muſte bee preached in the tonge they vnderſtand Now if it be lawfull to preach and heare it preached in all tongues, why ſhould it not be lawfull to read it, and to heare it reade in all

tunges, to the end that the people may trye the ſpirites, according to the commandement of the Apoſtle. Beaten with theſe and other reaſons they denied not but it may be read in the vulgar tong prouided if the tranſlation were trew. It was demanded what could be reprehended in it, and when much ſearching was made, nothing could be found. But that loue ſay they was put in the place of charitie, when the queſtion was aſked what difference was betwixt the one and the other and if they vnderſtod the nature of the greeke terme Agape, they were dume. Reaſoners of the partie of the ſeculares, The Lord Ruthwen father to him that prudentlie gaue counſell to take iuſt puniſhment vpon that knaue Dauie, for that he abuſed the vnhappie king harrie in moe caſes then one, a ſtout and a diſcreet man in the cauſe of God. And *M. Henrie Balneues* an olde profeſſour. For the part of the clergie, *Hay* Deane of Liſtalrig and certaine old boſſes with him. The concluſion was the commiſſionars of broughtes, and a part of the nobilitie requyred of the parliament, that it might be ennacted, that it ſhould be lawfull to euerie man to vſe the benefite of the tranſlation which then they had of the Bible, and new teſtamẽt together with the benefite of other treatiſes containing holſome doctrine vnto ſuch time as the prelates and Church men ſhould giue and ſet forth vnto them a tranſlation more correct. The cleargie hereto long repugned. But in the end conuicted by reaſons and by multitude of voyces in their contrary they alſo condiſcended and ſo by act of parliament it was made free to all men and women to read the Scriptures in their owne tonge, or in the Engliſh tonge, and ſo were all actes made to the contrary aboliſhed. This was no ſmall victorie of

Chriſt

Chriſt Ieſus fighting againſt the coniured enemies of his veritie no ſmall comfort to ſuch as before were holden in ſuch bondage, that they durſt not haue red, the Lordes prayer, the ten commandementes nor articles of their fayth in the Engliſh tonge but they ſhould haue bene accuſed of hereſie. Then might haue bene ſeene the Byble, lying almoſt vppon euerye gentelmans table. The newe Teſtament was borne about in manye mens handes. We graunt that ſome (alas) prophaned that bleſſed word, for ſome that perchaunce, had neuer reade tenne ſentences in it had it moſt common in their hand, they would chope their familiars on the cheecke with it and ſaye, this hath lyne vnder my bedes feete theſe tenne yeares. Others would glorye: O how oft haue I bene in daunger for this booke, how ſecretlye haue I ſtollen from my wife at mydnight to reade vppon it. And this was done we ſay of manye to mak cowrt, thereby. For all men eſtemed the gouernour to haue bene the moſt feruent proteſtant that was in Europa. Albeit we ſaye that many abuſed that libertie, graunted of god miraculouſly yet thereby did the knowledge of god wonderouſlie encreaſe, and god gaue his holy ſpirit to ſimple men in great abundance, Then were ſet forth workes in our owne tonge, beſides thoſe that came from England. That did diſcloſe the pryde, the craft, the tyrannye, and abuſes of that Romaine Antechriſt. The fame of our gouernour was ſpread in diuerſe countries, and many praiſed god for him. King Harry ſent vnto him his Embaſſadour *M. Saidlair*, who laye in Edinburgh a great part of the ſummer, his commiſſion and negotiation was to contract a perpe-

tuall amitie betwixt Englande and Scotlande. The occaſion whereof God had ſo offred, that to manye men it appeared that from heauen he had declared his good pleaſure in that behalfe. For to king Henry of Iane ſomer (after the death of queene Katherine, and of all others that might haue made his mariage ſuſpect) was giuen a ſonne Edwarde the ſixt of bleſſed memory elder ſome yeares then our Miſtreſſe, and vnto vs was lefte a Queene as before wee haue heard. This wonderfull prouidence of God cauſed men of greateſt iudgement to enter into diſputatiō with them ſelues, whether that with good conſcience anye man might repugne to the deſires of the king of England conſidering that thereby all occaſion of war might be cut off and great commoditye might enſew to this realme. The offers of king Henrye was ſo large and his demaundes ſo reaſonable that all that loued quietnes were content therwith. There were ſent from the parliament to king Henry in commiſſion, ſir Iames Lermont and M. Henry Balneuis, who long remaining in England ſo trauailed that all thinges concerning the mariage betwixt Edward the ſixt and Marye queene of Scots was agreed vpon except the time of her deliueraunce, to the cuſtody of Engliſhmen. Vpon the finall concluſion of the which heade were added to the former commiſſioners William Earle of Gleucarne and ſir George Dowglas, to whome was giuen ample commiſſion and good inſtructions. In Scotland remained M. Saidlare, aduertiſements paſt ſo frequentlye betwixt (yea the handes of our Lordes ſo liberally were annointed beſides other commodities promiſed, and of ſome receaued, for diuers priſoners taken at ſolemne maſſe were ſent hoame free vppon promiſe of their fidelitie, which as it was kept the

Solway-Mass

iſſue

iſſue will witnes. But in the ende ſo well were all once content (the Cardinall, the Queene and the faction of Fraunce euer excepted) that ſolemnedly in the Abbey of Haliroodhouſe was the contract of mariage made, betwixt the perſons aforeſaide, to gether with all the clauſes and conditions requiſite for the faithfull obſeruation thereof read in publike audience, ſubſcribed, ſealed, approoued & allowed of the gouernour for his part, nobilitie and Lordes for their partes, and that nothing ſhould lacke that might fortefie the matter was Chriſtes body ſacred (as Papiſtes terme it) broken betwixt the ſaide gouernour and M. Saidlar ambaſſadour, and receaued of them both as a ſigne and token of the vnitie of their mindes, immediatly to keepe that contract in all points, as they loked of Chriſt Ieſus to be ſaued, and after to be reputed men vnworthye of credite before the worlde. The papiſtes raged againſt the gouernour, and to confounde all as after followes. But vpon the returning of the ſaide ambaſſadour from England: pacification was made for that time, for by the iudgementes of eight perſons for either partie choſen to iudge whether that any thing was done by the ſaid ambaſſadour in the contracting of that mariage which to doe they had not ſufficient power frō the counſell and parliament. It was found that all thinges were done according to their commiſſion and that ſo they ſhould ſtand. And ſo were the ſeales of England and Scotland interchanged. Maiſter Iames Fowles then Clearke of the regiſter receaued the great ſeale of Englande. And Maiſter Saidlare receaued the great ſeale of Scotlande. The heades of the contract we paſſe by. Theſe thinges newly ratified the Merchauntes made preparation to ſaile and to their trafique which by the

Note well.

The quenes mariage the ſecond time ratified.

troubles of warres had ſome yeares beene hinde-red. From Edinborough were fraughted twelue ſhippes richlye laden accordinge to the wares in Scotlande: From other townes and portes departed other who all arriued vppon the coaſtes of England towarde the ſouth, To wit in Yarmouth and without anie great neceſſitie entered not onelye reades, but alſo within portes and places of commaundement, and where that ſhippes might be arreſted And becauſe of the late contracted amitie and gentle entertainement that they founde at the firſt, they made no great expedition. But being (as they ſuppoſed) in ſecuritie, in mearineſſe they ſpent the time, abidinge vpon the winde. In this meane time arriued from Fraunce to Scotland the Abbot of Paiſlay (called baſtarde brother to the Gouernour, whome yet manie eſteemed ſonne to the olde Byſhop of Dumkelden, called Crichton (and with him *Maiſter Dauid Panter*, who after was made Byſhop of Roſſe. The brute of the learning of theſe two, and their honeſt life, and of their feruencie and vprightneſſe in religion was ſuch, that greate hope there was that their preſence ſhould be comfortable to the Church of God. For it was conſtantlye affirmed of ſome, that without delaye, the one or the other woulde occupie the pulpit, and truely preache Ieſus Chriſt. But fewe dayes diſcloſed their hypocriſie. For what terrours, what promiſſes, or what enchaunting boxes they brought from Fraunce, the common people knewe not. But ſhortlye after it was ſeene that Frear *Guilliame* was inhibited to preach, and ſo departed into Englande: *Iohn Rought* to Kyille (a receptacle of Gods ſeruauntes of olde.) The men of counſaile, iudgement & godlineſſe that had

had trauelled to promote the gouernour', and that gaue him faithfull counſaile in all doutfull matters were either craftelie conueyed from him: Or elſe by threatning to be hãged were compelled to leaue him. Of the one number was the Laird of grange foreſaid, *M. Henrie Balneues M. Thomas Ballenden*, & *Sir Dauid Lindeſay* of the mouth: Men by whoſe laboures he was promoted to honour, and by whoſe councell he ſo vſed him ſelfe at the beginning, that the obedience geuen to him was nothing inferiour to that obedience that any king of Scotland of many yeares had before him, yea, in this it did ſurmoũt the common obedience that it proceaded of loue of thoſe vertewes that was ſuppoſed to haue bene in him. Of the number of theſe that were threatned were *M. Michaell Durham M, Dauid Borthinke Dauid Forreſſe* and *Dauid Bothwell:* who counſaled him to haue in company men fearing god, and not to nouriſh wicked men in their iniquitie, albeit they were called his freinds and were of his ſurname. This counſalle vnderſtood by the foreſaid abbot, and by the *Hãmeltons* (who thẽ repaired to the court, as rauins to the carrion) in plaine words it was ſaid. My Lord gouernour nor his friends wil neuer be at quietnes, till that a dooſen of theiſe knaues that abuſe his grace be hanged. Theſe wordes were ſpoken in his owne preſence, and in the preſence of ſome of them that had better deſerued, then ſo to haue ben entreated: the ſpeaker was allowed for his plaine & bold ſpeaking. And ſo the wicked counſail deprehended, honeſt and godlie men left the cowrt and him in the hands of ſuch as by their wicked coũſeile led him ſo far frõ God that he falſefied his promiſe dipt his hãds in the blud of the ſaincts of god, & brought this cõmon wealth to the very point of vttar ruine.

And these were the first fruictes of the Abbot of paſ-
lay his godlynes and learning . But hereof we wil
heare more. All honeſt and godly men baniſhed frō
the court, the abbot and his counſaile beginneth to
lay before the Inconſtant gouernour, the daungers
that might enſue the alteration and chaunge of re-
ligion. The power of the king of Fraunce, the com-
moditie that might come to him and his howſe by
retaining the auncient leage with Fraunce, and the
great daunger that he broupht vpon him ſelfe if in
one iote he ſuffereth the authoritie of the pope to
be violated or called in doubt within this realme.
Conſidering that therupon onlie ſtoode the ſecuri-
tie of his right to the ſucceſſiō of the crowne of this
Realme. For by godes word could not the deuorce-
ment of his father from Elizabeth home his firſt
wife be found lawfull, and ſo ſhould his ſecond Mari-
age be Iudged euil, & he declared Baſtard. Caiphas
ſpake propheſie, and yet wiſt not what he ſpake. For
at that time ther was no mā that trewlie feared god
that minded any ſuch thing , but with their whole
force would haue fortified the title that god had gi-
uen vnto him, and would neuer haue called in que-
ſtion things done in time of darkenes. But this head
we paſſe by till god declare his will therein . An o-
ther practiſe was vſed . For the Cardinall being
ſet at libertie (as before we haue hard) ceaſſed not
to traffique with ſuch of the nobilitie as he might
draw to his faction , or corrupt by any meanes,
to raiſe a partie againſt the ſaid gouernour and a-
gainſt ſuch as ſtoode faſt at the contract of mariage
and peace with England . And ſo aſſembled at
Lynlytquow the ſaid Cardinall . The Earles Ar-
gyle , Huntlie , Bothwell , The Biſhoppes and
their bandes. And thereafter they paſſed to Sterue-
ling

ling, and tooke with them both the Queenes, the mother and the daughter, And threatned the diſpoſition of the ſaid gouernour as inobedient to their holy mother the Church (ſo terme they that harlot of Babilone Rome) The Inconſtant man not throughlie grounded vpon God, leſt (in his owne default) deſtitute of all good counſaile, and hauing the wicked euer blowing in his eare what will ye do? ye will deſtroy your ſelfe and your howſe both for euer. The vnhappie man (we ſay) beaten with theſe temptations, rendered him ſelfe to the appetites of the wicked: for he quietly ſtole away from the Lords that were with him in the pallace of Halyrudhouſe, paſt to Styrueling, ſubiected him ſelfe to the cardinall and to his counſaile, receaued abſolution, renounced the profeſſion of Chriſt Ieſus his holy Goſpell, and violated his oth that before he had made for obſeruation of the contract and league made with England. At that time was our Queene crowned, & new promiſe made to Fraunce. The certaintie hereof comming to king *Henrie*, our Scottiſh ſhippes were ſtayed, the ſayles taken from the rigges, and the marchaunts and mariners were commaunded to ſure cuſtodie. Newe commiſſion was ſent to *Maiſter Sadler* (who then ſtill remayned in Scotland) to demaund the cauſe of that ſodeine alteration, and to trauell by all meanes poſſible, that the Gouernour might be called backe to his former godly purpoſe, and that he would not doe ſo fooliſhly, and diſhoneſtly, yea ſo cruelly and vnmercifully to the realme of Scotland: that he would not onely loſe the commodities offered, and that were preſently to be receaued: But that alſo that he wold put it to the hazard of fire and ſword and other inconueniences that might enſue the warre that was

The gouernour violated his faith refuſed god and tooke abſolution of the diuel.

to follow vpon the violatiō of his fayth. But nothing could auaile. The deuile kept faſt the grype that he got, yea all the dayes of his gouernement. For the Cardinall got his eldeſt ſonne in pleadge, whome he kept in the Caſtle of Saint Androwes while the day that Gods hand puniſhed his pride. King Harie perceauing that all hope of the gouernours repentance was loſt, called back his Embaſſadours & that with fearfull threatninges as Edinburgh after felt Denoūced warr made our ſhippes pryſes, and merchaunts and mariners lawfull priſoners, which to the broughtes of Scotland was no ſmall worſhippe. But thereat did the Cardinall and preaſtes laughe and Ieſtinglie he ſaid, when we ſhall conquere England the merchauntes ſhalbe recompenſed. The ſomer and the harueſt paſſed ouer without any notable thing. For the cardinall and abbot paiſlay parted the pray amongeſt them: The abuſed gouernour bare the name only. In the beginning of winter come the Erle of Leunex to Scotland, ſent from Fraunce in hatred of the gouernour whome the King (by the Cardinalls aduiſe) promiſed to pronoūce Baſtard, and ſo to make the ſaid Earle gouernour. The cardinall farder put the ſaid Earle in vain hope that the Queene dowager ſhould marie him. He brought with him ſome money and more he after receaued at the hands of Labroch. But at lēgth perceauing him ſelfe fruſtrate of al expectation that he had eyther by Fraunce or yet by the promiſe of the Cardinall: He concludeth to leaue Fraunce and to ſeake the fauore of Englād: And ſo began to draw a faction againſt the gouernour, and in hatred of the others Inconſtancie many fauored him in the beginning. For ther aſſembled at chriſtmas in the towne of ayre the Earles of Anguſt, glancarne caſ-

filles

filles, The Lordes maxwell, The Lard of Dumlangrige, the ſhreeue of ayre withal the force that they and the Lordes that remained conſtant at the opinion of England might make, And after chriſtmas they came to light. The gouernour and cardinall with their forces kept Edinburgh for they were ſlakly purſued) Men excuſe the Earle of Leuenex in that behalfe, and layed the blame vpon ſome that had no will of ỹ ſtewards regimẽt. Houſoeuer it was ſuch an appointement was made that the ſaid Earle of Leuenox was diſapointed of his purpoſe, & narrowlie eſcaped, and firſt gat him to Glaſquow and after to dumbartane. *Sir George dorglas* was deliuered to be kept as pleadge. The Earle his brother was in the Centuary after taken at the ſiege of glaſgow. It was bruted that both the brethren and others with them had loſte their heades, if by the prouidence of god the Engliſh armie had not arriued the ſooner. After that the Cardinall had gotten the gouernour wholy addict to his deuotiõ, and had obtained his intent aboue a part of his enemies: He begã to practiſe, how that ſuch as he feared, and therefore deadly hated ſhould be ſet by the heeles, one againſt another (for in that thought the carnall man, ſtood his greateſt ſecuritie) The Lord Ruthwen he hated by reaſon of his knowledge of gods word. The Lord gray he feared, becauſe at that tyme he vſed the company of ſuch as profeſſed godlyneſſe and bare ſmall fauour to the Cardinall. Now this reaſſoned the wordlie wiſe man. If I can put enmity betwixt theſe two, I ſhall be rid of a great ſort of backfriends. For the moſt part of the countrey will either aſſiſt the one or the other and ſo will they be otherwiſe occupied, thẽ to watch, for my diſpleaſure. He finds the meane without long

proceſſe. For the labourers with *Iohn Chartarous* (a man of ſtout courage and many friendes) to accept the Prouoſtrie of Saint Iohnſton, which he purchaſed to him by deuotion of the Gouernour, with a charge to the ſayd towne, to obey him as their lawfull Prouoſt. Whereat not onely the ſayd Lord *Ruthuen*, but alſo the towne being offended, gaue a negatiue aunſwer, alleaging that ſuch intruſion of men to office was hurtfull to their priuiledge and freedome: which graunted vnto them free election of their Prouoſt from yeare to yeare, at a certaine time appointed, which they could not nor would not preuent. Hereat the ſayde *Iohn* offended, ſayd that he would occupie that office by force, if they wold not graunt it vnto him of beneuolence. And ſo departed and commoned the matter with the Lord *Gray*, with *Normond Leſlie*, and with others his friendes, whom he eaſilie perſwaded to aſſiſt him in that purſute. Becauſe he apꝛeareth to haue the gouernours right, and had not onely a charge to the towne as is ſayd, but alſo he purchaſed letters to beſiege it, and to take it by ſtrong hand, if any reſiſtãce were made vnto him. Such letters we ſay, made many to fauour his action. The other made for defence, & ſo tooke the Maiſter of Ruthuen (the Lord that after departed into England) the maintenance of the towne, hauing in his companie the Laird of Montcreif and other friends adiacent. The ſayd *Iohn* prepared for the purſute, and vpon the Magdalene day in the morning, anno 1543. approched with his forces (the Lord *Gray* taken vpon him the principall charge. It was appointed, that *Normond Leſley* with his friends ſhould haue come by ſhip with munition and ordinance as they were in readineſſe. But becauſe the tide ſerued not ſo ſoone as they would, the other thin-

thinking him ſelfe of ſufficient force for all that were in the towne, entered in by the bridge where they founde no reſiſtance, till that the former part was entered a pretie ſpace within the fiſh gate. And then the ſayde Maiſter of Ruthuen with his companie ſtoutly recountred them, and ſo rudely repulſed the formoſt, that ſuch as were behind gaue backe. The place of the retire was ſo ſtrait: that men that durſt not fight coulde not flie at their pleaſure (for the moſt part of my Lord *Grayes* friends were vpon the bridge) and ſo the ſlaughter was great. For there fell in the edge of the ſword threeſcore men. The Cardinall had rather that the miſhap had fallen on the other part. But howſoeuer it was, he thought that ſuch trouble was his comfort, and aduantage. The knowledge whereof came to the eares of the partie that had receaued the diſcomfiture, and was vnto them no ſmall griefe. For as manie of them entered into that action for his pleaſure, ſo thought they to haue had fortification and aſſiſtaunce: whereof finding them ſelues fruſtrate, they begā to looke more narrowly to them ſelues, and did not ſo attend vpon the Cardinals deuotion, as they had wont to do before: and ſo was a newe ielouſie engendred amongſt them: for who ſo euer would not play the good ſeruant vnto him was reputed his enemie. The Cardinall drue the Gouernour to Dundie. For he vnderſtood that the Earle of Rotheſſe and *Maiſter Henrie Balnaueis* were with the Lord *Gray* in the caſtle of Huntlie. The Gouernour ſent and commaunded the ſayd Earle and Lord, with the foreſayd *Maiſter Henry* to come vnto him to Dundie, and appointed the next day, at ten of the clocke before noone, Which houre they decreed to keepe, and for that purpoſe aſſembled their folkes at Bawgawy or thereby. The

Cardinal aduertiſed of their number (they were mo thē 300. mē) thoght it not good that they ſhold ioine with the town: for he feared his own eſtate, & ſo he perſwaded the Gouernour to paſſe forth of Dundie before 9. hours, & to take the ſtraite way to S. Iohnſton: which perſwaded by the foreſayd Lords, they began to feare that they were come to purſue thē, & ſo put thē ſelues in order, & array, & marched forward of purpoſe to haue bidden the vttermoſt. But the craftie fox foreſeeing that in fighting ſtood not his ſecuritie, ran to his laſt refuge, that is to manifeſt treaſon, and ſo conſultation was taken, how that the force of the others might be broken. And at the firſt were ſent the Laird of Grange, and the Prouoſt of Sainct Andrewes (knowing nothing of treaſon) to aske why they moleſted my Lord Gouernour in his iourney. Whereto they aunſwered, that they meant nothing leſſe, for they came at his graces commaūdement to haue kept the houre in Dundy appointed by him: which becauſe they ſaw preuented, & knowing the Cardinall to be their friend, they could not but ſuſpect their vnprouided comming forth of the towne, and therefore they put them ſelues in order, not to inuade, but to defend in caſe they were inuaded. This aunſwer reported was ſent to the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes, the Abbot of Paſlay, *Maiſter Dauid Panter*, the Lairds of Balcleuch and Coldinknowes, to deſire certaine of the other company to talk with them, which they eaſily obtained (for they ſuſpected no treaſon.) After long communication it was demaunded if that the Earle & Lord & maiſter *Henrie* aforeſaid would not be content to talke with the Gouernour, prouided that the Cardinall & his company were on the ground. They aunſwered that the Gouernour might cōmaund them in all thinges law-

lawful. But they had no will to be in the Cardinalles mercy. Faire promiſes enow were made for their ſecurity. Thé was the Cardinal & his band commaunded to depart, as that he did according to the purpoſe taken. The Gouernour remained & a certaine with him. To whō came without company, the ſayd Erle, Lord & maiſter *Henry*. After many faire words giuen vnto thé all: to wit, that he wold haue them agreed with the Cardinall, & that he wold haue *Maiſter Henry Balnaues* the worker & inſtrument thereof, he drue thé forwards with him towards Saint Iohnſton, whereto the Cardinall was ridden. They began to ſuſpect (albeit it was too late) & therfore they deſired to haue returned to their folks for putting order vnto thé. But it was aunſwered: they ſhould ſend backe from the towne, but they muſt needes go forward with my Lord Gouernour, & ſo partly by flattery, & partly by force they were compelled to obey, & as ſoone as they were in the towne, they were apprehended, & on the morow ſent all 3. to the blacke Neſſe, where they remained as it pleaſed the Cardinals graceles grace: & that was till the band of Maurent & of ſeruice ſet ſome of thé at liberty. And thus the Cardinal with his craft perſwaded on euery ſide ſo that the Scottes prouerb was true in him. *So long rinnes the fox, as he fute hes.* Whether it was at this iorney, or at another, that, that bloudy butcher executed his cruelty vpon the innocēt perſons in Saint Iohnſtō, we cannot affirme: neither yet therin ſtudy we to be curius, but rather we trauel to expreſſe the verity, whenſoeuer it was done, then ſcrupulouſly & exactly to appoint the times, which yet we omit not whē the certaintie occurrs. The verity of that cruell fact is this. At S. Pauls day, before the firſt burning of Edinburgh, came to Saint Iohnſtō the Gouernour &

Cardinall, and there vpon enuious delation, were a great number of honeſt men and women called before the Cardinall, accuſed of hereſie. And albeit they could be conuict of nothing, but onely of ſuſpition, that they had eaten a gooſe vpon Fridaye, foure men were adiudged to be hanged, and a woman to be drowned, which cruell and moſt vniuſt ſentence, was without mercie put in execution. The husband was hanged, and the wife hauing a ſucking babe vpon her breaſt was drowned. O Lord the land is not yet purged from ſuch beaſtly cruelty: neither hath thy iuſt vengeance yet ſtriken all that were criminall of their bloud. But the day approcheth whē that the puniſhment of that crueltie and of others, will euidently appeare. The names of the men that were hanged were, *Iames Hunter*, *VVilliam Lambe*, *VVilliam Anderſon*, *Iames Rammelt* burgeſſe of Saint Iohnſon. At that ſame time were baniſhed, *Sir Henry Eldar*. *Iohn Eldar*, *VValter Piper*, *Laurence Pullar*, with diuerſe others, whoſe names come not to our knowledge. That ſworne enemie to Chriſt Ieſus, & vnto all in whom any ſparke of knowledge appeared had about that time in priſon diuers, amongſt whome was *Iohn Roger* a blacke Frear godly learned, one that had frutefully preached Chriſt Ieſus to the cōfort of many in Anguſt & Mernes, whō that bloudy man cauſed to murther in the ground of the ſea tower of S. Andrews, & then cauſed to caſt him ouer the wall ſpreding a falſe brute, that the ſaid *Iohn* ſeeking to flie had broken his owne necke. This ceaſſed not Sathan by all meanes to maintaine his kingdom of Darkneſſe, and to ſuppreſſe the light of Chriſtes Goſpell. But mightie is he againſt whom they fight. For when the wicked were in greateſt ſecuritie, thē began god to ſhow his anger. For the third day of May

May, in the yeare of our Lord 1544 yeares without knowledge of anie man in Scotland (we meane such as ſhould haue had the care of the realme) was ſeene a great nauie of ſhippes arriuing towardes the Fyrth. The poſtes came to the Gouernour & Cardinall (who both were in Edinburgh) what multitude of ſhips were ſeene, & what courſe they tooke. This was on the Saturday before noone. Queſtion was had, what ſhould they meane? Some ſayde it is no doubt but they are Engliſh men, & we feare that they ſhall land. The Cardinall skipped and ſayd, It is the Iſland flote, they are come to make a ſhew, & to put vs in feare, I ſhall lodge all the men of warre in mine eye, that ſhall land in Scotland. Still ſitteth the Cardinall at his diner, eating as though there had bene no daunger appearing. Men aſſembled to gaſe vpon the ſhips: ſome to the caſtle hill, ſome to the mountaines & other places eminent. But there was no queſtion with what forces ſhall we reſiſt if we be inuaded. Soone after ſixe of the clocke at night, were ariued, & had caſt anker in the rode of Leith, more then two hundred ſaile. Shortly after the Admirall ſhot a flote bote, which from Granton hilles till by Eaſt leith ſounded the deepe, and ſo returned to her ſhip. Hereof were diuerſe opinions, men of iudgement foreſaw what it meant, but no credit was giuen to any that would ſay, they minded to land, & ſo paſſed euerie man to his reſt, as if the ſhipps had bene a gard for their defence. Vpon the point of day vpon Sunday the fourth day of May addreſſe they for landing, and they ordered their ſhippes: ſo that a galley or two layd their ſnoutes to the hilles, the ſmall ſhipps called pinaces and light horſemen approched as neare as they could. The great ſhips diſcharged their ſouldiers into the ſmaller veſſels, and

they by boates ſet vpon drie land before ten of the clock, 11000. men as was iudged and mo. The Gouernour & Cardinal ſeeing then the thing that they could not, or at leaſt they would not beleeue before, after they had made a brag to fight, fledde as faſt as horſe could carie thē: ſo that after, they approched not within xx. miles of the danger. The Erle of Anguſt & *Sir George Dowglas*, were that night freed of ward (they were in Blackneſſe.) The ſaid *Sir George* in merineſſe ſaid, I thank king *Henry* and my gentle maiſters of England. The Engliſh army betwixt one & two of the clocke entered Leith, found the tables couered, the dinners prepared, ſuch abundance of wine & victuals beſides the other ſubſtance, that the like riches within the like boūds was not to be foūd neither in Scotland nor England. Vpon the munday the fift of May came to them from Barwick and the border, two thouſand horſemen, who being ſomewhat repoſed, the armie vpon the Wedneſday marched toward the towe of Edinburgh, ſpoiled & burnt the ſame, & ſo did they the palace of Halyrudhouſe. The horſemen tooke the houſe of Craigmiller, and gat great ſpoiles therin: for it being iudged the ſtrōgeſt houſe nere the towne other then the caſtle of Edinburgh, & all men ſought to ſaue their mouables therein. But the ſtoutneſſe of the Laird gaue it ouer without ſhot of hackebut, & for his reward was cauſed to march vpon his feete to London: He is now captaine of Dumbar and Prouoſt of Edinburgh. The Engliſhmen ſeeing no reſiſtance hurled by force of men cannons vp the calſay, to the butter trone, & aboue, and hazarded a ſhot againſt the fore entry of the caſtle: but that was to their owne paines: For they lying without trench or gabion, were exponed to the force of the whole ordinaunce of the ſayd caſtle,

ſtle, which ſhot, & that not all in vaine, for the whele & axiltrie of one of the Engliſh cannons was broke, and ſome of their men ſlaine, and ſo they leſte with ſmall honour, that enterpriſe taken rather of raſhnes, then of any aduiſed counſell. When the moſt part of the day, they had ſpoyled and burnt, towards the night they returned to Leith, and vpon the morow returned to Edinburgh, & executed the reſt of Gods iudgements for that time. And ſo when they had conſumed both the townes, they laded the ſhips with the ſpoiles thereof, and they by land returned to Barwicke, vſing the countrey for the moſt part at their owne pleaſure. This was a part of the puniſhment, which God tooke vpon the realme for infidelitie of the Gouernour, & for the violation of his ſolempned oth. But this was not the end: for the realm was diuided into factions, the one fauored Fraunce, the other the league lately contracted with England: the one did in no thinges credit throughly the other, ſo that the countrie was in extreame calamitie: for to the Engliſhmē were deliuered diuers ſtraights, ſuch as Carelane rocke, Lowmaben, and Lougham: the moſt part of the borderers were cōfederat with England: & albeit at firſt at Ancrome mure in Februarie, in the yeare of God 1544. was *Sir Raſe Ewers* with many other Engliſhmen ſlain, & the yeare after were ſome of the ſaid ſtraightes recouered, yet was it not without great loſſe & detrimēt of the common wealth. For in the moneth of Iune, in the yeare of God 1545. *Monſieur de Lorg* with bands of men of war came from Fraunce, for a farder deſtruction to Scotland. For vpon their brag was an army raiſed, forwards go they towards Wark, euen in the middſt of harueſt. The Cardinalles banner was that day diſplayed, and all his ſialles were char-

ged, to be vnder it many had before promiſed, but at the point it was left ſo bare, that with ſhame it was ſhut vp into the packe againe, and they after a ſhewe returned with more ſhame to the realme, then hurt to their enemies. The blacke booke of *Hammilton* maketh mention of great ſlauerie done at that time by the Gouernour and the French: but ſuch as with their eyes ſawe the whole progreſſe, knewe that to be a lye, and do repute it amongſt the veniall ſinnes of that raſe, which is to ſpeake the beſt of thē ſelues they can. That winter following ſo nurtured the French men, that they learned to eate (yea to beg) cakes (which at their entrie they ſcorned) without ieſting: they were ſo miſerably intreated, that fewe returned into Fraunce againe with their liues. The Cardinall then had almoſt fortified the caſtle of Saint Andrewes, which he made ſo ſtrong in his opinion, that he regarded neither Englande nor Fraunce. The Earle of Leuenox as is ſayd, diſapointed of all thinges in Scotland, paſſed into England, where he was receaued of Kinge *Henry* into protection, who gaue him to wife Ladie *Margaret Dowglas* of whome was borne *Harie* ſometime husbande to our Ieſabell and maiſtreſſe. While the inconſtant Gouernour was ſometimes deiected, and ſomtimes raiſed vp againe by the Abbot of Paiſlay (who before was called chaſter then anie maiden) began to ſhewe him ſelfe, for after he had taken by craſte the caſtles of Edinburgh and Dumbar, he tooke alſo poſſeſſion of his enemies wife the Ladie *Stemmons*. The woman is and hath bene famous, and is called *Ladie Gilton*: her Ladiſhip was holden alwayes in pouertie. But howe manie wiues and virgines he hath had ſince that in common the world knoweth, albeit not all, and his baſtarde birdes beare ſome witneſſe.

witneſſe. Such is the example of holineſſe, that the flocke may receaue of the Papiſticall Biſhoppes. In the middeſt of all the calamities that came vpon this realme, after the defection of the gouernour from Chriſt Ieſus came into Scotlande that bleſſed martyr of God *Maiſter George VViſcharde* in companie of the commiſſioners before mentioned in the yeare of our Lorde 154[illegible] man of ſuch graces as before him was neuer heard within this realme, yea and are rare to be founde yet in anie man, notwithſtanding this great light of God that ſince his dayes hath ſhined vnto vs: he was not onely ſingularlie learned, as well in all Godly knowledge, as in all honeſt humane ſcience: but alſo he was ſo clearely illuminated with the ſpirit of propheſie, that he ſawe not onely thinges pertaining to him ſelfe, but alſo ſuch thinges as ſome townes, and the whole realme afterward felt, which he forſpake not in ſecret, but in the audience of manie, as in their owne places ſhall be declared. The beginning of his doctrine was in Mount Roſſe, therefrom he departed to Dundie, where with greate admiration of all that heard him, he taught the Epiſtle to the Romaines: till that by procurement of the Card[illegible]all, *Robert Myle* then one of the principall men in Dundie, and a man that of olde had profeſſed knowledge, and for the ſame had ſuffered trouble, gaue in the Queenes and Gouernours name inhibition to the ſayde *Maiſter George* that he ſhould trouble their towne no more, for they woulde not ſuffer it. And this was ſayde to him being in the publike place, which hearde, he muſed a pretie ſpace with his eyes bent vnto the heauen. And thereafter looking ſorowfullie to the ſpeaker, and vnto the people, he ſayde, God is witneſſe that I neuer min-

ded your trouble but your comfort: yea your trouble is more dolorous vnto me, then it is vnto your ſelues. But I am aſſured that to refuſe Gods word and to chaſe from you his meſſenger ſhall not preſerue you from trouble, but it ſhall bring you into it: For god ſhall ſend vnto you meſſengers who will not be affrayed of burning, nor yet for baniſhment. I haue offered to you the word of Saluation and with the hazard of my life I haue remayned amongeſt you. Now ye your ſelues refuſe me, and therefore muſt I leaue my Innocency to be declared by my god, if it be long proſperous with you, I am not led with the ſpirite of truth. But and trouble vnlooked for apprehend you, acknowledge the cauſe, and turne to god. For he is mercifull, but if ye turne not at the firſt, he ſhall viſit you with fire and ſword. Theſe wordes pronounced he came downe, from the preaching place. In the Church preſent was the Lord *Marſhall* and diuerſe noble men, who would haue had the ſaid *M. George* to haue remained or elſe to haue gone with thē into the countrey. But for no requeſt would he eyther tarie in the towne or on that ſyde of Tay any longer. But with poſſible expedition paſt to the Weſtland, where he began to offer Gods word which was of many gladly receaued, till that the biſhop of Glaſgow Dumbar, by inſtigation of the Cardinall came with his gatherings to the towne of ayre to make reſiſtance to the ſaid *M. George*, & did firſt occupie the Church. The Earle of Glancarne being thereof aduertiſſed repaired with his freinds to the towne with diligence, & ſo did diuerſe gentlemen of Kyle amongeſt whom was the Laird of Lefnoreiſe a mā far different from him that now liueth in the yeare of our Lord 1566 in manners and Religion) of whome to this

this day yet many liue, and haue declared themſelues alwayes zelous and bold in the cauſe of God as after wilbe hard. When all were aſſembled concluſion was taken that they would haue the Church. Whereto the ſaid *Maiſter George* vtterly repugned, Saying, Let him alone, his ſermon will not much hurt. Let vs goe to the market croſſe, and ſo they did where he made ſo notable a ſermon that the verie enemies themſelues were confounded. The Biſhop preached to his Iackmen, & to ſome old boſſes of the towne. The Somme of all his Sermon was. They ſaye we ſhould preach: why not? Better late thryue, then neuer thryue. hold vs ſtill for your biſhoppe: and we ſhall prouyde better the next time. This was the begynning and the ende of the Biſhoppes ſermon. Who with haſt departed the towne, but returned not to fulfill his promiſe. The ſaid *Maiſter George* remained with the gentle men in Kyle till that he gat ſure knowledge of the eſtate of Dondie. He preached commonly at the Church of Gaſtonne and vſed much in the barre. He was requyred to come to the Church of Manchlyne as that he did. But the ſhreeue of Ayre cauſed man the Church for preſeruation of a tabernacle that was there beautifull to the eye. The perſons that held the Church was *George Campbeau* of Mongarſwood that yet lyueth anno 1566 *Mungo Campbeau* of Brounſyde *George Rid* in Dawelling the Laird of Tempilland.

Some zelous of the pariſh amongeſt whome was *Hew campbew* of Kingzeacleneth offended that they ſhould be debarred their Parriſh Church concluded by force to enter. But the ſaid *M. George* withdrew the ſaid *Hew*, and ſaid vnto him, brother, Chriſt Ieſus

is as mightie vppon the fieldes as in the Church. And I find that he him ſelfe after preached in the deſert, at the ſea ſide, and other places iudged prophane then that he did in the temple of Ieruſalem. It is the word of peace that god ſendes by me. The blood of no man ſhallbe ſhed this day for the preaching of it. And ſo withdrawing the whole people he came to a ditch in a more eadge vpon the South-weſt ſide of machlyne, vppon the which he aſcended: The whole multitude ſtood and ſate about him (god gaue the day pleaſant and hotte) he continued in preaching more then three howers, In that ſermon god wrought ſo wonderfullie with him, that one of the moſt wicked men that was in that countrey named *Laurēce Rauckin* Laird of ſhaw was conuerted. The teares ranne from his eyes in ſuch abundance that all men wondered, his conuerſion was without hypocriſie for his life and conuerſation witneſſed it in all tymes to come. While this faythfull ſeruant of god was thus occupied in Kyle, word roſe, that the plague of peſtilence roſe in Dondie, which beganne foure dayes after that the ſaid *M. George* was inhibed preaching, and was ſo vehemēt that it paſſed almoſt credibilitie, to heare how many departed euerie foure and twenty howers. The certaintie vnderſtood, the ſaid *M. George* tooke his leaue of kyle and that with the regrate of many. But no requeſt could make him to remaine, His reaſon was they are now in trouble and they need comfort. Perchaunce this hand of god will make them now to magnifie and reuerence that word which before (for the feare of men) they ſet at light price. Cumming vnto Dondie, the ioy of the faithfull was exceeding great. He delayed no tyme but euen vpon the morrow gaue ſignificatiō that he would preach.

And

And becauſe the moſt part were either ſicke or elſe were in company with thoſe that were ſick, He choſed the heid of the Eaſt port of the towne, for his preaching place, and ſo the hole ſtoode or ſat within, the ſicke and ſuſpected without the port. The text vpon the which his firſt ſermon was made he tooke from the hundreth and ſeuen pſalme. The Sentence thereof. He ſent his word and halowed them, and therewith ioyned theſe words, It is neither herbe & plaiſter O Lord but thy word healeth all. In which ſermon he moſt cõfortably did entreate of the dignitie and vtilitie of godes word, the punſhmẽt that commes for the contempt of the ſame. The promptitude of gods mercie to ſuch as trewlie turne to him, yea the great happines of them whome god taketh from this miſerie euen in his owne gentle viſitation which the malice of man can neither mend nor pair. By the which ſermon he ſo raiſed vp the hartes of all that heard him, that they regarded no death: but iudged them more happie that ſhould departe then ſuch as ſhould remayne behinde. Conſidering that they knew not if they ſhould haue ſuch a comfortour with them at all tymes. He ſpared not to viſit them that lay in the very extremity. He cõforted them as that he might in ſuch a multitude, he cauſed miniſter all thinges neceſſary to thoſe that might vſe meat or drinke, and in that poinct was the towne wonderous beneficiall. For the poore was no more neglected then was the rich. While he was ſpending his life to comfort the afflicted, the deuill ceaſſed not to ſtirre vp his owne ſonne the Cardinall againe who corrupted by money a deſperate preeſte named *Sir Ihon VVeighton* to ſlay the ſaid *M. George* who looked not to himſelfe in all thinges ſo circumſpectlie as wordlie men would haue vſed.

And vpon a day the ſermon ended and the people departing no man ſuſpecting daunger, and therfore not heading the ſaid *Maiſter George*. The prieſt that was corrupted ſtoode waiting at the foote of the ſteppes, his gowne looſe, and his daggar drawen in his hand vnder his gowne. The ſaid *Maiſter George* as that he was moſt ſharpe of eye and iugement, mar ked him, and as he came neere, he ſaid: My friend what would ye do, and therewith he clapped his hand vpō the prieſtes hand wherein the daggar was which he took frō him. The prieſt abaſhed fel downe at his feete, and openlie confeſſed the veritie as it was. The noyſe riſing and cumming to the eares of the ſicke. They cried deliuer the trator to vs, or elſe we will take him by force, and ſo they burſt in at the gate. But *M. George* tooke him in his armes, & ſayd whoſoeuer troubles him ſhal trouble me, for he hath hurt me in nothing, but he hath don great cōfort to you & me, to wit, he hath let vs to vnderſtād what we may feare in times to come, we will watch better, & ſo he appeaſed both the one part and the other, and ſued the life of him that ſought his. Whē the plague was ſo ceaſed that almoſt there were none ſicke he tooke his leaue of them and ſaid that god had almoſt put an end to that battell. He foūd himſelf called to an other place. The gētlemē of the Weſt had writtē vnto him that he ſhould meete thē at Edinborgh. For they would requyre diſputation of the Biſhops, and that he ſhould be publicke hard where to he willingly agreed. But firſt he paſſed to Montroſe to ſalute the Church there where he remained occupied ſomtymes in preaching but moſt part in ſecrete meditation, In the which he was ſo earneſt that night and day he would continew in it, while he was ſo occupied with his god, the Cardinall

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drew a ſecret draught for his ſlaughter, He cauſed to wright vnto him a letter as it had bene from his moſt familiar friend the Laird of *Kinnire* deſiring him with all poſſible diligence to come vnto him, for he was ſtricken with a ſuddaine ſicknes. In the meane tyme had the traytor prouided threſcore men with Iacks and ſpeares to lye in wait within a myle and halfe to the towne of Montreſſe for his diſpatche. The letter comming to his hand he made haſte at the firſt (for the boye had brought a horſe, and ſo with ſome honeſt men he paſſed forth of the towne, but ſuddanlie he ſtayed, and muſing a ſpace returned back, whereat they wondering he ſaid, I will not goe: I am forbidd̄ of God, I am aſſured their is treaſon. Let ſome of you ſayeth he go to yonder place, & tell me what ye find. Diligence made. They foūd the treaſon as it was which being ſhowen with expeditiō to *Maſter George*, he aunſwered. I know that I ſhall ende my life in that blood thriſtie mans hands, but it will not be of this maner. The tyme approching that he had appoynted to meete the gentlemen at Edinburgh, he tooke his leaue at Montroſo and ſore againſt the iudgement of the Laird of *Dune* entered on his iourney and ſo returned to Dundie. But remained not, but paſſed to the howſe of a faithfull brother named *Iames VVatſon* who dwelt in Inner gowrie diſtāt from the ſaid towne two myles and that night (as information was geuen to vs, by *VVilliam Spadin* and *Iohn VVatſon* both men of good credit) before day he paſſed forth into a yard, the ſaid *VVilliā* & *Iohn* followed priuily & tooke heede what he did, whē he had gone vp and downe in an alley a reaſonable ſpace with many ſobbes and deepe grones, he fell vpon his knees, and ſitting thereon his grones encreaſed. And from his knees he fell

vpon his face. And then the persons fornamed hard weeping & as it were an indigest sound, as it were of prayers, in the which he continued neere an howre and after began to be quyet, and so arrose, and came into his bed. They that awaited preuented him as they had bene ignorant til that he came in, and then began they to demaund where he had ben. But that night he would answer nothing. Vpon the morrow they vrged him againe, and while that he dissembled they said, *M. George* be plaine with vs, for we heard your morning and saw you both vpon your knees & vpon your face. With deiected visage he said. I had rather ye had bene in your beddes, and it had bene more profitable for you. For I was skarse well occupied. When they Instantlie vrged him to let them know some comfort: He said I will tell you that I am assured that my trauell is neere an end, and therefore call to god with me that now I shrinke not when the battell waxes most hote. And while that they weeped and said, that was small comfort vnto them, He aunswered, God shall send you comfort after me. This Realme shallbe illuminated with the light of Christes Gospell as cleerlie as euer was any realme since the daies of the Apostles. The howse of god shallbe builded in it: yea it shall not lacke (whatsoeuer the enemy imagine in the contrary) the verye keepe stone, meaning, that it should once be brought to the full perfection. Neither (said he) shall this be long to. Their shall not many suffer after me. Till that the glorie of god shall euidentlie appeare and shall once triumph in despite of Sathan. But allas if the people shallbe after vnthankefull then fearfull and terrible shall the plagues be that after shall follow. And with these wordes he marched forwards in his iourney, towards *S. Ihonstone*, & so to Fyfe, & then

Propheſie ſpoken by *M.* George Whiſcharte

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to Leyth, where he arriued, and hearing no worde of thoſe that appointed to meete him to witte the Earle of Caſſils and the gentlemen of Kyle and Cuninghame kept him ſelfe ſecret a day or two. But beginning to waxe ſorowfull in ſpirite, and being demaunded of the cauſe, of ſuch as were not in his companie before, he ſaid: What differ I from a dead man, except that I eate and drinke. To this time God hath vſed my labours to the inſtruction of others, and vnto the diſcloſing of darkneſſe, and now I lurke as a man that were aſhamed, & durſt not ſhew him ſelfe before men. By theſe & like wordes they that heard him, vnderſtoode that his deſire was to preach, and therefore ſaid, Moſt comfortable it was vnto vs to heare you: but becauſe we know the daũger wherin ye ſtand, we dare not deſire you. But dare ye & others heare (ſaid he) & then let my God prouide for me as beſt pleaſeth him. Finally it was concluded that the next Sunday he ſhould preach in Leith, as that he did, and tooke the text, The parable of the ſower that went forth to ſowe ſeede Math. 13. And this was vpon the xv. day before Chriſtmaſſe. The ſermon ended, the gentlemen of Lowthian who then were earneſt profeſſors of Chriſt Ieſus thought not expedient that he ſhould remaine in Leith, becauſe that the Gouernour & Cardinall were ſhortly to come to Edinburgh and therfore they tooke him with them, & kept him ſometimes in Brunſton, ſometimes in Languithrid, & ſometimes in Ormiſton. For theſe three diligently awaited vpon him. The Sunday following he preached in the church of Eurask beſides Muſſilburgh, both before & at after noone, wher there was a great cõfluence of people, amõgſt whom, was *Sir George Dowglas*, who after the ſermon ſaid publikly, I know that my Lord Gouernour, & my

The wordes of S. George Dowglas.

Lord Cardinall ſhall heare that I haue bene at this preaching (for they were thé in Edinburgh) ſay vnto them that I will auow it, & will not only maintain the doctrine that I haue hard, but alſo the perſon of the teacher, to the vttermoſt of my power. Which wordes greatly reioyced the people and the gentle men then preſent. One thing notable in that ſermon we can not paſſe by. Amongeſt others there came two gray Frears; & ſtanding in the entry of the church dore, they made ſome whiſpering to ſuch as came in: which perceaued, the preacher ſaid to the people that ſtood nere them, I hartely pray you to make rome to thoſe two men, it may be that they be come to learne. And vnto them he ſayd, come nere (for they ſtood in the verie entrie of the dore) for I aſſure you ye ſhall heare the worde of veritie, which ſhal either ſeale in you this ſame day your ſaluation or condemnation, & ſo proceeded he in doctrine: ſuppoſing that they would haue bene quiet. But when he perceaued them ſtill to trouble the people that ſtood nere them (for vehement was he againſt the falſe worſhipping of God) he turned vnto thé the ſecond time, & with an irefull countenance ſaid, O Sergeants of Sathan, and deceauers of the ſoules of men, will ye neither heare Gods truth, nor ſuffer others to heare it: depart & take this for your portion. God ſhall ſhortly confound & diſcloſe your hipocriſie, within this realme, ye ſhall be abhominable vnto men, and your places & habitations ſhall be deſolate. This ſentence he pronounced with great vehemencie in the midſt of the Sermon, and turning to the people he ſaid, You wicked men haue prouoked the ſpirite of God to anger, and ſo he returned to his matter, and proceeded to the ende. That dayes trauell was ended, he came

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to Langundrie, & the two next Sundayes preached in Trauent, with the like grace, & like confluence of people. In all his ſermons after his departure from Anguſt, he foreſpake the ſhortneſſe of the time that he had to trauell, and of his death, the day whereof he ſaid approched nearer then anie would beleeue. In the later end of thoſe dayes that are called the holie dayes of Chriſtmas, paſt he by conſent of the gentlemen to Hadington, where it was ſuppoſed the greateſt confluence of people ſhould be both by reaſon of the towne, & of the country adiacent. The firſt day before noone the auditors were reaſonable & yet nothing in cõpariſon of that which vſed to be in that Church. But the after noone, & the next day folowing before noone the auditory was ſo ſlender that many wondred. The cauſe was iudged to haue bin, that the Erle *Bothwell*, who in thoſe bounds vſed to haue great credit & obedience by procuremẽt of the Cardinall, had giuen inhibition as well vnto the town as vnto the cuntry, as that they ſhold not heare him vnder the pain of his diſpleaſure. The firſt night he lay within the town with *Dauid Forreſſe*, now called the generall, a man that long profeſſed the truth & vpon whõ many in that time depended. The ſecõd night he lay in Lethington, the Laird wherof was euer ciuill, albeit not perſwaded in religion. The day following before the ſaid *M. George* paſt to the ſermon, there came to him a boy with a letter frõ the waſtland, which receaued & read, he called for *Iohn Knox* who had awaited vpon him carefully from the time he came to Louthiane, with whome he began to enter into purpoſe. That he wearied of the world, for he perceaueth that men began to be wearie of God. The cauſe of his complaint was. The gentlemẽ of the waſt had written vnto him that they coulde

not keepe diet at Edinburgh. The ſayde *Iohn Knoxe* wondering that he deſired to keepe anie purpoſe before ſermon (for that was his accuſtomed vſe before) ſayd, Sir the time of Sermon approcheth, I will leaue you for the preſent to your meditation: & ſo tooke he the bill containing the purpoſe aforeſaid and left him: the ſaid *Maiſter George* walked vp and downe behind the high Altar more then halfe an houre. His weary countenance and viſage declared the griefe and alteration of his minde. At laſt he paſſeth to the pulpit. But the auditorie was ſmall he ſhould haue begun to haue intreated, the ſeconde table of the Lawe. But thereof in that ſermon he ſpake verie litle. He began on this maner. O Lorde, how long ſhal it be that thy holy word ſhall be deſpiſed; and men ſhal not regarde their owne ſaluation. I haue hard of thee Hadingtō, that in thee wold haue ben, at anie vaine clarke play, two or three thouſand people, and nowe to heare the meſſenger of the eternall God, of all the towne nor pariſh can not be nūbred one hundreth perſons. Sore & fearefull ſhal the plagues be that ſhal enſue of this thy contempt, with fire and ſword ſhalt thou be plagued. Yea thou Hadington in ſpeciall, ſtraungers ſhal poſſeſſe thee, and you the preſent inhabitants ſhall either in bondage ſerue your enemies, or elſe ye ſhall be chaſed from your owne habitations. And that becauſe ye haue not knowne nor will not knowe the time of Gods mercifull viſitation. In ſuch vehemencie and threatning continued that ſeruant of God, nere an houre and a halfe. In the which he declared all the plagues that enſued as plainely as after our eyes ſawe them perfourmed. In the ende he ſayd: I haue forgotten my ſelfe, & the matter that I ſhould haue entreated. But let theſe my laſt wordes as concerning

ning publike preaching remaine in your minds, till that God ſend you new comfort. Therafter he made a ſhort paraphraſe vpon the ſecond table, with an exhortation to pacience, to the feare of God, & vnto the works of mercie, and ſo ended, as it were making his laſt teſtament as the iſſue declared. That the ſpirite of trueth and of true iudgement, were both in his heart and mouth. For that ſame night was he apprehended before midnight in the houſe of Ormeſton, by the Earle *Bothwell*, made for money butcher to the Cardinall. The mauner of his taking was thus. Departing from the towne of Hadington, he tooke his goodnight, as it were for euer, of all his acquaintaunce, eſpecially from *Hewe Dowglas* of Langundrie. *Iohn Knoxe* preaſſinge to haue gone with the ſayd *Maiſter George*, he ſayde, Nay, returne to your children, and God bleſſe you. One is ſufficient for one ſacrifice, and ſo he cauſed a two handed ſworde, which commonly was caried with the ſayd *Maiſter George*, to be taken from the ſayd *Iohn Knoxe*, who albeit vnwillingly obeyed and returned with *Hewe Dowglas* of Langundrie, *Maiſter George* hauing to accompanie him, the Laird of Ormeſton, *Iohn Sandelandes* of Calder yonnger, the Laird of Brounſton, and others with their ſeruauntes, paſſed vpon fuote (for it was a vehement froſt) to Ormeſton. After ſupper he helde comfortable purpoſe of Godds choſen children, and mearily ſaide, Me thinke that I deſire earneſtly to ſleepe, and therewith he ſayde, ſhall we ſinge a Pſalme, and ſo he appoynted the one and fiftieth Pſalme, which was put in Scottiſh meeter, and began thus. Haue mercie on me nowe good Lorde after thy great mercie, &c. Which being ended, he paſt to chamber, and ſooner then his common diet

was paſt to bed with theſe words, And graunt quiet reſt. Before midnight the place was beſet aboute, that none coulde eſcape to make aduertiſement. The Earle *Bothwell* came and called for the Laird, and declared the purpoſe, and ſaide, that it was but in vaine to make him to holde his houſe, for the Gouernour and the Cardinall with all their power were comming (and in deede the Cardinall was at Elphinſton, not a mile diſtant from Ormeſton.) But and if he woulde deliuer the man to him, he would promiſe vpon his honour that he ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould paſſe the power of the Cardinall, to do him anie harme or hurte. Allured with theſe wordes, and taking counſell with the ſayd *M. George* (who at the firſt worde, ſaid open the gates, the bleſſed will of my God be done.) They receaued in the Earle *Bothwell* him ſelfe, with ſome gentlemen with him. To whome *Maiſter George* ſayd, I praiſe my God, that ſo honourable a man as you my Lord, receaueth me this night in the preſence of theſe noble men. For nowe I am aſſured that for your honours ſake, ye will ſuffer nothing to be done to me beſides the order of lawe. I am not ignorant that all their lawe is nothing but corruption, and a cloake to ſhede the bloud of the Saincttes. But yet I leſſe feare to die openlie, then ſecretly to be murthered. The ſayde Earle *Bothwell* aunſwered, I ſhall not onely preſerue your bodie from all violence that ſhall be purpoſed againſt you without order of lawe: But alſo I promiſe heare in the preſence of theſe Gentlemen, that neither ſhall the Gouernour nor the Cardinall haue their will of you. But I ſhall retaine you in mine own hands in mine owne place, till that either I ſhall make you free, or elſe reſtore you into the ſame place, where I receaue you.

The Lorde Bothwels promiſe.

M. Georges wordes to the Earle Bothwel.

you. The Lairdes aforesaid said, My Lord if ye will do as you haue spoken, & as as we think your Lordship will doe, then doe we here promise vnto your Lordship, that not only we our selues shall serue you all the dayes of our life, but also we shall procure the whole professors within Lowtheane to do the same. And vpon either the preseruation of this our brother, or vpon his deliuerie againe to our handes, we being reasonablie aduertised to receaue him, that we in the name and behalfe of our friends shall deliuer to your lordship, or any sufficient man that shall deliuer to vs againe this seruant of God our band of Maurent in maner aforesaid. And thus promise made in the presence of God, and handes striken vpon both the parties for obseruation of the promise. The said *Maister George* was deliuered to the hands of the said Erle *Bothwell*, who immediatly departing with him, came to Elphinston, where the Cardinall was. Who knowing that *Calder Younger* & *Brunston*, were with the Laird of Ormeston, sent backe with expedition to apprehend them also. The noyse of horsemen being heard, the seruauntes gaue aduertisement that mo then departed, or that was there before, were returned. And while that they dispute what should be the motiue, the Cardinalls garrison had ceased, both the vtter and inner closse. They called for the Laird, and for the Laird of Calder, who presenting them selues, demaunded what their commission was. To bring you two and the Laird of Broneston to my Lord Gouernour. They were nothing content (as they had no cause) and yet they made faire countenance, and entreated the gentlemen to drinke, and to baite their horses till that they might put them selues in readinesse to ride with them. In this meane time Broneston conueyed

him selfe first secretly and then by speede of foot to Ormiston wood, and from thence to Drundawon, and so escaped that daunger, the other two were put into the castle of Edinburgh where the one, to wit, *Calder Younger* remained vntill his baud of Maurent to the Cardinall was the meanes of his deliuerance. And the other, to wit, Ormiston, freed him selfe by leaping of the wall of the castle, betwixt ten of the clocke and eleuen before noon. And so breaking ward he escaped prison, which iniustly suffered. The seruaunt of God *Maister George Wyschart* was caried first to Edinburghe, thereafter brought backe for fashion sake to the house of Haillis againe, which was the principall place that then the Earle *Bothwell* had in Lowthiane. But as gold and women haue corrupted all worldlye and fleshly men from the beginning, so did they him. For the Cardinall gaue golde and that largely, and the Queene with whome the sayd Earle was then in the Glonders, promised fauor in all his lawful sutes to women: if he would deliuer the sayd *M. George* to be kept in the castle of Edinburgh. He made som resistaunce at the first, by reason of his promise. But an effeminate man can not long withstand the assaultes of a gratious Queene, and so was the seruaunt of God transported to Edinburgh castle, where he remayned not manie dayes. For that bloudie wolfe the Cardinall euer thirsting after the bloude of the seruaunt of God, so trauelled with the abused Gouernour, that he was contente that Gods seruaunt should be deliuered to the power of that tyrannie. And so small inuersion being made, Pilate obeyed the petition of Cayaphas and of his fellowes, and adiudged Christ to be crucified. The seruant of God deliuered to the hand of that proud &

merciless

merciles tyrannie, triũph was made by the prieſts. The godly lamented, and accuſed the fooliſhnes of the Gouernour. For by the retaining of the ſayd *M. George* he might haue cauſed Proteſtants & Papiſts (rather proude Romaniſts) to haue ſerued. The one to the end the life of their preacher might haue bin ſaued. The other, for feare that he ſhould haue ſet him at libertie againe, to the confuſion of the Biſhops. But where God is left (as he had plainely renounced him before) what can counſell or iudgement auaile? Howe the ſeruaunt of God was intreated, and what he did from the day that he entered within the ſea tower of Saint Andrewes, which was in the end of Ianuarie, in the yeare of God 1546. vnto the firſt of March, the ſame yeare when he ſuffered we can not certainly tell, except we vnderſtand he wrote ſomewhat in priſon, but that was ſuppreſſed by the enemies. The Cardinall delayed no time, but cauſed all Biſhops, yea all the clergie that had anie preheminẽce to be called to S. Andrews againſt the xxvij. of Februarie, that conſultation might be had in that queſtion, which in his mind was no leſſe reſolued, then Chriſtes death was in the minde of Caiaphas. But that the reſt ſhold beare the like burden with him, he would that they ſhould before the world ſubſcribe whatſoeuer he did. In that day was wrought no leſſe a wonder then was at the accuſation & death of Ieſus Chriſt, when that Pilate & Herode who before were enemies, were made friends, by conſenting of them both to Chriſts condempnation: differs nothing, except that Pilate & Herode were brethren vnder their father the deuill in the eſtate called temporall, & theſe two of whom we are about to ſpeake were brethren (ſonnes of the ſame father the deuill) in the eſtate eccleſiaſticall. If we

enterlace mearineſſe with earneſt matters, pardon vs good Reader, for the fact is ſo notable that it deſerueth long memorie.

The proude Cardinall & the glorious foole Dumbar.

The Cardinal was knowne proude: and *Dumbar* Archebiſhop of Glaſquo was knowne a glorious foole: and yet becauſe ſometymes he was called the kings Maiſter he was chancelor of Scotland, The Cardinal commeth euen the ſame yeare in the end of harueſt before to Glaſquo vpon what purpoſe we omit. But while they remayne togither the one in the towne the other in the caſtle, queſtion riſeth for bearing of their croſſes. The Cardinall alleaged that by reaſon of his Cardinalſhip, and that he was *Legatus natus*, and Primate within Scotland in the kingdome of Antichriſt, that he ſhould haue the preheminence, and that his croſſe ſhould not onely go before, but that alſo it ſhould onely be born whereſoeuer he was. Good *Guk ſtone Glakſtone* the foreſaide Archbiſhop lacked no reaſons as he thought, for maintainaunce of his glorie. He was an Archbiſhop in his owne dioceſſe, & in his owne cathedrall ſeate & Church, & therefore ought to giue place to no mā. The power of the Cardinall was but begged from Rome, & appertaineth but to his owne perſon, & not to his biſhopricke, for it might be that his ſucceſſor ſhould not be Cardinall, but his dignity was annexed with his office, and did appertain to all that euer ſhould be Biſhops of Glaſgow. Howſoeuer theſe doubts were reſolued by the Doctors of Diuinitie of both the Prelates, yet the deciſion was as ye ſhall heare. Coming forth (or going in all is one) at the queere dore of Glaſgow church, begins ſtriuing for ſtate betwixt the croſſe bearers, ſo that from gloming they came to brawling, from brawling they go to buffets, & from drie blowes by neffes & neffaling,

A queſtion worthy of ſuch two Prelates.

and

and then for charities ſake they crie, *Diſperſit dedit pauperibus*, and aſſay which of the croſſes was fineſt mettall, which ſtaffe was ſtrongeſt, and which bearer could beſt defend his maiſters preheminence. and that there ſhould be no ſuperioritie in that behalfe, to the ground go both their croſſes. And then began no litle fray, but yet a merie game, for rockets were rent, tippets were torne, crownes were knapped, and ſide gownes might haue bene ſeene wantonly to wag frō the one wall to the other. Manie of them lacked beards, & that was the more pity, & therfore could not buckle other by the byrſes, as bold men wold haue done. But fie on the iackmen, that did not their duty. For had the one part of them recountred the other, then had all gone right. But the Sanctuarie we ſuppoſe ſaued the liues of manie. Howe merily ſo euer this be written, it was bitter mirth to the Cardinall and his court. It was more then irregularitie, yea it might well haue bene iudged leſſe maieſtie to the ſonne of perdition, the Popes owne perſon, and yet the other in his follie as proude as a peacocke, would let the Cardinall knowe that he was a Biſhop, when the other but *Becon* before he gat Aberbroth. This enimitie was iudged mortall, & without all hope of reconciliation. But the bloud of the innocent ſeruaunt of God buried in obliuion all that bragging and boaſt. For the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow was the firſt vnto whom the Cardinall wrote, ſignifying vnto him what was done, and earneſtly crauing of him, that he woulde aſſiſt with his preſence and counſell, howe that ſuch an enemie to their eſtate might be ſuppreſſed. And thereto was not the other ſlowe, but kept time appointed, ſate next to the Cardinall, waited and ſubſcribed firſt in the ranke, and laye ouer the

Eaſt blockehouſe with the ſayde Cardinall, till the martyr of God was conſumed with fire: for this we may note, that all theſe beaſtes conſented in heart to the ſlaughter of that ienocente. So did they approue it, with their preſence, hauing the whole ordinaunce of the caſtle of Sainct Andrewes bent towardes the place of execution, which was neare to the caſtle, readie to haue ſhotte if anie woulde haue made defence or reskewe to Godds ſeruaunt. The manner of his accuſation, proceſſe, and aunſwers, followeth, as we haue receaued the ſame from the booke of the Martyres, which worde by worde we haue inſerted, and that becauſe the ſayde booke, for the greate price thereof, is rare to be had.

Vpon the laſt of Februarie was ſent to the priſon where the ſeruaunt of God laye, the Deane of the towne by the commaundement of the Cardinall & his wicked counſell, and there ſummoned the ſayde *Maiſter George*, that he ſhould on the morowe following appeare before the Iudge, then and there to giue accompt of his ſeditious & hereticall doctrine. To whom the ſaid *Maiſter George* aunſwered. What needed (ſaid he) my Lord Cardinall to ſummon me to aunſwer for my doctrine openly before him, vnder whoſe power and dominion I am thus ſtraightly bound in yrons? May not my Lord compell me to aunſwer of his extort power? Or beleeueth he, that I am vnprouided to render accompt of my doctrine? To manifeſt your ſelues what men ye are, it it well done that ye keepe your olde ceremonies and conſtitutions made by men. Vpon the nexte morowe my Lord Cardinall cauſed his ſeruants to addreſſe them ſelues in their moſt warlike array, with iacke, knapſcall, ſplent, ſpeare, and axe, more ſeemely for

the

the warre then for the preaching of the true worde of God. And whē theſe armed champions marching in warlike order, had conueyed the biſhops into the Abbey church, incontinently they ſent for *Maiſter George*, who was conueyed vnto the ſayd church by the captaine of the caſtle & the number of an hundreth men, addreſſed in maner aforeſaide, like a lambe led they him to ſacrifice. As he entred in at the Abbey church dore, there was a poore man lying vexed with great infirmities, asking of his almes, to whom he ſlong his purſe, and when he came before the Cardinall, by and by the Suppriour of the Abbey, called Deane *Iohn VVinreme*, ſtood vp in the pulpit, and made a Sermon to all the congregation there then aſſembled, taking his matter out of the xiij. Chapter of Mathew: whoſe Sermō was deuided into foure principall parts. The firſt was, a ſhort and briefe declaration of the Euangeliſt. The ſecond of the interpretation of the good ſeede: & becauſe he called the word of God the good ſeede, and hereſie the euill ſeede, he declared what hereſie was: and how it ſhould be knowne. He defined it on this maner. Hereſie is a falſe opinion defended with pertinacie, clearly repugning the word of God. The third part of his Sermon was, the cauſe of hereſie within that realme, and all other realmes. The cauſe of hereſie (ſayd he) is the ignorance of them which haue the cures of mens ſoules: to whome it neceſſarilie belongeth to haue the true vnderſtanding of the word of God, that they may be able to winne againe the falſe teachers of hereſies, with the ſword of the ſpirit, which is the word of God: & not onely to win againe, but alſo to ouercome as ſaith Paule. A biſhop muſt be faultleſſe, as becometh the miniſter of God, not ſtubburn, not angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not

Bona hereſios definitio &c.

geuen to filthie lucre, but herberous one that loued goodnes, ſober minded, righteous holy, temperate, & ſuch as cleaueth vnto the trew word of doctrine. That he may be able to exhorte with holſome learning, & to improue that which they ſay againſt him. The fourth parte of his ſermon was how hereſies ſhould be knowen. Hereſies (quoth he) be knowen on this manner. As the goldſmith knoweth the fyne gold from the vnperfite, by the touchestone, So likeways may we know hereſie by the vndoubted touchſtone, that is the trew fincere and vndefiled word of God. At the laſt he added, that hereticks ſhould be put downe in this preſent life. To the which propoſition the Goſpel appeareth to repugn, which he entracted of lait thé both grow to the harueſt. The harueſt is the end of the world, neuertheleſſe he affirmed that they ſhould be put downe by the ciuile Magiſtrate & Law. And when he ended his Sermon incontinent they cauſed *Maiſter George* to aſcend into the pulpet, there to heare his accuſation and Articles, for right againſt him ſtoode one of the fedde companie Maiſter *Iohn Lawder* lading ful of curſinges writing in paper of the which he tooke out a roule both long and alſo full of curſinges, threatninges, maledictions and wordes of deuiliſh ſpite and malice, Saying, to the innocent *Maiſter George*, ſo many cruell and abominable wordes, and hit him ſo ſpitfullie with the popes thunder that the ignorant people dreaded leaſt the earth then would haue ſwallowed him vp quick. Notwithſtanding he ſtoode ſtil with great patience hearing there ſayinges, not once mouing or changing his countenance, When that this fedd ſow had red throughout all his lying minaſſingis his face ronning downe with ſweat and froothing at the mouth like a beare. He ſpate at *Maiſter Georges* face, ſaying

Saying,what aunſweres thou to theſe ſayinges? Thou runnagate, tratour, theefe, which we haue dewlie proued by ſufficient witnes againſt thee. *Maiſter George* hearing this, ſatte downe vppon his knees in the pulpitte making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, ſweetlie and Chriſtianlie, he aunſwered vnto them all in this manner.

Maiſter George his Oration

Many and horrible ſayings vnto me a Chriſtian man many words abhominable for to heare, ye haue ſpoken heere this day, which not only to teach, but alſo to thinke I thought it euer great abhominatiõ. Wherefore I pray your diſcretions quietly to heare me that ye may knowe what were my ſayings, and the manner of my doctrine. This my petition (my Lords) I deſire to be hard for three cauſes. The firſt is becauſe through preaching of the worde of God his glorye is made manifeſt. It is reaſonable therefore, for the auancing of the glory of God that ye heare me teaching trulie the pure & ſincere word of God without any diſſimulation. The ſecond reaſon is, Becauſe that your health ſpringeth of the word of God, for he worketh al things by his word. It were therfore an vnrighteous thing, if ye ſhould ſtope your eares frõ me teaching truly ỹ word of God. The third reaſon is, Becauſe your doctrine ſpeaketh forth many peſtilentious blaſphemous and abhominable words, not cumming by the inſpiration of God, but of the Deuill, on no leſſe perrill then my life. It is iuſt therefore and reaſonable your diſcretions to know what my wordes and doctrine are, and what I haue euer taught in my time in this Realme.

That I periſh not iniuſtly, to the great periles of your ſelues. Wherefore both for the glorie of God, your owne health and ſauegard of my life, I beſeech your diſcretions to heare me & in the meane tyme I ſhall recyte my doctrine without any coulour.

Firſt and cheeflie ſince the tyme that I came into this Realm I taught nothing, but the ten commaundementes of God: the twelue Articles of the fayth and the prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreouer in Dondie I taught the Epiſtle of *Sainct* Paule to the Romaines. And I ſhall ſhew your diſcretions faythfullie what faſhion and manner I vſed when I taught without any humaine dreade. So that your diſcretions giue me your eares benеuolent and attent. Suddanly then with a high voyce cryed the accuſar. Thou fed ſowe thou heretyke runnagate, traitour and theefe, It was not lawfull for thee to preach, thou haſt taken the power at thyne owne hande, without any authoritie of the Church. We forethinke that thou haſt bene a preacher ſo longe. Then ſaid the hole congregation of the prelates, with their complices theſe wordes, if we giue him licence to preach, he is ſo craftie and in holy Scriptures ſo exerciſed that he will perſwade the people to his opinion, and raiſe them againſt vs. *M. George* ſeeing their malitious and wicked intent, appealed to an indifferent and equall Iudge. To whome the accuſar *Ihon Lawder* foreſaid with hoggiſh voyce anſwered. Is not my Lord Cardinall the ſecond perſon within this Realme, Chaunceller of Scotland Archbyſhop of S. Andrewes, Biſhop of Meropoſe, commēdatour of Abyrbroth, *Legatus Natus*, *Legatus a Latere*, And ſo recyting as many titles of his vnworthy honors as would haue laden a ſhipp, much ſooner an aſſe. Is not he (quoth *Iohn Lawder*) an equal Iudge apparantly

parantlie to them, whome other desireſt thou to be thy Iudge. To whom this humble man answered, saying. I refuse not my Lord Cardinall, but I desire the word of God to be my Iudge, the temporall estate with some of your Lordshippes myne auditors, because I am here my Lord gouernors prisoner. Wher vpon the prydefull and scornefull people that stood by mocked him saying. Such man such iudge, speaking seditious and reprochfull wordes against the gouernour and other the nobles meaning them also to be hereticks. And incontinent without all delay they would haue geuen sentence vpon *M. George* & that without farther processe, had not certaine men their councelled, my Lord Cardinall to reade again the Articles, and to heare his aunsweres thereupon that the people might not complaine of his wrongfull condemnation. And shortly for to declare. These were the articles following with his answeres as farb as they would giue him leaue to speake. For when he intended to mitigate their leasinges and shewe the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with an other article.

The first Article.

THOVV false heretick, runnagate, tratour & theef deceauer of the people, despyses the holy Churche, and in lyke case contemnes my Lorde gouernours authoritye. And this we know of suretie, that when thou preachedst in Dondie, and was charged by my Lorde gouernours authoritie to desist. Neuertheles thou wouldest not obey, but perseuered in the same: And therfore the bishop of Breachen cursed thee and delyuered thee into the Deuels hand, and gaue thee in commandement that thou shoul-

deſt preach no more. Yet notwithſtanding thou didſt continew obſtinatlie.

The Aunſwere.

My Lordes I haue read in the Actes of the Apoſtles, that it is not lawfull for the threattes minacings of men, to deſiſt from the preaching of the Goſpell. Therefore it is written we ſhall rather obey God thē men. I haue alſo read the Prophet Malachie, I ſhall curſe your bleſſinges and bleſſe your curſinges Sayeth the Lord. Beleeuing firmely that he would turne your curſinges into bleſſinges.

The ſecond Article.

Thov falſe hereticke did ſay, that a prieſt ſtanding at the altar ſaying maſſe was like a fox wagging his taile in Iulie.

The Aunſwere.

My Lordes I ſaid not ſo. Theſe were my ſayinges, the mouing of the body outward, without inward mouing of the heart, is nought elſe but the plaing of an ape, and not the trew ſeruing of God. For God is a ſecrete ſearcher of mens hartes. Therefore who will trewlie adorne and honour God, he muſt in ſpirit and verity honour him. Then the accuſator ſtopped his mouth with an other Article,

The third Article.

Thov falſe heretick preacheſt againſt the Sacraments, ſaying that there are not ſeuen Sacraments.

The

The answere,

My Lords, It is by your pleasures, I taught neuer of the number of the Sacramentes whether there were seuen or eleuen, so many as are instituted by Christ and are shewen to vs by the Gospel I professe openly. Except it be the word of God I dare affirme nothing.

The fourth Article.

THOVV false hereticke hast openlie taught that auriculare confession is not a blessed Sacrament, and thou sayest that we should onlie confesse vs to god, and to no priest.

The Answere.

My Lordes I say that Auriculare confession seing that it hath no promisse of the Gospel therfore it can not be a Sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God ther are many testimonies in Scripture, as whē *Dauid* sayth I thought that I would knowledge mine Iniquitie against my selfe vnto the Lord: And he forgaue the trespasse of my sinnes: Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sinnes before God. When I exhorted the people on this manner, I reproued no maner of confession, and farther, *Sainct Iames* sayth, knowledge your sinnes one to an other and so let you haue peace among your selues. Here the Apostle meaneth nothing of Auricular confession. But that we should acknowledge & confesse our selues to be sinners before our brethren, and before the world, and not to esteeme our selues, as the gray frears do, thinking them selues alreadie purged. When that he said these words. The horned Bishops and their complices cryed and gyrned with their

teeth saying, See ye not what colours he hath in his speach that he may begile vs and seduce vs to his opinion?

The fift Article.

THOV hereticke dideſt say openly that it was neceſſary for euery man to know and vnderſtand his Baptiſme, and that it was contrary to generall counſails and the eſtates of holy Church.

The Aunſwere.

MY Lordes I beleeue there be none ſo vnwyſe here that will make merchandiſe with any French men, or any other vnknowen ſtraunger except he know and vnderſtand firſt the condition or promiſe made by the French man or ſtraunger. So lykewiſe I would that we vnderſtoode, what thing we promiſe in the name of the Infant vnto God in Baptiſme. For this cauſe I beleeue ye haue confirmation. Then ſaid *M. Bleiſter Chaplin*, that he had the Deuell within him, and the ſpirit of errour. Then aunſwered him a childe ſaying. The Deuel can not ſpeake ſuch words as yonder man doth ſpeake.

The ſixt Article.

THOV falſe hereticke traitour and theefe thou ſaydſt that the Sacramẽt of the altar was but a peece of bread baken vpon the aſhes and no other thing elſe and all that is there done is but a ſuperſtitious ryte againſt the commandement of God.

The Aunſwere.

OH Lord God ſo manifeſt lyes and Blaſphemies the

the Scripture doth not ſo teach you, as concerning the Sacrament of the Altare (my Lordes) I neuer taught anie thing againſt the Scripture, the which I ſhall (by Gods grace) make manifeſt this day: I being readie therefore to ſuffer death. The lawfull vſe of the Sacrament is moſt acceptable vnto God. But the great abuſe of it, is verye deteſtable vnto him. But what occaſion they haue to ſay ſuch words of me, I ſhall ſhortly ſhewe your Lordſhippes. I once chaunced to meete with a Iewe, when I was ſayling vpon the water of Rhene, I did enquire of him, what was the cauſe of his pertinacie, that he did not beleeue, that the true Meſſias was come, conſidering that they had ſeene all the prophecies, which were ſpoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreouer the prophecies taken away, and the ſcepter of Iuda. By many other teſtimonies of the Scripture I witneſſed to him, and approued Meſſias was come, the which they called Ieſus of Nazareth. This Iewe aunſwered againe vnto me, When Meſſias commeth he ſhall reſtore all things, & he ſhall not abrogate the Lawe which was giuen vnto our fathers, as ye do, for why we ſee the poore almoſt periſh through hunger amongeſt you, yet you are not moued with pitie towards them. But amongeſt vs Iewes, though we be pore, there are no beggers found. Secondarily, it is forbidden by the Law to faine anie kind of imagery of things in heauen aboue, or in the earth beneath, or in the ſea vnder the earth: but one God only to honour. But your Sanctuaries and churches are full of idolls. Thirdly, a peace of bread baked vpon the aſhes ye adore and worſhip: and ſay that it is your God. I haue rehearſed here but the ſayinges of a Iewe, which I neuer affirmed to be true. Then the Biſhops ſhooke their heades, and ſpitted into the

The ſeuenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke, didſt ſay, the extreme vnction was not a Sacrament.

The Aunſwere.

MY Lordes, forſooth I neuer taught of extreme vnction, in my doctrine, whether it were a Sacrament or no.

The eyght Article.

THOV falſe hereticke ſaidſt that the holy water is not ſo good as waſh and ſuch like. Thou contemneſt coniuring, and ſayeſt, that holie Churches curſing auaileth not.

The Aunſwer.

MY Lords, as for holy water what ſtrength it is of, I taught neuer in my doctrine. Coniuringes and exorciſmes if they were conforme to the worde of God, I would cõmend them. But in as much as they are not conformable to the commaundement and word of God, I reproue them.

The ninth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke and runnagate, haſt ſayde that euerie lay man is a prieſt: & likewiſe thou ſayeſt that the Pope hath no more power then an other man.

The aunſwer.

MY Lordes, I taught nothing but the worde of God, I remember that I haue read in ſome places of Sainct Iohn, and Sainct Peter, of the which one ſaith

ſayth, he hath made vs kinges and prieſtes. The other ſayeth, he hath made vs the kingly prieſthood: Wherefore I haue affirmed, anie man being cunning and perfite in the worde of God, and the true faith of Ieſus Chriſt, to haue his power giuen him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the vertue of the worde of God, the which worde is called the power of God, as witneſſeth ſainct Paule euidently enough. And againe I ſay anie vnlearned man, and not exerciſed in the worde of God, nor yet conſtant in his faith, whatſoeuer eſtate or order he be of, I ſay he hath no power to binde or to looſe, ſeing he wanteth the inſtrument by the which he bindeth and looſeth, that is to ſay, the worde of God. After that he had ſaid theſe wordes all the Biſhoppes laughed and mocked him: When that he beheelde their laughinge: Laugh ye (ſayde he) my Lordes? though that theſe my ſayinges doe ſeeme ſcornefull, and worthie of deriſion to your Lordſhippes, neuertheleſſe they are verie weightie to me, and of a great value, becauſe that they ſtande not onelie vpon my life, but alſo the honour and glorie of God. In the meane time manie godly men, beholding the woodneſſe & great crueltie of the Biſhoppes, and the inuincible pacience of the ſayde *Maiſter George*, did greatly mourne and lament.

The tenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke ſaideſt, that a man had no free will, but is like to the Stoicks, which ſay that it is not in mans will to do any thing, but that all deſire & concupiſcence cometh of God, of whatſoeuer kind it be of.

The Aunſwer.

My Lordes I ſayd not ſo trulie, I ſay that as manie as beleeue in Chriſt firmely, vnto them is giuen libertie conformable to the ſaying of S. Iohn, if the Sonne make you free, then ſhall you verily be free: of the contrarie, as manie as beleeue not in Chriſt Ieſus, they are bonde ſeruauntes of ſinne: He that ſinneth is bound to ſinne.

The eleuenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke ſayeſt, It is as lawfull to eat fleſh vpon Friday, as on Sunday.

The Aunſwer.

PLEASETH it your Lordſhips, I haue read in the Epiſtles of S. Paule, that who is cleane, vnto them all things are cleane; of the contrarie, to the filthy mē all things are vnclean. A faithful man, cleane & holy ſanctifieth by the word the creature, of God: but the creature maketh no man acceptable vnto God. So that a creature may not ſanctifie any impure and vnfaithfull man. But to the faithfull man all thinges are ſanctified by the prayer of the word of God. After theſe ſayings of *Maiſter George*, then ſayd the Biſhops with their complices, what needed vs anie witneſſe againſt him, hath he not here openly ſpoken blaſphemie?

The twelfth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke doeſt ſay, that we ſhoulde not pray vnto Sainctes, but to God onely, ſay whether thou haſt ſaid this or no, ſay ſhortly.

The Aunſwer.

FOR the weakeneſſe and infirmitie of the hearers

rers he ſayd, without doubt plainely, that Sainctes ſhould not be honored, nor called vpon. My Lords (ſayde he) there are two thinges worthie of note. The one is certaine, and the other vncertaine. It is founde plainely and certaine in Scriptures, that we ſhould worſhip and honour one God, according to the ſaying of the firſt commaundemente. Thou ſhalt onely worſhip and honour thy Lorde God with all thine heart. But as for praying to, and honouring of Sainctes, there is great doubt amongſt manie, whether they heare or no, inuocation made vnto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equallie in my doctrine, that they ſhould leaue the vnſure way, and followe the way which was taught vs by our maiſter Chriſt. He is onely our Mediatour, and maketh interceſſion for vs to God his Father. He is the doore by the which we muſt enter in: he that entreth not in by this doore, but climeth an other way, is a theefe and a murderer. He is the veritie and life: he that goeth out of the way, there is no doubt, he ſhall fall into the mire: yea verily he is fallen into it alreadie. This is the faſhion of my doctrine, the which I haue euer followed. Verilie that which I haue heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly and in no corners, and nowe ye ſhall witneſſe the ſame, if your Lordſhips will heare me. Except it ſtand by the word of God I dare not be ſo bold to affirme any thing. Theſe ſayings he rehearſed diuers times.

The thirteenth Article.

THOV falſe Hereticke haſt preached plainly ſaying that there is no purgatorie, and that it is a fayned thing, for anie man after this life to be puniſhed in purgatorie.

The Aunſwer.

My Lordes as I haue oftentimes ſaid heretofore without expreſſe witneſſe & teſtimony of Scriptures I dare affirme nothing. I haue oft and diuerſe times read ouer the bible, and yet ſuch a term found I neuer, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable therto. Therefore I was afraide euer to teache of that thing which I could not find in Scripture. Then ſaid he to *Maiſter Iohn Lawder* his accuſer, if you haue anie teſtimonie of the Scripture by the which you may proue anie ſuch place, ſhewe it now before this auditorie. But that dolte had not a word to ſay for him ſelfe, but was as dumbe as a beetle in that matter.

The fourteenth Article.

Thou falſe hereticke haſt taught plainly againſt the vowes of Monkes, Frears, Nunnes, and prieſtes ſaying, that whoſoeuer was bound to ſuch like vows, they vowed them ſelues to the ſtate of damnation. Moreouer, that it was lawfull for prieſtes to marrie wiues and not to liue ſole.

The Aunſwer.

Of ſuch my Lords I haue red in the Goſpell, that there are three kind of chaſt men, ſome are gelded from their mothers wombe: ſome are gelded by men, and ſome haue gelded thē ſelues for the kingdome of heauens ſake. Verilie I ſay theſe men are bleſſed by the Scripture of God. But as manie as haue not the gift of chaſtitie, nor yet for the Goſpell haue ouercome the concupiſcence of the fleſh, and haue vowed chaſtitie: ye haue experience although I ſhould hold my tong, to what incōueniences they haue

haue vowed them ſelues. When he had ſaide theſe wordes they were all dumbe, thinking it better to haue ten concubines then one wife.

The fifteenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke, and runnagate ſayeſt, that thou wilt not obey our generall or prouinciall counſelles.

The Aunſwer.

MY Lordes what your generall counſelles are, I know not, I was neuer exerciſed in them, but to the pure word of God I gaue my labours. Reade here your generall counſelles, or elſe geue me a booke, wherein they are contained that I may reade them, if they be agreeable with the word of God, I will not diſagree. Then the rauening wolues turned vnto madneſſe and ſayd. Wherefore let we him ſpeake anie farder. Reede forth the reſt of the articles, and ſtay not vpon them. Amongſt thoſe cruell Tygres, there was one falſe hipocrite, a ſeducer of the people, called *Iohn Scot*, ſtanding behinde *Iohn Lawders* backe, haſting him to reade the reſt of the articles, and not tarie vpon his wittie and godlie aunſwers. For we may not abide them (quoth he) no more then the deuill may abide the ſigne of the croſſe, when it is named. This was Frear Scot.

The ſixteenth Article.

THOV heretick ſayeſt, that it is vaine to build to the honor of God, coſtlie churches, ſeeing that God remaineth not in churches made by mens handes, nor yet can God be in little ſpace, as betwixt the prieſtes handes.

The Aunſwer.

MY Lords, Salomon ſaith, If that the heauen of heauens can not comprehend thee, how much leſſe this houſe which I haue builded. And Iob conſented to the ſame ſentence, ſaying, Seing that he is higher then the heauens, therefore what canſt thou build vnto him, he is deeper then the hell, then how ſhalt thou know him, he is longer then the earth, & broader then the ſea, ſo that God can not be comprehéded in one place that is infinite. Theſe ſayings notwithſtanding, I ſayd neuer that Churches ſhould be deſtroyed. But of the contrary I affirmed euer, that Churches ſhould be ſuſtained & vpholden, that the people ſhould be aſſembled in thē to heare the word of God preached. Moreouer, wherſoeuer is the true preaching of the word of God, and the lawfull vſe of the Sacraments, vndoubtedly there is God him ſelf. So that both theſe ſayings are true together, God cā not be comprehended in any one place: And wherſoeuer are two or three gathered in his name, there is he preſent in the midſt of them. Then ſaid he to his accuſer, if thou thinkeſt any otherwiſe, then I ſay, ſhewe forth thy reaſons before this auditorie. Then he without all reaſon was dumbe, & could not aunſwer a word.

The ſeuenteenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke contemneſt faſting, and ſayeſt thou ſhouldeſt not faſt.

The Aunſwer.

MY Lords, I find that faſting is commaunded in the Scripture, therefore I were a ſclaunderer of the Goſpell, if I contemned faſting. And not ſo only, but I haue learned by experience, that faſting is good for the health and conſeruation of the bodie. But God onely knoweth who faſteth the true faſt.

The

The eighteenth Article.

THOV falſe hereticke haſt preached openly ſaying, that the ſoules of men ſhall ſleepe to the latter day of iudgement, & ſhall not obtaine life immortall vntill the laſt day.

The Aunſwer.

GOD full of mercie and goodneſſe forgiue them that ſay ſuch things of me. I wot and know ſurely by the word of God, that he which had begun to haue the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and believed firmly in him, I knowe ſurely that the ſoule of that man, ſhall neuer ſleepe, but euer ſhall liue an immortall life, the which life from day to day is renued in grace and augmented, nor yet ſhall euer periſh or haue an ende, but ſhall euer liue immortall with Chriſt the head. To the which life all that beleeue in him ſhall come, and reſt in eternall glorie. Amen.

When that the Biſhops with their complices had accuſed this innocent man, in maner and forme aforeſaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burnt as an hereticke, not hauing reſpect to his godly aunſwers, and true reaſons which he alleadged, nor yet to their owne conſciences. Thinking verilie that they ſhould do to God good ſacrifice, conformable to the ſayinges of Ieſus Chriſt in the Goſpell of S. Iohn the 16. Chapter. They ſhall excommunicate you, yea and the time ſhall come, that he which killeth you, ſhall thinke that he hath done to God good ſeruice.

The prayer of Maiſter George.

O Immortall God, how long ſhalt thou ſuffer the woodneſſe, and great crudelitie of the vngodly

to exercise their furie vpon thy seruants which doe further thy word in this world, seing they desire to do contrarie. That is to choke and destroy thy trew doctrine & veritie by the which thou hast showed thee vnto the world which was all drowned in blindnesse & misknowledge of thy name. O Lord we know surelie that thy trew seruantes must needes suffer for thy names sake persecution affliction & troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow as thou hast showed to vs by thy Prophets & Apostles. But yet we desire thee (mercifull father) that thou cõserue defend and help thy congregation which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world and giue them thy grace to heare thy word & to be thy trew seruants in this present life. Then by & by they caused the cõmõ people to remoue: whose desire was alwayes to heare that innocent speake. And the sonnes of darknes pronounced their sentẽce definitiue, not hauing respect to the Iudgement of God. When all this was done & said, my Lord Cardinall causeth his tormentors to passe again with the meak lamb vnto the castle vntil such time as ỹ fire was made ready: whẽ he was come into the castle, thẽ, ther came 2. fiends, frear *Scot* and his mate, saying, Sir ye must make your confessiõ vnto vs. He answered, I wil make no confessiõ: go fetch me yonder man ỹ preached vnto vs this day, & I will cõfesse me vnto him, Thẽ they sent for the Supprior of the Abbay who came to him with al diligẽce. But what he said in his cõfession I can not show, whẽ the fire was made ready & the gallous at the West part of the castle neere to the priory, my Lord Cardinall dreading that *M. George* should haue bin taken away by his freinds. Therefore he commaunded to bend al the ordinance of the Castle right against the place of execution. And cõmanded all his gunnars to be rea-

rea-

dy and ſtand beſide their gũnes vnto ſuch time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound *Maiſter George* his hands behind his backe and led him forth with the ſouldiors from the caſtle to the place of their crewell and wicked execution, as he came furth of the Caſtle gate, their met him certaine beggars aſking of him almes for Godds ſake. To whome he anſwered I want my handswherwith I was wont to geue you almes. But the mercifull Lord of his benignitie and abundant grace that feedeth all men voutchſafe to geue you neceſſaries both vnto your bodies and ſoules. Then afterwarde met him two falſe fiendes (I ſhould ſay frears) Saying *M. George* pray to your Ladie that ſhe may be a mediatrix for you to hir Sonne. To whome he anſwered meeklie, ceaſe tempt me not my brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck & a chain of irõ about his midle.

When that he came to the fire he ſat downe vpon his knees and roſe againe, And thryſe he ſaid theſe wordes. O thou Sauiour of the word haue mercie on me. Father of heauen I commend my ſpirite into thy holie handes. When he had made this prayer. He turned him to the people and ſaid theſe words. I beſeech you Chriſtian brethren and ſiſters that ye be not offended at the word of God for the affliction and tormentes which ye ſee alreadie prepared for me. But I exhort you that ye loue the word God your ſaluation, and ſuffer paciently and with a comfortable hart for the words ſake, which is your vndouted ſaluation, and euerlaſting comfort. Moreouer I pray you ſhow my brethren and ſiſters which haue heard me oft before that they ceaſſe not nor leaue of to learne the word of God which I taught vnto them after the grace geuen vnto me, for no perſecutions nor troubles in this world which laſte not, And ſhow vnto them that my doctrine was no wifes fables after the

conſtitutions made by men. And if I had taught mẽs doctrine I had gotten greater thanks by men. But for the wordes ſake and trew Goſpell which was geuen to me by the grace of God I ſuffer this day by men, not ſorowfullie but with a glad hart and mind. For this cauſe I was ſent, that I ſhould ſuffer this fyre for Chriſtes ſake. Conſider and behold my viſage ye ſhal not ſee me change my colour. This grim fyre I feare not, and ſo I pray you for to do if that any perſecution come vnto you, for the wordes ſake, & not to feare them, that ſlay the body & afterward haue no power to ſlay the ſoule. Some haue ſaid of me, that I taught that the ſoule of man ſhould ſleepe vntill the laſt day But I know ſurelie, and my faith is ſuch that my ſoule ſhall ſuppe with my Sauiour this night eare it be fixe howers for whome I ſuffer this. Then he prayed for them which accuſed him, Saying: I beſeech the Father of heauen to forgeue them that haue of any ignorance or elſe of any euill mind forged lyes vppon me: I forgeue them with all my hart, I beſeech Chriſt forgeue thẽ ẏ haue cõdẽned me to death this day ignorantly. And laſt of all he ſaid to the people on this maner, I beſeech you brethren and ſiſters to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the leaſt may be aſhamed to do wel and learn to do good & if they will not cõuert thẽſelus frõ their wicked errour, ther ſhal haſtely come vpon thẽ the wrath of God which they ſhall not eſchew. Many faithfull wordes ſaid he in the meane time taking no heede or care of the cruell tormentes which was then prepared for him. Then laſt of all the hangman that was his tormentor ſatte downe vpon his knees & ſaid. Sir I pray you forgeue me, for I am not giltie of your death: To whome he aunſwered, come hither to me: when hẽ was come to him he kiſſed his cheeke

and

and ſaid: Lo here is a token that I forgeue thee. My hart do thy office, & then by & by he was put on the gibbet and hanged, and there burnt to powder. Whē that the people beheld the great tormenting of that Innocēt, they might not withhold frō piteous mourning & cōplaining of the innocent lambes ſlaughter. After the death of this bleſſed Martyre of God begā the people in plaine ſpeaking to damne and deteſt the crueltie that was yſed, yea men of great byrth & eſtimation, and honour at open tables auowed, that the blood of the ſaid *Maiſter George* ſhould be reuēged, or elſe it ſhould coſt lyfe for lyfe. Amonges whome *Iohn Leſlie* brother to the Earle of Rothoſe was the cheefe. For he in all companies ſpared not to ſay, that ſame daggar (ſhowing forth his dagger) and that ſame hand ſhould be preaſtes to the Cardinall. Theſe brutes came to the Cardinalles eares. But he thought him ſelfe ſtout ynough for all Scotland. For in Babylone, that is in his new blockhouſe he was ſure as he thought, and vpon the feeldes he was able to match all his enemies, & to wright the trueth the moſt part of the nobilitie of Scotland had either geuen vnto him there bandes of Maurent or elſe were in confederacy and promiſed amitie with him. He only feared them in whoſe handes God did deliuer him, and for them he had layed his nettes ſo ſecretlie (as that he made a full compt) that there feete could not eſcape as we ſhall after heare. And ſomething of his former practiſes we may recompt. After Eaſter he came to Edinburgh to hold there diet (as the Papiſtes terme their vnhappie aſſemblie of Baals ſhauen ſorte) It was bruted that ſomething was purpoſed againſt him at that time by the Erle of Anguſt and his freinds whome he mortallie feared and whoſe deſtruction he ſought, but it failed and ſo re-

The worldlie ſtrength of the Cardinall in Scotland.

turned he to his ſtrength . yea to his God and onely comfort as well in heauen as in earth, & there he remained without al feare of death promiſing vnto him ſelfe no leſſe pleaſure thē did the rich man of whom mention is made by our Maiſter in the Goſpell, for he did not only reioyce and ſay eate and be glad my ſoule for thou haſt great riches laide vp in ſtore for many daies: But alſo he ſaid. Tuſh, a figge for the fooles, and a buttonne for the bragging of heretikes and their aſſiſtance in Scotland. Is not my Lord gouernour mine? witneſſe his eldeſt ſonne their pleadg at my table. Haue I not the Queene at my owne deuotion (he ment of the mother *Mary* that now miſchieuouſly raignes) is not Fraunce my freind, and I friend to Fraunce: what daunger ſhould I feare? and thus in vanitie the carnal Cardinal delyted him ſelf a litle before his death. But yet he had deuiſed to haue cut of ſuch as he thought might enduer him. For he had appointed the whole gentlemen of Fyfe to haue met him at Falkland the monday after that he was ſlayne vpō the ſaterday. His treaſonable purpoſe was not vnderſtood, but by his ſecret counſaile, and it was this. That *Normand Leſlie* ſhreefe of Fyfe & apparant heir to his Father the Erle of Rothoſſe, The ſaid *Iohn Leſlie* father brother to *Normōd*, the Lairds of Grāge Elder & younger. *Sir Iames Learmond* of Darſie and prouoſt of Saint Andrewes: & the faithfull Laird of Raith ſhould either haue bene ſlaine, or elſe taken, & after to haue bin vſed at his pleaſure. This interpriſe was diſcloſed after his ſlaughter, partly by letters and memorialls foūd in his chamber, but plainly affirmed by ſuch as were of the counſall. Many purpoſes were deuiſed, how that wicked men might haue bene taken away. But all faileth, till friday the twentie eight of May anno 1546. When the foreſaid *Normond* came

The bragging of the Cardinall a litle befor his death.

The treſon of the Cardinall.

came at night to Saint Andrewes *VVilliam Kirkcaldie* of Grange yonger was in the towne before wayting vpon the purpoſe. Laſt came *Iohn Leſly* as afore ſayd who was moſt ſuſpected, what concluſion they tooke that nyght, It was not knowne but by the iſhew that followed. But early vpon the Saterday in the morning the 29 of May were they in ſundrye companyes in the abbay church yearde not farr diſtant from the caſtle. Firſt the gates being open and the drawbrige letten downe for receauing of limes and ſtaues and other thinges neceſſary for building (for Babylon was almoſt finiſhed) firſt we ſay aſſayed *VVilliam Kirkcaldie* of grange yonger, and with him ſix perſons and getting entreaſſe held purpoſe with the porter if my Lord was walking, who aunſwered, No. (and ſo it was in deede for he had bene buſie at his compts with *Miſtreſſe Marion Ogilbye* that night, who was eſpied to depart from him by the preuie poſterne that morning. And therefore quyetneſſe after the rules of phiſick & a morning ſleepe was requyſit, (for my Lord) while the ſaid *VVillia* & the portar talketh & hiſſeruats made the to looke the work & workme Approched *Normond Leſlie* with his company, and becauſe they were in great nomber, they eaſilie gatte entereſſe. They addreſſe them to the middes of the court. And immediatly came *Iohn Leſlie*, ſomewhat rudelie and foure perſons with him. The portar fearing would haue drawne the bridge. But the ſaide Iohn being entered thereon, ſtayed and leapt in, and while the porter made him for defence, his head was broken, the keyes taken from him, and he caſten into the foule ſea: and ſo the place was ceazed. The ſhoute ariſeth, the workemen to the number of mo then a hundreth ranne of the walles, and were without hurte put foorth at

How the Cardinal was occupied the night befor that in the morning he was ſlaine.

foorth at the wicked gate. The firſt thing that euer was done *VVilliam Kirkaldie* tooke the garde of the priuy poſterne fearing leſt the fox ſhould haue eſcaped. Then goe the reſt to the gentlemens chambers and without violence done to any man, they put mo then fiftie perſons to the gate. The number that Interpriſed and did this was but ſixteene perſons. The Cardinall wakened with the ſhowtes, aſked from his window what ment that noyſe: It was aunſwered that *Normond Leſlie* had taken his Caſtle, which vnderſtood he rane to the poſtern but perceauing the paſſage to be kept without, he returned quickly to his chamber, tooke his two handed ſword and cauſed his chamberlaine to caſt cheſtes and other impediments to the doore. In this meane tyme came *Iohn Leſlie* vnto it and biddes open. The Cardinall aſking who calles. He aunſwered My name is *Leſlie*. He demaunds is that *Normond* the other ſayeth nay: My name is Iohn. I will haue *Normond* ſayth the Cardinal for he is my friend. Content your ſelf with ſuch as are here for other you ſhal haue none. There were with the ſaid *Iohn*, *Iames Melvene* a mā familiarly acquainted with *Maiſter George VViſchart*, and *Peter Carmichaelle* a ſtout gentleman. In this meane time while they force at the doore. The Cardinall hydes a boxe of golde vnder coales that were laide in a ſecret corner. At length he aſketh, will ye ſaue my life? The ſaid *Iohn* aunſwered, it may be that we will. Nay, ſayth the Cardinall. Sweare vnto me by goddes woundes and I will open you, then aunſwered the ſaid *Iohn*, it that was ſaid is vnſaid, and ſo cried fire, fire, (for the doore was very ſtrong) and ſo was brought a chimlay ful of burning coales, which perceaued, the Cardinal or his chamberlaine (it is vncertaine) opened the doore, & the Cardinall ſat downe in a chayre and cryed I am

The Cardinalls demaund.

The Cardinalls confeſſion.

Leſlie

a prieſt, I am a prieſt ye wil not ſlay me. The ſaid *Iohn Leſlie* (according to his former vowes) ſtroke him firſt once or twiſe, & ſo did the ſaid *Peter*. But *Iames Melvin* (a man of nature moſt gentle, and moſt modeſt) perceauing them both in choler, withdrew thē and ſaid, This worke & iudgement of God (although it be ſecret) ought to be done with greater grauitie. And preſenting vnto him the point of the ſworde, ſaid, Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but eſpeciallie of the ſheding of the bloud of that notable inſtrument of God *Maiſter George VViſehart*, which albeit the flame of fire conſumed before men, yet cries it a vengeance vpon thee, & we from God are ſent to reuenge it. For here before my God I proteſt, that neither the hatred of thy perſon, the loue of thy riches, nor the feare of anie trouble thou couldeſt haue done to me in particular, moued or moueth me to ſtrike thee: But onely becauſe thou haſt bene & remaineſt an obſtinate enemie againſt Chriſt Ieſus and his holie Goſpell. And ſo he ſtroke him twiſe or thriſe through with a ſtog ſword: and ſo he fell, neuer word heard out of his mouth, but I am a prieſt, fie, fie, all is gone.

The godly facte and wordes of Iames Melvin.

While they were thus occupied with the Cardinall, the fray roſe in the town, the prouoſt aſſembles the commonalty, & comes to the howſe ſide, crying what haue ye done with my Lord Cardinall? where is my Lord Cardinall? haue ye ſlaine my Lord Cardinall? They that were within aunſwered gentillie: Beſt it were for you to returne to your owne houſe, for the man ye call the Cardinall hath receaued his reward, & in his owne perſon will trouble the world no more. But then more enragedly they crie, We ſhall neuer depart till that we ſee him. And ſo was he brought to the Eaſt blokhouſe head, & ſhewed dead

The Cardinalles laſt wordes.

ouer the wall, to the faithleſſe multitude, which would not beleeue before they ſawe, and ſo they departed without *Requiem æternam, & requieſcant in pace* ſong for his ſoule. Nowe becauſe the wether was hote (for it was in May as ye haue heard) & his funerals could not ſodēly be prepared, it was thought beſt to keepe him from ſtinking to geue him greate ſalt enough, a cope of leade, and a corner in the bottome of the ſea tower (a place where manie of Gods children had bene impriſoned before) to awaite what exequies his brethren the biſhops would prepare for him. Theſe things we write merily, but we would that the reader ſhould obſerue Gods iuſt iudgements, and how that he can deprehende the worldly wiſe in their owne wiſedome, make their table to be a ſnare to trap their owne feete, and their owne purpoſed ſtrength to be their own deſtructiō. Theſe are the works of our God, whereby he would admoniſh the tyrants of this earth, that in the ende he will be reuenged of their crueltie, what ſtrength ſoeuer they make in the contrarie. But ſuch is the blindneſſe of man (as Dauid ſaith) that the poſteritie doth euer follow the footſteppes of their wicked fathers, and principally in their impiety. For how litle differs the cruelty of that baſtard, that yet is called biſhop of S. Andrewes, from the crueltie of the former we will after here.

Aduertiſement to the Reader.

The death of this aforeſaid tyrant was dolorouſe to the prieſts, dolorous to the Gouernour, dolorous to the Queens daughter: for in him periſhed faithfulneſſe to Fraunce, and the comfort to all gentlewomen, and eſpecially to wanton widows. His death muſt be reuenged. To the Court againe repaires the Earle of Anguſt, & his brother *Sir George*, labour is made for the Abbacy of Abirbroth, & a graunt was once

once made of the ſame (in memory whereof *George Dowglas* baſtard ſonne to the ſaid Earle is yet called poſtulat.) But it was no more proper (think the *Hamiltons*) for the Gouernors ketching, nor for reward to ŷ *Dowglaſſes*. And yet in hope therof the ſaid Erle & *George* his brother were the firſt that wotted, that the caſtle of S. Andrewes ſhould be beſieged. The Biſhop to declare the zeale that he had to reuenge the death of him that was his predeceſſor (& for his riches he wold not haue had him liuing againe) ſtill blewe the coles. And firſt he made ſummon, thē denounce accurſed, & then laſt rebels, not onely the firſt enterpriſers, but all ſuch alſo as after did accompany them. And laſt of all ſeige was cōcluded, which began in the end of Auguſt (for the 23. day thereof departed the ſouldiers from Edinburgh) & continued nere to the ende of Ianuary. At what time becauſe they had no other hope of winning of it, but by hunger, & therof alſo they diſpaired, for they within had broken through the Eaſt wall, & made a plaine paſſage by an yron gate to the ſea, which greatly releeued the beſieged, & abaſed the beſiegers. For thē they ſawe that they could not ſtop them of victuals vnleſſe that they ſhold be maiſters of the ſea, & that they cleerly vnderſtood they could not be. For the Engliſh ſhips had once ben there, and had brought *VVilliam Kirkcaldie* from London, & with much difficultie (becauſe the ſaid gate was not thē prepared) & ſome loſſe of men, had rendered him to the caſtle againe, & had taken with them to the Court of England, *Iohn Leſlie* & *M. Henrie Balnaues* for perfiting of all contractes betwixt them and king *Henrie*, who promiſed to take them into his protection vpō condition onely that they ſhould keepe the Gouernors ſonne my Lord of Arrane & ſtand friends to the cō-

The biſhop of S. Andrewes was glad and yet made him ſelfe to be angry at the ſlaughter of the cardinal

Vpon what conditions king Henrie tooke the caſtle of S. Andrewes into his protection.

tract of mariage, whereof before we haue made mẽtion. Theſe things clearely vnderſtood (we ſaye) by the Gouernour and his counſell, the prieſtes & the ſhauen ſorte, they concluded to make an appointment, to the end, that vnder truth, they might either get the caſtle betrayed, or elſe ſome principall men of the companie taken at vnawares. In the which head was the Abbot of Dunfermeling principall, and for that purpoſe had the Laird of Monquhanie (who was moſt familiar with thoſe of the caſtle) laboured at foote and hand, and proceaded ſo in his trafique, that from entrie of day light at his pleaſure, he gat licence to come in vpon the night, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him. But God had not appointed ſo manie to be betrayed, albeit that he wold that they ſhould be puniſhed, and that iuſtlie, as hereafter we ſhall here.

The heads of the colored appointmẽt were: that they ſhould keepe the caſtle of Saint Andrewes ſtill, while that the Gouernour & authoritie of Scotland ſhould get vnto them a ſufficient abſolutiõ from the Pope Antichriſt of Rome, for the ſlaughter of the Cardinall aforeſaid. That they ſhold deliuer pledges for the deliuerie of that houſe, as ſoone as the aforeſaid abſolution was deliuered vnto them. That they, their friends, familiars & ſeruants, & others to them pertaining ſhould neuer be purſued in the lawe, by the authoritie, for the ſlaughter aforeſaide. But that they ſhould enioy commodities, ſpirituall or temporall, whatſoeuer they poſſeſſed before the ſaid ſlaughter, euen as if it had neuer bene committed. That they of the Caſtle ſhould keepe the Earle of Arrane ſo long as their pledges were kept, and ſuch like articles liberall enough, for they neuer minded to keepe word of them, as the iſſue did declare.

The

The appointment made, all the godly were glad, for ſome hope they had that thereby Gods worde ſhould ſomewhat bud, as in deede ſo it did. For *Iohn Zowgh* (who ſoone after the Cardinals ſlaughter entred within the caſtle, & had continued with them the whole ſiege) began to preach in Saint Andrews. And albeit he was not the moſt learned, yet was his doctrine without corruption, and therefore well liked of the people. At the Eaſter after anno 1547. came to the caſtle of Saint Andrews *Iohn Knox* who wearied of remouing from place to place by reaſon of the perſecution that came vpō him by the Biſhop of S. Andrewes, was determined to haue left Scotland, & to haue viſited the ſchooles of Germany (of England then he had no pleaſure, by reaſon that the Popes name being ſuppreſſed, his lawes & corruptions remained in ful vigor.) But becauſe he had the care of ſome gentlemens children, whome certaine yeares he had nouriſhed in godlines. Their fathers ſolicited him to go to S. Andrewes, that him ſelfe might haue the benefit of the caſtle, & their childrē the benefite of his doctrine. And ſo (we ſay) came he the time aforeſaid to the ſaid place, & hauing in his companie *Fraunces Dowglas* of Langundrie: *George* his brother, & *Alexander Cokburne* eldeſt ſonne then to the Laird of Ormeſton, began to exerciſe thē, after his accuſtomed maner. Beſides their Grammer and other humane authors, he read vnto them a catechiſme, account whereof he cauſed them geue publikely in the pariſh Church of Sainct Andrewes. He read moreouer vnto them the Goſpell of Iohn, proceeding where he left at his departure frō Langundrie, where before his reſidence was, & that lecture he read in the chappell within the caſtle at a certaine houre. They of the place, but ſpeciallie *M.*

Henrie Balnaues & *Iohn Rowgh* preacher, perceauing the maner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to trauell with him that he would take the preaching place vpon him: but he vtterly refuſed, alleadging that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning that he wold do nothing without a lawful vocation. Whereupon they priuily amongſt them ſelues aduiſing, hauing with thē in counſell *Sir Dauid Lindſay* of the mount, they concluded, that they would giue a charge to the ſaid *Iohn*, and that publikely by the mouth of the preacher. And ſo vpon a certaine day a ſermon had of the election of Miniſters, what power the congregatiō (how ſmal ſocuer that it was, paſſing the number of two or three) had aboue anie man, in whom they ſuppoſed, and eſpied the gifts of God to be, and howe daungerous it was to refuſe, & not to heare the voice of ſuch as deſire to be inſtructed. Theſe and other heads (we ſay) declared the ſayd *Iohn Rowgh* preacher, directed by his words to the ſayd *Iohn Knox*, ſaying, Brother ye ſhall not be offended, albeit that I ſpeake vnto you, that which I haue in charge euen from all thoſe that are here preſent, which is this. In the name of God, and of his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, and in the name of theſe that preſently call you by my mouth: I charge you that ye refuſe not this holie vocation, but as ye tender the glorie of God, the increaſe of Chriſtes kingdome, the edification of your brethren, & the comfort of me whome ye vnderſtand well enough to be oppreſſed by the multitude of labors, that ye take vpon you the publike office and charge of preaching, euen as ye looke to auoide Gods heauy diſpleaſure, & deſire that he ſhall multiplie his graces with you. And in the end he ſaide to thoſe that were preſent, was not this your charge to me, & do ye not approue this

The firſt vocation by name of Iohn Knox to preach.

this vocation. They aunſwered it was,& we approue it. Whereat the ſaid *M. Iohn* abaſhed, burſt forth in moſt abundãt tears, & withdrew him ſelf to his chãber. His countenance & behauior frõ that day til the day that he was compelled to preſent him ſelf to the publike place of preaching, did ſufficiently declare the griefe & trouble of his hart. For no man ſaw any ſigne of mirth of him, neither yet had he pleaſure to accõpany any man many days together. The neceſſitie that cauſed him to enter in the publik place beſids the vocatiõ aforſaid, was deane *Iohn* (a rottẽ papiſt) had long troubled *Iohn Rawgh* in his preaching. The ſaid *Iohn Knox* had fortified the doctrine of the preacher by his pen,& had beatẽ the ſaid Dean *Iohn* frõ all defences, that he was compelled to flie to his laſt refuge. That is, to the authoritie of the Church, which authoritie ſayd he, damned all Lutherans, & hereticks, & therefore he needed no further diſputatiõ. *Iohn Knox* anſwered, before we hold our ſelues or that ye can proue vs ſufficiently conuict, we muſt define the Church by the right notes giuen to vs in Gods Scripturs of the true Church: we muſt diſcern the immaculat ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt, frõ the mother of confuſion, ſpirituall Babylon. Leſt that imprudẽtly we embrace a harlot in ſtead of the chaſt ſpouſe. Yea to ſpeake it in plaine words: leſt that we ſubmit our ſelues to Sathan: thinking that we ſubmit our ſelues to Ieſus Chriſt: for as for your Romane Church as it is nowe corrupted, and the authoritie thereof, wherein ſtandes the hope of your victorie, I no more doubt but that it is the ſinagogue of Sathã & the head therof called the Pope, to be that man of ſinne of whõ the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, then that I dout that Ieſus Chriſt, ſuffered by the procurement of the viſible Church of Ieruſalem. Yea I offer my

Deane Iohn

The offer of Iohn Knox firſt & laſt vnto the Papiſts.

ſelfe by word or writing to proue the Roman church this day farder degenerate from the puritie, which was in the daies of the Apoſtles, thé was the church of the Iewes from the ordinaunce giuen by Moſes, when they conſented to the innocent death of Ieſus Chriſt. Theſe words were ſpoken in open audience of the pariſh church of S. Andrewes, after the ſaide Deane *Iohn* had ſpoken what it pleaſed him, and had refuſed to diſpute. The people hearing the offer cried with one conſent, we can not all reade your writinges, but we may all heare your preachinge. Therefore we require you in the name of God, that ye willlet vs here the probation of that which ye haue affirmed. For if it be true we haue bene miſerablie deceaued. And ſo the next Sunday was appointed to the ſaid *Iohn* to expreſſe his minde in the publike preaching place. Which day approching, the ſaid *Iohn* tooke the text written in Daniell the 7. Chapter, beginning thus, And another king ſhall riſe after them, and he ſhall be vnlike vnto the firſt, & he ſhall ſubdue three kings: and ſhall ſpeak words againſt the moſt high, and ſhall conſume the Saincts of the moſt high, and thinke that he may chaunge times and lawes. And they ſhall be geuen vnto his hands vntill a time, & times, and deuiding of times, &c. In the beginning of his ſermon he ſhewed the great loue of God towardes his Church, whome he pleaſed to forewarne of daungers to come ſo manie yeares before they come to paſſe. He brieflie intreated the ſtate of the Iſraelites, who then were in bondage in Babilon for the moſt part, and made a ſhort diſcourſe of the foure empires, the Babylonian, the Perſian, that of the Greekes, and the fourth of the Romanes, in the deſtruction wherof, roſe vp that laſt beaſt, which he affirmed to be the Romane Church,

The firſt publik preachinge of Iohn Knox made in the pariſh church of Saincte Andrewes.

Church, for to none other power that euer hath yet bene, do all the notes that God hath ſhewed to the Prophet appertaine, except to it owne. And vnto it they do ſo properly appertaine, that ſuch as are not more then blind may clearly ſee them. But before he began to open the corruptions of the papiſtrie, he defined the true Church, ſhewed the true notes of it whereupon it was built, why it was the piller of veritie, & why it could not erre. To wit, becauſe it heard the voice of the owne paſtor Ieſus Chriſt, wold not heare a ſtraunger, neither wold be caried about with euery kind of doctrine. Euerie one of theſe heades ſufficiently declared, he entred to the contrarie, & vpon the notes giuen in his text, he ſhewed that the ſpirit of God in the new teſtament gaue to this king other newe names. To wit, the man of ſinne, the Antichriſt, the whore of Babylon. He ſhewed that this man of ſinne or Antichriſt was not to be reſtrained to the perſon of any one man only, no more then by the fourth beaſt, was to be vnderſtood the perſon of any one Emperor. But by ſuch names the ſpirit of God would forewarne his choſen of a body & a multitude, hauing a wicked head, which ſhould not onely be ſinnefull him ſelfe, but that alſo ſhould be occaſion of ſinne, to all that ſhould be ſubiect vnto him (As Chriſt Ieſus is the cauſe of iuſtice, to all the members of his bodie.) And is called the Antichriſt: that is to ſay, one contrary to Chriſt Becauſe that he is contrarie to him in life, doctrine, lawes, & ſubiects. And there began he to decipher the liues of diuerſe Popes, & the liues of all the ſhauelings, for the moſt part: their doctrine & lawes, he plainelye proued to repugne directly to the doctrine & lawes of God the father, & of Chriſt Ieſus his Sonne. This he proued by conferring the doctrine of iuſtificatiõ

expreſſed in the Scriptures, which teach that manis Iuſtified by faith only, That the blood of Ieſus Chriſt purgeth vs frō all our ſinnes. And the doctrine of the Papiſts, which attribute Iuſtification to the works of the law, yea to the works of mens inuentiō, as pilgrymage pardones, & other ſuch baggage. That the Papiſticall lawes repugned to the lawes of the Goſpell he proued, by the lawes made of obſeruation of daies abſtayning from meates, and from Mariage which Chriſt Ieſus made free: and the forbidding whereof Sainct Paul calleth the doctrine of Deuills. In handeling the notes of that beaſt geuen in the text, he willed men to conſider of theſe notes (There ſhal one ariſe vnlike to ỹ other, hauing a mouth ſpeaking great thinges and blaſphemous) could be applyed to anie other, but to the pope and his kingdome. For if theſe (ſaid he) be not great wordes and blaſphemous, The ſucceſſour of Peter the vickar of Chriſt: The head of the Church, moſt holy, moſt bleſſed that can not erre That may make right of wrong, and wrong of right. That of nothing may make ſomwwhat, And that had all veritie in the ſhryne of his breaſt: yea that had power of all, and none power of him. Nay not to ſaye, that he doth wrong although he drawe tenne thowſand millions of ſoules with him ſelfe to Hell. If theſe (ſaid he) and many other able to be ſhowen in his one Cannone Law be not great, and blaſphemous wordes, and ſuch as neuer mortall men ſpake before, let the world Iudge. And yet (ſaid he) is their owne moſt euident of all. To witt, Iohn in his reuelation, ſaies: that the merchaundize of that Babilonian harlotte, amonge others thinges ſhallbe the bodies and ſoules of men. Now let very Papiſtes them ſelues Iudge if euer any before them tooke vpon them power to relaxe the paines of them that were

Contra Dei Spiritum ad Galat. cap. 2. verſ. 16. & 11.

The great wordes which the Antichriſt ſpeaketh.

were in purgatory as they affirme to the people that daylie they doe by the merites of there maſſe & of their other trifiles. In the end he ſaid if any heare (and ther were preſent *Maiſter Iohn Mayre*, the vniuerſitie, the Supprior and many cannons, with ſome frears of both the orders) that will ſay, that I haue alleaged Scriptor, Doctor or hiſtorie otherwayes then it is written, let them come vnto me with ſufficient witneſſe, and by cõference I ſhall let them ſee not only the originall where my teſtimonies are written, but I ſhall proue that the wryters ment as I haue ſpoken. Of this ſermon which was the firſt that euer *Iohn Knox* made in publique was their diuerſe brutes Some ſaid, others hewed ỹ branches of Papiſtrie, But he ſtrikes at the roote to deſtroy the whole. Others ſaid, if the doctors and *Magiſtri noſtri* defend not now the pope and his authoritie which in their owne preſence is ſo manifeſtlie impugned, the Deuill haue my part of him and of his lawes both. Others ſaid *Maiſter George VViſchart* ſpake neuer ſo plainelie and yet he was burnt, euen ſo will he be. In the end others ſaid, the tyranny of the Cardinall made not his cauſe the better, neither yet the ſuffering of Godds ſeruant made his cauſe the worſe. And therefore we would counſaile you & them to prouide better defences thẽ fire & ſword. For it may be that elſe ye wil be diſapointed. Men now haue other eyes then they had then. This anſwere gaue the Laird of Nydie a man feruent and vpright in Religion. The Baſtard biſhop who yet was not execrated (conſecrated they call it) wrote to the Supprior of Sainct Andrewes who (*Sede vacante*) was vicare generall, that he wondered, that he ſuffered ſuch hereticall, and ſchiſmaticall doctrine to be taught and not to oppone himſelfe to the ſame. Vpon this rebuke was a conuention of gray frears,

and black fiendes appointed with the ſaid Snppriour Deane *Iohn VVinrame* in Sainct Leonardes yarde wherevnto was firſt called *Iohn Rought*, and certaine Articles read to him. And thereafter was *Iohn Knox* called for. The cauſe of their conuention, and why that they were called is expoũded. And the Articles were read which were theſe.

1. No mortall man can be the head of the Church.
2. The Pope is an Antechriſt, and ſo is no member of Chriſtes miſticall bodie.
3. Man may neither make nor deuiſe a Religion that is acceptable to God, but man is bound to obſerue and keepe the Religion that from God is receaued without chopping or changing thereof.
4. The Sacraments of the new teſtament, ought to be monſtrate as they were inſtituted by Chriſt Ieſus, and practized by his Apoſtles nothing ought to be added vnto them nothing ought to be diminiſhed from them.
5. The maſſe is abominable idolatrie, blaſphemous to the death of Chriſt and a prophanation of the Lordes Supper.
6. There is no purgatorie in the which the ſoules of men can either be pined or purged after this life, But heauen reſteth to the faithfull, and hell to the reprobate and vnfaithfull.
7. Praying for the dead is vaine, and to the dead is Idolatrie.
8. There is no Biſſhoppes, except they preach euen by themſelues without any ſubſtitute.
9. The tenthes by Godds law do not apertain of neceſſitie to the Church men.

The ſtraungnes (ſaid the Suppriour) of theſe Articles which are gathered forth of your doctrine haue moued vs to cal for you, to heare your own anſwers.

Ioh

Iohn Knox, ſaid, I for my parte praiſe my God, that I ſee ſo honorable, and apparantlie ſo modeſt and quiet an auditory. But becauſe it is long ſince that I haue heard, that ye are one that is not ignorāt of the trueth I may craue of you in the name of God, yea and I appeale your conſcience, before that ſupreme Iudge. That if ye thinke any article their expreſſed, contrarious vnto the trueth of God, that ye oppone your ſelfe plainely vnto it, and ſuffer not the people to be therewith deceaued. But and if in your conſcience ye know the doctrine to be true, then will I craue your patrocinie thereto. That by your authority the people may be moued the rather to beleeue the trueth, whereof many doubtes by teaſon of your thoughtes. The ſupprior anſwered, I came not here as a Iudge, but onlie familiarly to talke, and therefore I will neither allow nor condemne. But if ye liſt I will reaſon. Why may not the Church (ſaid he) for good cauſes deuiſe ceremonies to decore the Sacramentes, and other goddes ſeruice.

Iohn Knox.

Becauſe the Church ought to do nothing, but in fayth, and ought not to go before, but is bound to follow, the voyce of the trew paſtor.

The Suppriour.

It is in fayth that the ceremonies are commanded and they haue proper ſignifications to help our faith as the handes in Baptiſme ſignifie the roughneſſe of the law, and the oyle the ſoftnes of Goddes mercie, and likewayes euerie one of the ceremonies hath a godly ſignification, and therefore they both proceed

from faith, and are done into faith.

Iohn Knox.

It is not inough that man inuent a ceremony, and then giue it a ſignification according to his pleaſure. For ſo might the ceremonies of the Gentils, and this day the ceremonies of Mahomet be maintained. But if that any thing proceed frō faith, it may haue the word of God for the aſſurance. For ye are not ignorant: that fayth commeth by hearing & hearing by the word of God. Now if ye will proue that your ceremonies proceed from fayth and doe pleaſe God, ye may proue that God in expreſſe words hath commaunded them. Or elſe ſhall you neuer proue that they proceed from faith, nor yet that they pleaſe God: but that they are ſinne, & doe diſpleaſe him according to the words of the Apoſtle, whatſoeuer is not of faith is ſinne.

The Suppriour.

Will ye bind vs ſo ſtraight that we may do nothing without the expreſſe word of God. What and I aſke drinke, think ye that I ſinne? and yet I haue not Gods word for me. This anſwere gaue he as might appeare to ſhift ouer the argument vpon the frear, as that he did.

Iohn Knox.

I would ye ſhould not ieſt in ſo graue a matter, nether would I that ye ſhould begin to hide the trueth with Sophiſtrie, and if ye do I will defende me the beſt that I can. And firſt to your drincking I ſay, that

if

if ye either eate or drinck without assurance of Godes word that in so doing ye displease God, and sinne in your verie eating and drincking . For sayeth not the Apostle (speaking euen of meat and drinck) that the creatures are sanctified vnto men , euen by word and prayer . The word is this, all thinges are cleane to the cleane . Now let me heare this much of your ceremonies , and I shall geue you the argument, but I wonder that they compare thinges prophane and holie thinges so indiscretly together. The question was not , nor is not of meate or drinck whereunto the kingdome of God consisteth not. But the questiō is of Gods trew worshipping without the which we can haue no societie with God. And here it is doubted, if we may take the same fredome in the vsing of Christes Sacraments, that we may do in eating and drincking. One meat I may eate, an other I may refuse, and that without scruple of conscience. I may chaūge one with an other euē as oft as I please. Whether may ye do the same in maters of Religion. May we cast away what we please, & retain what we please? if I be well remembered Moses in the name of God sayeth to the people of Israell : All that the Lord thy God commaundeth thee to do, that doe thou to the Lord thy God , adde nothing to it, diminish nothing from it . By these rules think I that the Church of Christ will measure Gods Religion and not by that which seemes good in there owne eyes.

The Suppriour.

Forgeue me I spake it but in mowes, and I was dry. And now father (said he) to the frear follow the argument, ye haue hard what I haue said, and what is aunswered to me againe.

Arbugkill gray freare.

I ſhall proue plainlie that ceremonies are ordeyned by God.

Iohn Knox.

Such as God hath ordayned we allow, and with reuerence we vſe them. But the queſtion is of thoſe that God hath ordeyned, ſuch as in Baptiſme, are ſpittle, ſalt, candle, (except it be to keepe the barne from cold) hurdes, oyle, and the reſt of the Papiſtical inuẽtions.

Arbugkill

I will euen proue thoſe that ye damne to be ordained of God.

Iohn Knox.

The proofe thereof I would gladly heare.

Arbukgill.

Sayeth not S. Paul, that an other foundation then Ieſus Chriſt, may no man lay. But vpon this foundation, Some build gold, ſiluer, and pretious ſtones, ſome hay ſtuble and wood. The gold ſiluer and the pretious ſtones are the ceremonies of the Church, which doe abyde the fire, and conſumeth not away. &c. This place of Scripture is moſt plaine, flye ye fooliſh fiend.

Iohn Knox

I praiſe my God through Ieſus Chriſt, for I find his promiſe ſure trew and ſtable. Chriſt Ieſus biddeth vs not feare when we ſhallbe called before men to geue cõfeſſion of his trueth, for he promiſeth that it ſhalbe geuen

geuen vnto vs in that houre what we ſhall ſpeake. If I had ſought the whole Scriptures, I could not haue produced a place more proper for my purpoſe, nor more potent to confound you. Nowe to your argument. The ceremonies of the Church (ſay ye) are gold, ſiluer and pretious ſtones, becauſe they are able to abide the fire. But I would learne of you, what fire is it, which your ceremonies do abide. And in the meane time while ye be aduiſed to aunſwer, I will ſhewe my mind, and make an argument againſt yours, vpon the ſame text. And firſt I ſay that I haue heard this text adduced for a proofe of Purgatorie, but for defence of ceremonies I neuer heard nor yet read it. But omitting whether ye vnderſtand the minde of the Apoſtle or not, I make my argument and ſay. That which may abide the fire, may abide the word of God. But your ceremonies may not abide the word of God. Ergo they may not abide the fire. And if they may not abide the fire, thé are they not gold, ſiluer, nor pretious ſtones. Now if ye finde anie ambiguitie in this terme fire, which I interpret to be the word, find ye me another fire, by the which thinges builded vpon Ieſus Chriſt ſhould be tried: then God and his word, which both in the Scripturs are called fire: and I ſhall correct mine argument.

Arbuckill.

I ſtande not thereupon, but I denie your Minor. To wit that our ceremonies may not abide the triall of Gods word.

Iohn Knox.

I proue that abides not the triall of Gods worde, which Gods word condemnes. But Gods word con-

demnes your ceremonies, therefore they do not abide the triall therof. But as a thiefe abides the trial of the queſt, and thereby is condemned to be hanged, euen ſo may your ceremonies abide the triall of Gods word, but not elſe. And now in few wordes to make plaine that wherin ye may ſeeme to doubt, to wit, that Gods word damnes your ceremonies, it is euident. For the plaine & ſtrait commaundement is, Not that thing that appeares good in thine eyes ſhalt thou do to the Lord thy God, but what ỹ Lord thy God hath commaũded thee, that do thou, adde nothing to it, diminiſh nothing from it. Now vnleſſe that ye be able to proue that God hath commaunded your ceremonies, this his former commaundement will damne both you and them.

Optima collatio.

Deut.4.

The Frear ſomewhat abaſhed, what firſt to aunſwer, while he wanders about in the miſt, he falls in a foule mire. For alleadging that we may not be ſo bound to the worde, he affirmed, that the Apoſtles had not receiued the holy Ghoſt whē they did write their Epiſtles, but after they receaued him, and then they ordeined ceremonies (few wold haue thought that ſo learned a man would haue giuen ſo fooliſh an aunſwer, & yet it is euen as true as he bare a gray coule) *Iohn Knox* hearing the aunſwer, ſtart, & ſaid, if that be true I haue long bin in error, and I thinke I ſhall die therein. The Suppriour ſaid to him, Father, what ſay ye? God forbid that ye affirme that: for then farewell the ground of our faith. The Frear aſtonied made the beſt ſhift that he could to correct his fault, but it would not be. *Iohn Knox* brought him oft againe to the grounde of the argument. But he would neuer aunſwer directly, but euer fled to the authoritie of the Church: whereto the ſaid *Iohn* anſwered ofter then once, That the ſpouſe of Chriſt,

had

had neither power nor authoritie againſt the worde of God. Then ſaid the Frear if ſo be ye will leaue vs no Church. In deed ſayd the other, in Dauid I read that there is a church of the malignants: for he ſaith, *Odi eccleſiam malignantium.* That Church ye may haue without the worde, and doing manie thinges directly fighting againſt the word of God. Of that Church if ye will be, I can not hinder you. But as for me, I will be of none other Church, except of that, which hath Ieſus chriſt to be paſtor, which hears his voyce, and will not heare a ſtraunger. In this diſputation manie other thinges were merily skoſt ouer. For the Frear after his fall could ſpeake nothing to anie purpoſe. For Purgatorie he had no better profe but the authoritie of Virgill, the ſixt of his Æneidos, and the paines thereof to him was an euill wife. How *Iohn Knox* aunſwered that and manie other thinges him ſelfe did witneſſe in a treatiſe that he did write in the gallies, cõtaining the ſumme of his doctrine, and the confeſſion of his faith, and ſent it to his familiars in Scotland, with his exhortation, that they ſhould continue in the truth, which they had profeſſed, notwithſtanding any worldly aduerſitie that might enſue thereof. Thus much of that diſputation haue we inſerted here, to the intent that men may ſee how Sathan euer trauelleth to obſcure the light, and howe God by his power working in his weake veſſels, cõfounds his craft, & diſcloſeth his darknes.

Frear Arbuckilles proofe of Purgatorie.

The cauſe of the infertinge of this diſputation.

After this the Papiſtes nor Frears, had no great heart of further diſputation or reaſoning, inuented another ſhifte, which appeared to proceede from godlineſſe, and it was this. Euerie learned man in the Abbey, and in the vniuerſitie ſhoulde preache in the pariſh Church his Sundaye about. The Suppriour beganne, followed the Officiall,

The practices of Papiſtes, that their wickedneſſe ſhould not be diſcloſed

...lled ſpittall (ſermons penned) to offend no man, followed all the reſt in their ranks. And ſo *Iohn Knox* ſmelled out the craft, and in his ſermons which he made vpon the weeke dayes, he praied to God, that they ſhold be as buſie in preaching, whē there ſhold be more want of it, then there was then. Alwayes (ſaid he) I praiſe God that Chriſt Ieſus is preached, and nothing is ſaide publikely againſt the doctrine that ye haue hearde. If in my abſence they ſhall ſpeake any thing which in my preſence they do not, I proteſt that ye ſuſpend your iudgement, till that it pleaſe God ye heare me againe.

The proteſtation of Iohn Knox.

God ſo aſſiſted his weake ſouldier & ſo bleſſed his labours, that not onely all theſe of the caſtle, but alſo a great number of the towne openly profeſſed by participation of the Lords table in the ſame purity, that now it is miniſtred in the churches of Scotlād, with that ſame doctrine that he had taught vnto thē. Amongſt whom was he that now either rules or elſe miſrules Scotland: to wit, *Sir Iames Balfour* (ſometimes called *Maiſter Iames*) the chiefe and principall proteſtant, that then was to be found within this realme. This we write becauſe that we haue heard, that the ſaid *Maiſter Iames* alleadgeth, that he was neuer of this our religion, but that he was brought vp in *Martines* opinion of the Sacrament, and therfore he can not communicate with vs. But his owne conſcience, and two hundreth witneſſes beſides, knowe that he lies, and that he was one of the chief (if he had not bene after coppis) that would haue giuen his life, if men might credit his wordes, for defence of his doctrine, that the ſaide *Iohn Knox* taught. But albeit that thoſe, that neuer were of vs (as none of *Monqwhanneys* houſe haue ſhewed themſelues to be) depart from vs, it is no great wonder.

M. Iames Balfoure once ioined with the Church and did profeſſe all doctrine taught by Iohn Knox.

For

For it is proper and naturall, that the children followe the father, and let the godly beware of that race, & progenie by eſchewing. For if in them be either feare of God, or loue of vertue, furder then the preſent commoditie perſwades them, men of iudgement are deceaued. But to returne to our hiſtorie. The Prieſts and Biſhops enraged at all theſe proceedings that were in Sainct Andrewes, ran now vpon the Gouernour, nowe vpon the Queene, now vpon the whole counſell, and there might haue bin heard complaintes and cries, what are we doing? Shall we ſuffer this whole realme to be infected with pernicious doctrine, fie vpon you, & fie vpon vs. The Queene and *Monſieur Doſel* (who then was *à ſecretis mulierum* in the Court) comforted them, and willed them to be quiet, for they ſhould ſee remedie or it was long. And ſo was proued in deede. For vpon the xxix. day of Iune appeared in the ſight of the caſtle of Sainct Andrewes, one and twentie Frenche galeys with a great armie, the like whereof was neuer ſeene in that hauen before. This treaſonable meane had the Gouernour, the Biſhop, the Queene and *Monſieur Doſell* vnder the appointment drawn. But to excuſe their treaſon, eight dayes before, they had preſented an abſolution vnto them as ſent from Rome, containiug after the aggrauatiō of the crime this clauſe: *remittimus irremiſſibile* that is, we remit the crime that can not be remitted, which conſidered by the worſt of the companie that was in the caſtle, aunſwer was giuen that the Gouernour and counſell of the realme had promiſed vnto them a ſufficient and aſſured abſolution: which that appeareth not to be, and therefore could they not deliuer the houſe, neither thought they that any reaſonable man would require them ſo to do, conſidering that

The rage of the marked beaſts at the preachinge of the truth.

The firſt comming of the gallies anno 1547.

The treaſonable act of the Gouernoure, and queene Dowager.

The anſwer giuen to the Gouernour, whē the caſtle of Saint Andrewes was required to be deliuered.

promiſe was not kept vnto them. The next day after that the gallies arriued, they ſummoned the houſe. Which being denied (becauſe they knew thé no magiſtrates in Scotland) they prepared for ſiege, & firſt they began to aſſault by ſea, & ſhot two dayes. But therof they neither got aduãtage nor honor: for they threw downe the ſlaits of houſes, but neither ſlue man, nor did harme to any wall. But the caſtle handled them ſo, that *Sancta Barbara* (the gunners goddeſſe) helped them nothing, for they loſt manie of their rowers, men chained in the gallies, and ſome ſouldiers both by ſea and land. And farther a galley that approched nearer then the reſt, was ſo beaten with the cannon and other ordinance, that ſhe was ſtriken vnder water, and ſo almoſt drowned, and ſo had bin, had not the reſt giuen her ſuccour in time, and drew her to the waſt ſands, without the ſhot of the caſtle, and afterward to Dundie, where they remained till that the Gouernour, who then was at the ſiege of Langhope, came vnto thé with the reſt of the French faction. The ſiege by land was confirmed about the caſtle of S. Andrewes the xxiiij. day of Iuly, the trenches were caſt, ordinance was planted vpon the Abbey church, and vpon Sainct Saluators colledge (and yet was the ſteeple therof burnt) which ſo annoyed the caſtle, that neither could they keepe their blockehouſe, the ſea tower head, nor the waſt wall, for in all thoſe places men were ſlaine by great ordinaunce: yea they mounted the ordinance ſo high vppon the Abbey church, that they might diſcouer the grounde of the court in diuerſe places. Moreouer within the caſtle was the plague, (and diuers therin died) which more affrayed ſome that were therin, then did the externall force without. But *Iohn Knox* was of an other judgement: for

The Gouernoures goddeſſe.

he

he euer ſaid, that their corrupt life could not eſcape the puniſhment of God, & that was his continuall aduertiſement, from the time that he was called to preach. When they triumphed of their victorie (the firſt twentie days they had manie proſperous chaũces) he lamented and euer ſayd, they ſaw not what he ſaw: whẽ they bragged of the force & thicknes of their walls, he ſaid they ſhould be but egge ſhelles. When they vaunted England will reskew vs, he ſaid ye ſhall not ſee them, but ye ſhall be deliuered into your enemies handes, and ſhall be caried into a ſtraunge countrey.

The ſentẽce of Iohn Knox to the caſtle of S. Andrewes be fore it was wonne.

Vpon the xxix. of Iuly at night was the ordinance planted for the batterie xiiij. cannons, whereof iiij. wer canons royall, called double canons, beſides other peeces. The batterie beganne at foure of the clock in the morning, & before ten houres of the day the whole South quarter, betwixt the fore tower and the Eaſt blockehouſe was made ſaltable. The lower trench was condemned, diuerſe ſlaine in it, and the Eaſt blockehouſe was ſhot of from the place betwixt ten of the clocke and eleuen. There fell a ſhower of raine that continued nere an houre, the like whereof had ſeeldome bene ſeene, it was ſo vehemẽt that no man might abide without a houſe. The cannons were left alone. Some within the caſtle were of iudgemeut that men ſhold haue iſſued, and put all in the handes of God. But becauſe that *William Kirkcaldie* was comming with the Priour of Cappua, who had the commiſſion of that iourney from the king of Fraunce, nothing was enterpriſed. And ſo appointment made, and the caſtle rendered, vppon Saturday the laſt of Iulie. The heades of the appointmente were, That the liues of all within the caſtle ſhoulde be ſaued, as well

Prior of Cappua.

Engliſh as Scots, that they ſhould be ſafely tranſported to Fraunce. And in caſe that vpon conditions that by the king of Fraunce ſhould be offered vnto them, they could not be content to remaine in ſeruice and freedome there, they ſhould vpon the king of Fraunce his expences be ſafely conueyed to what cuntrey they woulde require other then Scotland. With the Gouernour they wold haue nothing a do, neither yet with anie Scottiſh man, for they had all traiterouſly betrayed them (which ſayd the Laird of Grange elder, a man ſimple, and of moſt ſtout courage, I am aſſured God ſhall reuenge it or it be long) The galeyes well furniſhed with the ſpoile of the caſtle aforſaid, after certaine days returned to Fraũce, and eſcaped a great daunger (for vpon the backe of the ſands they all chopped) they arriued at Felcam, and thereafter paſſed vp the water of Sequane, and lay before Roane: where the principall gentlemen who looked for freedome, were diſperſed, and put in ſundrie priſons, the reſt were left in the gallies, and there miſerably intreated. Amongſt whom the foreſaid *Maiſter Iames Balfour* was, with his two brethren, *Danid* and *Gilbert*, men without God. Which we write becauſe that we heare that the ſaide *Maiſter Iames* principall miſguider now of Scotland, denies that he had any thing to do with the caſtle of Sainct Andrewes, or yet that euer he was in the gallies. Then was the ioy of the Papiſts, both of Scotlande and of Fraunce euen in full perfection, for this was their ſong of triumph.

The caſtle of Sainct Andrewes refuſed in greateſt extremitie to appointe with the Gouernour.

M. Iames Balfour was fraid inough

Prieſts contente you now, Prieſts contente you now,
For Normond and his company, hes fild the gallies fow.

The Pope wrote his letters to the king of Fraũce, and ſo did he to the Gouernour of Scotland, thanking them hartely for taking paines to reuenge the death

death of his kind creature the Cardinall of Scotlād. Desiring them to continue in their begun seueritie, that such things after should be attempted. And so were all those that were deprehended in the castle damned to perpetuall prison. And so iudged the vngodly that after that, in Scotland should Christ Iesus haue triumphed. One thing we can not passe by: from Scotland was sent a famous clerke (laugh not reader) *M. Iohn Hammilton* of Milburne, with credit to the king of Fraunce, and vnto the Cardinall of Lorane (and yet he had neither French nor Latine, and some say, his Scottish toung was not very good) The summe of all his negotiation was, That those of the castle should be sharply handled, in the which suite he was hearde with fauor, and was dispatched from the Court of Fraunce with letters, and great credit, which that famous clerke forgat by the way. For passing vp to the mountain of Dumbartane, before his letters were deliuered, he brake his neck, & so God tooke away a proude ignorant enemie. But now to our historie. These thinges against promise (for princes haue no fidelitie further then for their owne aduantage) done at Roane, the galleyes departed to Nances in Bartanie. Where, vpon the water of Lore they lay the whole winter. In Scotlād that somer was nothing but mirth, for all went with the prieſtes euen at their owne pleasure. The castle of Sainct Andrewes was rased to the grounde. The blockhouse thereof cast downe, & the walles round about demolished. Whether this was to fulfill their law, which commaundes places where Cardinalles are slaine, so to be vsed, or else for feare that Englād should haue taken it, as after they did Brouchtie rocke, we remit it to the iudgement of such as were of counsell.

Nulla fides regni socijs &c.

Pinckey Clewch.

This ſame yeare in the beginning of September entereth in Scotland an Armie of tenne thowſand men from England by land and ſome ſhippes with ordinance come by ſea. The gouernour and the Biſhop hereof aduertiſſed gathered together the forces of Scotland and aſſembled at Edinburgh. The protectour of England with the Erle of Warwike & their armie remained at Præſton, & about Præſton panes. For they had certaine offers to haue bin proponed vnto the nobilitie of Scotland, concerning the promiſe before made by them vnto the which *King Henrie* before his death gentilly required them to ſtand faſt. And if they would ſo do, of him nor of his Realme they ſhould haue no trouble, but the help and the comfort that he could make them in al thinges lawfull. And hereupon was there a letter directed to the gouernour and counſell, which cumming to the hands of the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes he thought it could not be for his aduantage that it ſhould be deuulgate. And therfore by his craft it was ſuppreſſed. Vpon the friday the ſeuenth of September, the Engliſh army marched towards leyth and the Scottiſh army marched from Edinburgh to Enreſt. The hole Scottiſh army was not aſſembled, and yet the ſkirmiſhing beganne. For nothing was concluded but victorie without ſtroke. The protectour the Earle of Warwike, the Lord *Gray*, and all the Engliſh captaines were playing at the dice. No men were ſtouter then the prieſtes and Chanons with their ſhauen crownes, and black Iackes. The Earle of Warwicke and the Lord *Gray*, who had the chiefe charge of horſemen, perceauing the hoſt to be moleſted with the Scotiſh preachers, and knowing that the multitude were neither vnder order not obedience (for they were deuided from the great armie)

The ſecurity of the Scottiſhmē at Pinckey Clewch.

ſent

ſent forth certaine troupes of horſemen and ſome of their borderers either to fetch them, or elſe to put them out of their ſight, ſo that they might not anoye the hoſt. The ſkirmiſh grew hote, and at length the Scottiſh men gaue back, and fledde without gaine turne. The chaſe continewed far both towardes the Eaſt, and towardes the Weſt, In the which manie were ſlaine, and he that now is Lord *Home* was taken, which was the occaſion that the caſtle of Home was after rendered to the Engliſh men. The loſſe of theſe men neither moued the gouernour, nor yet the Biſhop his baſtard brother, they ſhould reuenge the matter wel inough vpon the morrow. For they were handes enow (no word of God) the engliſh heretickes had no faces they would not abyde. Vpon the Satterday the Armyes of both ſides paſt to arraye. The Engliſh armie takes the middle part of Fawſide hill, hauing their ordinance planted before them, and hauing their ſhippes and two galeys brought as neer the land, as water would ſerue. The Scottiſh armie ſtood firſt, in a reaſonable ſtrength and good ordour, hauing betwixt them and the Engliſh armie the water of Esk (otherwayes called Muſſylburgh water) but at length a charge was geuen, in the gouernours behalfe, with ſound of trumpette, that all men ſhould march forward, and go ouer the water. Some ſay that this was procured, by the Abbot of Dumfermeling and *M. Hew Rig* for preſeruation of Carbarrie. Men of iudgement liked not the iourney: for they thought it no wiſedome to leaue their ſtrength. But commaundement vpon cõmaundement, and charge vpon charge was geuen which vrged them ſo, that vnwillingly they obeyed. The Earle of Anguiſh being in the vant gard, had

Fridayes chaſe.

Bragges.

in his company the gentlemen of Fife, of Anguiſh Mernes and the Weſtland, with many others that of loue reſorted vnto him. Aud eſpeciallie thoſe that were profeſſors of the Goſpell, For they ſuppoſed that England would not haue made great purſute of him. He paſſed firſt through the water, and arrayed his hoſt, direct before the enemies: followed the Erle of Huntlie with his Northland men: Laſt come the Duke, hauing in his companie, the Earle of Argyle with his owne friends, and the body of the Realme. The Engliſhmen perceauing the daunger, and how that the Scottiſhmen intended to haue taken the toppe of the hil, made haſt to preuent the perril. The Lord gray was cõmaunded to giue the charge with his men of armes, which he did, albeit the hazard was verie vnlikelie. For the Earle of Anguiſh hoſte ſtoode euen as a wall, and receaued the firſt aſſalters vpon the poinctes of their ſpeares (which were longer then thoſe of the Engliſhmen) ſo rudelie that fiftie horſe and men of the firſt ranck lay dead at once without any hurte done to the Scottiſh armie, except that the ſpears of the former two rankes were broken. Which diſcomfitour receaued; the reſt of the horſemen fledde, yea, ſome paſſed beyond Fawſide hill, the Lord Gray himſelfe was hurt in the mouth, and plainelie denyed to charge againe, for he ſaid, it was alike to runne againſt a wall. the gallayes and the ſhippes, and ſo did the ordinance, plainted vpon myde hill ſhote terribly. But the ordinance of the gallayes ſhooting amongeſt the Scottiſh armie affraied them wonderouſlie. And while that euery man laboureth to draw from the North from whence the daunger appeared, they beginne to ſaile, and with that were the Engliſh footemen marching forward. Albeit that ſome of their horſemen were vpon the flight

The repulſe of the horſe men of England.

flight. The Earle of Anguiſhes army ſtood ſtill, looking that either *Huntly* or the Duke ſhould haue recountered, the next battell. But they had decreed that the fauourers of England, and the hereticks (as the preaſtes called them) & the Engliſhmen ſhould part it betwixt them for that day. The feare riſeth, & at an Inſtant, they which before were victors, and were not yet aſſaulted with any force (except with ordinance as ſaid is) caſt from them their ſpeares & fled. So that Gods power was ſo euidently ſeene, that in one moment, yea at one inſtant time, both the armies were fleing. The ſhoute came from the hill, from thoſe that hoped no victorie vpon the Engliſh parte. The ſhout riſes (we ſay) they flie, they flie, but at the firſt it could not be beleued, till at the laſt, it was clearlie ſeene, that all had geuen backe, and ſtil beganne the cruell ſlaughter (which was the greater by reaſſon of the lait diſpleaſure of the men of arms) the chaſe & ſlaughter laſted til ney Edinburgh vpon the one part, and toward Dalketh vpon the other. The nōber of the ſlaine vpon the Scottiſh ſide were iudged ney tenne thouſand men. The Earle of *Huntlie* was taken and caried to London. But he releued himſelfe being ſuretie for many reaſons, Honeſtie or vnhoneſtie, we know not, but as the bruite was he vſed policie with England. In that ſame tyme was ſlaine the Maiſter of *Erſkin Dearly* beloued of the Queene: for whome ſhe made great lamentation, and bare his death many daies in mind. When the certaintie of the diſcomfitour came, ſhe was in Edinburgh abiding vpon tydinges. But with expedition ſhe poſted that ſame night to Sterueling with *Monſieur Doſell*, who was as feard as a fox when his hole is ſmoked. And thus did God take the ſecond reuenge vpon the periured gouernour, with ſuch as

aſſiſted him to defend ane iniuſt quarrel. Albeit that many innocentes fell amongeſt the middes of the wicked. The Engliſh armie came to Leyth and their taking ordour with their priſonners and ſpoile, they returned with this victory (which they looked not for) to England. That winter following was greate heareſhipps made vpon al the bordars of Scotland. Broughtie mountaine was taken by the Engliſhmē beſieged by the gouernour, but ſtill kept. And at it was ſlaine *Gawine* the beſt of the Hammiltones, and the ordinance left. Whereupon the Engliſhmen encouraged beganne to fortifie vpon the hill aboue Broughty houſe, which was called ȳ force of Broughtie, & was very noyſome to Dondy, which it burnt & layed waſt, and ſo did it the moſt part of Anguiſh, which was not aſſured, & vnder friendſhip with thē.

That Lent following was Hadington fortified by the Engliſh men. The moſt part of Lowthian, from Edinburgh Eaſt, was eyther aſſured or laid waſt. This did God plague in euerie quarter. But mē were blind, & would not, nor could not conſider the cauſe. The Lairdes Ormeſton and Brunſtone were baniſhed, & after ſore aſſalted, & ſo were al thoſe of the Caſtle of Sainct Andrewes. The ſure knowledge of the troubles of Scotland comming to France, their was prepared a nauie and army. The nauie was ſuch as neuer was ſeene to come from France for the ſupport of Scotland, for beſides the Galeyes, being twētie two in number, they had three ſcore great ſhipes beſides vittellars. How ſoone ſo euer they tooke the plaine ſeas, the read lyon of Scotland was diſplayed, and they holden as rebells vnto France (ſuch policie is no falſhood in princes) for good peace ſtood betwixt Fraunce and England. And the king of Fraunce approued nothing that they did. The chiefe

men

men to whome the conducting of the armie was appointed were *Monſieur Dandelott Monſieur de Termes* and *Peir de Stroiſſe*. In their iourney they made ſome Hearefhippe vpon the coſt of England, but it was not great. They arriued in Scotland in May in the yeare of our Lord 1549. The gallies did viſite the forte of Broughtie, but did no more at that tyme. 1549
Preparations were made for the ſiege of Hadington but it was an other thing, that they ment, as the iſſue declared. The hole bodie of the Realme aſſembled, the forme of a Parliament was ſet to be holden their, to witt, in the Abbay of Hadington. The principall head was, the Mariage of the princeſſe (by them before contracted to King *Edward*) to the King of Fraunce, and of her preſent delyuerie, by reaſon of the daunger ſhe ſtoode in, by the inuaſion of our old enemies of England. Some were corrupted with buddes, ſome deceaued by flattering promiſe, and ſome for feare were compelled to conſent. For the French ſoldyars were the officers of armes in that Parliament. The Laird of Balcleucht a bloody man with many Goddes woundes ſwore, they that would not conſent ſhould doe worſe. The gouernour gotte the duchrie of Chattarault with the ordour of the cockle, with a full diſcharge of all intromiſſions with King *Iames* the fift his treaſure and ſubſtance whatſoeuer, with poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Dumbartane, till that iſſue ſhould be ſeene of the Queenes body. The Parliament at Hadington.
With theſe and other conditions ſtoode he content to ſell his Soueraigne out of his owne handes, which in the ende will be his deſtruction. God thereby puniſhing his former wickednes (if ſpeedie repentance, preuent not Goddes iudgementes. which we hartelye wyſh) *Huntlie*, *Argle* and *Anguiſh* were lykewayes made Knyghtes of the cockill and The Dukes fact & what appeareth to follow thereof.

for that and other good deeds receaued, they ſould also their part. Shortly none was found to reſiſt that iniuſt demand. And ſo was ſhe ſold to go to France, To the end that in her youth, ſhe ſhould drinck of that licour that ſhould remaine with her all her life time for a plague to this Realme, and for her finall deſtruction. And therefore albeit that now a fire cõmeth out of her, that conſumes many, let no man wonder, ſhe is Goddes hand in his diſpleaſure puniſhing our former ingratitude. Let men pacientlie abide, and turne vnto their God. And then ſhal he either deſtroy, that whore in her whordom, or elſe he ſhall put in the harts of the multitude to take the vengeance vpon her, that hath bene taken on Ieſabell, and Athalia. Yea and of others of whome prophane hiſtories make mention. For greater abhomination was neuer in the nature of any woman, then is in her, whereof we haue but ſeene only the buddes, but we ſhal after taſt of the ripe fruite of her Impiety, if God cut not her daies ſhort. But to return to our hiſtorie.

Experience hath taught and further wil declare.

Perfice quod cepiſti mi Deus propter tui nominis gloriam. 15 Iunij. 1567

This cõcluſion that our Queene (without farther delay) ſhould be deliuered to France. The ſiege cõtinewed, great ſhooting, but no aſſaulting, and yet they had faire occaſion offered vnto them. For the Engliſhmen approching to the towne, for the comforting of the beſieged, with powder, victuals & men, loſt an army of ſix thouſand men. *Sir Robert Bowes* ſo was taken, and the moſt part of the borderers were taken or ſlaine. And ſo might the towne iuſtly haue diſpaired of any further ſuccour to haue bene looked for. But yet it held good for the ſtout courage & prudent gouernment of *Sir Iames Wolford* generall who did ſo encourage the hole captaines and ſoldyars that they determined to die vpon their walles.

The ſiege of Hadington.

Tueſdayes chaſe.

But

But from the time that the French men had gotten the bone, for the which the dog barked, the purſute of the towne was ſlowe. The ſiege was raiſed, and ſhe was conueyed by the Weſt ſeas to Fraunce with foure gallies and ſome ſhips. And ſo the Cardinall of Lorane gat her in his keeping, a morſell I aſſure you meete for his owne mouth. We omit manie thinges that occurred in this time, as the ſittinge downe of the ſhip called the Cardinall (the fayreſt ſhip in Fraunce) betwixt Sainct Colmes Inch and Cramond, without anie occaſion except negligéce, for the day was faire and the weather calme. But God would ſhewe, that the countrey of Scotlande can beare no Cardinals. In this time alſo was there a combat betwixt the gallies and the Engliſh ſhips. They ſhot frankely a while. An Engliſh ſhip tooke fire, or elſe the galleyes had cóme ſhort home, and as it was, they fledde without mercie, till that they were aboue Sainct Colmes Inch. The Captaines lefte the galleyes, and tooke a forte, made vppon the Inch, for their defence. But the Engliſh ſhippes made no purſute (except that they burnt the Cardinall, where that ſhe laye) and ſo the galleyes, and the galley men did both eſcape.

Order was taken that next September, that ſome gallies ſhould remaine in Scotland, and that the reſt ſhould return to Fraunce, as they did all except one that was take by an Engliſh ſhip, (by an Engliſh ſhip onely we ſay) as they were paſſing betwixt Douer and Calice.

That winter remained *Monſieur de Arſe* in Scotland with the bandes of French men. They fortified Euresk to ſtay that the Engliſh ſhould not inuade Edinburgh and Leyth. Some ſcarcene ſſe there

were betwixt the one and the other, but no notable thing done, except that the Frenche had almoſt taken Hadington, the occaſion whereof was this.

The French men thinking them ſelues more thé maiſters in all partes of Scotlande, and in Edinburgh principallie, thought they coulde doe no wrong to no Scottiſh man. For a certaine French man deliuered a coluering to *George Tod* Scottiſhman to be ſtocked, who bringing it through the ſtreete, another French man claimed it, and would haue reſt it from the ſaid *George*, but he reſiſted, alleadging that the French man did wrong: and ſo began parties to aſſemble, as well to the Scottiſh man as to the French, ſo that two of the French mé were ſtriken downe, and the reſt chaſed from the croſſe to Nudris wind head. The Prouoſt being vpon the ſtreete apprehended two of the French, and was carying them to the tolbuith, but from *Monſieur de Eſſies* lodging and court, iſſued forth French men, to the number of three ſcore perſons, with drawen ſwordes, and reſiſted the ſayd Prouoſt. But yet the towne aſſembling repulſed them till that they came to the neither bow. And there *Monſieur la Chapel* with the whole bands of French men enarmed recountred the ſaid Prouoſt, & violently repulſed him (for the towne was without weapons, for the moſt part) and ſo made inuaſion vpon all that they met. And firſt in the throte of the Bow were ſlaine *Dauid Kirk*, and *Dauid Barber* (being at the Prouoſts back) and afterward was ſlaine the ſayd Prouoſt him ſelfe, being Laird of Stennoſſe, and captaine of the caſtle, *Iames Hammilton* his ſonne, *VVilliam Chapman*, *Maiſter VVilliam Stewart*, *VVilliam Purueſſe*, and a womā named *Elizabeth Steward*. And thereafter taried within

The ſlaughter of the captaine of the caſtle of Edinburgh.

within the towne by force, from fiue of the clocke till after ſeuen at night, and then retired to the Cannon gate, as to their receptacle and refuge.

The whole towne, yea the Gouernour & nobility commoued at the vnworthines of this bold attempt craued iuſtice vpō the malefactors, or els they wold take iuſtice of the whole. The Quene crafty inough, *Monſieur de Eſſie* & *Mōſieur Doſell* laboured for pacification, and promiſed, that vnleſſe the French men by them ſelues alone, ſhould do ſuch an act as might recompence the wrong that they had done, that thē they ſhould not refuſe, but that iuſtice ſhold be executed to the rigour. Theſe faire wordes pleaſed our fooles, & ſo were the French bandes the next night directed to Hadington, to the which they aproched a litle after midnight ſo ſecretly, that they were neuer eſpied till that the former were within the Baſſe court & the whole company in the church yard, not 2. pair of boot lengths diſtant frō the town. The ſoldiers Engliſhmen were all a ſleep except the watch, the which was ſlender, & yet the ſhout ariſes, bowes & bils, bowes & bils: which is ſignificatiō of extreme defence, to auoide the preſent daunger in all towns of warre. The affrayed ariſe, weapons that firſt came to hande ſerue for the neede. One amongeſt manie come to the Eaſt gate, where lay two great peeces of ordinaunce, and where the enemies were knowen to be, and cried to his fellowes, that were at the gate making defence. Beware before, and ſo fires a great peece, and thereafter another, which God ſo conducted, that after them was no further purſute made. For the bullets redounded from the wall of the Frear church to the wall of S. Katherins chappell, which ſtood directly ouer it, & frō the wal of the ſaid chappell to the ſaid church wal again.

Hadington almoſt ſupriſed by the French.

ſo oft, that there fell mo then an hundreth of the French at thoſe two ſhots onely. They ſhot oft: but the French retired with diligence, and returned to Edinburgh without harme done, except the deſtruction of ſome drunken beare, which laye in the ſandes chappell and Church. And this was ſatisfaction more then enough, for the ſlaughter of the ſaid captaine, and prouoſt, and for the ſlaughter of ſuch as were ſlaine with him. This was the beginning of the French fruicts.

The recouerie of the caſtle of Home.

This winter in the time of Chriſtmas was the caſtle of Home recouered from the Engliſh, by the negligence of the captaine named *Dudley*. This winter alſo did the Laird of Raith moſt innocently ſuffer, and after was forfalted, becauſe that he wrote a bill to his ſonne *Iohn Meluin*, who then was in Englande, which was alleadged to haue

The death of the Laird of Raith.

bene found in the houſe of Ormeſton: but many ſuſpected the prankes and craft of *Reingzein Cokburne*, now called captaine *Reingzeane*, to whom the ſayde letter was deliuered But howſoeuer it was, the cruel beaſtes the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes, & the Abbot of Dunfermeling ceaſſed not, till that the head of the noble man was ſtriken from him. Eſpeciallie becauſe that he was knowen to be one that vnfaynedly fauored the truth of Gods word, and was a great friend, to thoſe that were in the caſtle of S. Andrewes, of whoſe deliuerance, and of Gods wonderfull working with them during the time of their bondage, we may nowe ſpeake, leſt that in ſuppreſſing of ſo notable a worke of God, we might iuſtly be accuſed of ingratitude. And firſt the principalls being put in ſeuerall houſes, as before we haue ſayde, great labors were made to make thé haue a good opiniõ of the Maſſe. But chiefly trauell was taken vpõ

The entertaynment of thoſe of the caſtle of S. Andrewes during their captiuitie.

Normond

Normond Leſlie, the Laird of Grainge, the Laird of Pitmullie, who were in the caſtle of Scherisburgh. That they wold come to the Maſſe with the captain. Who anſwered, that the captaine had commaundement to keepe their bodies, but he had no power to commaund their conſcience. The captaine replied that he had power to commaund, & to compell thé to go where he went. They aunſwered, that to go to anie lawfull place with him, they would not refuſe. But to do any thing that was againſt their cõſcience they would not, neither for him, nor yet for the king. The captaine ſaid, will ye not go to the Maſſe? They aunſwered, no, & if ye cõpell vs: yet will we diſpleaſe you farder. For we will vſe our ſelues there, that all thoſe that are preſent ſhall know we deſpiſe it. Theſe ſame aunſwers (and ſomewhat ſharper) *Villiã Kirkcaldie, Peter Carmichell*, and ſuch as were with them in Mount S. Michell gaue to their captaine: for they ſayd, they would not onely heare Maſſe euerie day, but that they would helpe to ſay it, prouidinge that they might ſticke the prieſts, or elſe they would not. *M. Henrie Balnaues*, who was in the caſtle of Roane, was moſt ſharply aſſaulted of all, for becauſe he was iudged learned (as he was and is in deed) therefore learned men were appointed to trauell with him, with whom he had manie conflicts, but God ſo euer aſſiſted him, that they departed confounded, and he by the power of Gods ſpirit, remained conſtant in the truth, & profeſſion of the ſame without any wauering, or declining to idolatrie. In the priſon he wrote a comfortable treatiſe of iuſtification, and of the works, & conuerſatiõ of a iuſtified man, but how it was ſuppreſſed we knowe not. Thoſe that were in the gallies were threatned with tormẽts, if they wold not giue reuerence to the maſſe (for at certain times

preſence of the Forſaris) but they could neuer make the poreſt of that company to giue reuerẽce to that Idoll. Yea, when vpon the Saturday at night they ſong their *Salue regina:* all the Scottiſh men put on their caps, their hoods, or ſuch thing as they had to couer their heads, & when that others were cõpelled to kiſſe a painted boord (which they called *noſtre Dame*) they were preſſed after once. For this was the chaunce. Sone after their arriuall at Nances, their great *Salue* was ſong, & a glorious painted Lady was brought in to be kiſſed, and amongſt others was preſented to one of the Scottiſh men then chained. He gently ſaid, trouble me not, ſuch a iewell is accurſed and therefore I will not touch it. The patron and the Arguiſer with two officers hauing the chief charge of all ſuch matters ſaid, Thou ſhalt handle it, and ſo they violently thruſt to his face, & put it betwixt his hands. Who ſeeing the extremitie, tooke the Idoll, and aduiſedly looking about him, he caſt it into the riuer and ſaid, Let our Ladie now ſaue her ſelfe, ſhe is light enough, let her learne to ſwimme. After that was no Scottiſh man vrged with that idolatry. Theſe are things that appeare to be of no great importãce, and yet if we do rightly conſider, they expreſſe the ſame obedience that God requireth of his people Iſraell, when that they ſhould be caried to Babiloh. For he gaue charge vnto thẽ, that when they ſhould ſee the Babylonians worſhip their gods of gold, ſiluer, mettall and wood, that they ſhould ſaye. The gods that haue not made heauen and earth, ſhal periſh from the heauen and out of the earth. That cõfeſſion gaue that whole number, during the time of their bondage, in the which would God they had continued in their freedome. For then had not *M. Iames Balfour* ben officiall, neither yet borne a cope

A mery fact.

Iere. 10.

for

for the pleasure of the Bishop. But to proceede, the sayde *Maister Iames* and *Iohn Knox* being within one gallie, and being wonderous familiar with him, would oftentimes aske his iudgement, if he thought that euer they should be deliuered? Whose aunswer was euer, from the day that they entred into the gallies, that God would deliuer them from that bō-dage to his glory euen in this life. And lying betwixt Dundie and Sainct Andrewes, the second time that the gallies returned to Scotland, the sayd *Iohn Knox* being so extreamely sicke that fewe hoped his life, the sayde *Maister Iames* willed him to looke to the land, and asked if he knewe it? Who aunswered, yes I knowe it well, for I see the steeple of that place, where God in publike opened my mouth to his glorie, and I am fully perswaded, howe weake soeuer that I nowe appeare; that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorifie his godly name in the same place. This reported the sayd *M. Iames* in presence of manie famous witnesses, manie years before that euer the said *Iohn* set his feete in Scotland this last time to preach.

Quamuis multa sunt iustorum mala &c.

VVilliam Kirkcaldy then of Grainge Yoūger, *Peter Carmichell*, *Robert* & *VVilliam Leslies*, who were altogether in Mount S. Michell, wrot to the said *Iohn* asking his counsell, if they might with safe conscience breake their prison, whose answer was, that if without the bloud of any shed or spilt by them for their deliuerance, they might set themselues at freedom, that they might safely take it. But to shed any mans blud for their freedome, therto would he neuer consent. Adding further, that he was assured that God wold deliuer them, and the rest of that companie, eue in the eyes of the world, but not by such meanes as he hath looked for. That was by the force of friendes,

John Knox his aunswer & coūsell to the captiues

or by their other labours. By ſuch meanes he affirmed, they ſhould not be deliuered, but that God would ſo worke in the deliuerance of them, that the praiſe thereof ſhould redound to his glorie only. He willeth therefore euery one to take the occaſiõ that God offered vnto them. Prouiding that they did no thing againſt Gods expreſſe commaundement, for deliuerance of them ſelues. He was the more earneſt in giuing his counſell, becauſe the old Laird of Grainge and others repugned to their purpoſe: fearing leſt that the eſcaping of the others, ſhould be an occaſion of their worſe intreatment. Wherunto the ſaid *Iohn* aunſwered, that ſuch feare proceeded not from Gods ſpirit, but onely from a blind loue of thy ſelfe, and therefore that no good purpoſe was to be ſtayed, for thinges that were in the handes & power of God. And added that in one inſtant, God deliuered the whole companie into the handes of vnfaithfull men, but ſo would he not releeue them. But ſome would he deliuer by one meanes, and at one time, and others muſt abide for a ſeaſon vppon his good pleaſure. This counſell in the ende was embraced, vppon the Kinges euen, when Frenche men commonly vſe to drinke liberallie. The aforeſaid foure perſons hauing the help & conducting of a boy of the houſe, bound all that were in the caſtle, put them in ſundrie houſes, locked the dores vpon them, tooke the keyes from the captaine, & departed without harme done to the perſon of anie, or without touching of any thing that pertained to the king, the captaine, or the houſe.

The eſcaping of William Kirkcaldie & of his fellowes foorth of Mount ſaint Michell.

Great ſearch was made through the whole cũtrie for them. But it was Gods good pleaſure, ſo to conduct them, that they eſcaped the hands of the faithleſſe, albeit it was with long trauell, & great paine, & pouertie

pouertie ſuſtained: for the French boy left them,& tooke with him the ſmall mony that they had. And ſo neither hauing monie nor knowledg of the countrey. And farder fearing that the boy ſhould diſcrie them (as that in verie deede he did) they purpoſed to deuide them ſelues, to chaunge their garmentes, and to go in ſundrie parts. The two brethren *VVillia & Robert Leſlie*, (who nowe are become, the ſaid *Robert* eſpecially, enemies to Chriſt Ieſus, and vnto all vertue) came to Roane, *VVilliam Kirkcaldie*, & *Peter Carmichell*, in beggers garment came to Conquet: & by the ſpace of xij. or xiij. weekes they trauelled as poore Mariners from port to port, till at length they gat a French ſhip, and landed in the Weſt, and from thence came to Englande, where they met before them, the ſayd *Iohn Knox*, who that ſame winter was deliuered, and *Alexander Clerk* in his company. The ſaid *Iohn* was firſt appointed preacher to Barwicke, then to Newcaſtle, laſt he was called to London, & to the South part of England, where he remayned till the death of king *Edward* the ſixt. When he left England, then he paſſed to Geneua, and there remained at his priuie ſtudie, till that he was called by the congregation, that then was aſſembled, at Frãcford, to be preacher to them. Which vocation he obeyed (albeit vnwillingly) at the commaundement of that notable ſeruant of God, *Iohn Caluine*, at Frãcford he remained, till that ſom of the learned (whoſe names we ſuppreſſe) more giuen to vnprofitable ceremonies, then to ſinceritie of religion, beganne to quarell with the ſaid *Iohn*, and becauſe they diſpaired to preuaile before the magiſtrate there, for the eſtabliſhing of their corruptions, they accuſed him of treaſon, committed againſt the Emperour, and againſt their Soueraigne Queene *Marie*. That in his

admonition to England, he called the one litle inferiour to *Nero*, and the other more cruell then Iesabell. The Magistrate perceauing their malice, & fearing that the said *Iohn* should fall in the hands of his accusators, by one meane or by other gaue aduertisement secretlie to him to departe their citie, for they could not saue him, if he were requyred by the Emperour, or by the Queene of England in the Emperoures name. And so the said *Iohn* returned to Geneua, from thence to Diep and thereafter to Scotland as we shall after heare,

The time and that winter that the Gallies remained in Scotland, were delyuered *Maister Iames Balfour* his two brethren, *Dauid* and *Gilbert*, *Iohn Anchinlek*, *Iohn Silbard*, *Iohn Gray* within gathered and *Steuin Bell*. The gentlemen that remaned in prisons were by the procurement of the Queene *Dowager* to the Cardinall of Lorane & to the king of Fraūce set at libertie in the moneth of Iulie anno 1550 who shortly therafter were called to Scotlād, ther peace proclaimed and they themselues restored to their landes in despite of their ennemies. And that was done in hattered of the Duke becauſe that then Fraunce began to haue the regiment of Scotland in their owne handes. Howsoeuer it was God made the hartes of their enemies, to set them at liberty & freedome. Their rested a number of common seruantes yet in the gallies who were all deliuered vpon the contract of peace that was made betwixt France & England, after the taking of Bullon: and so was the hole company set at libertie, none perishing (no not before the world) except *Iames Meluin* who departed from the miserie of this life in the Castle of Birst in Bartamzea. This we wryte to let the posterities to come vnderstand how potentlie God wrought

in

in preſeruing and delyuering of theſe that had but a ſmall knowledge of his treuth, and for the loue of the ſame haſarded all. That if that either we now in our dayes hauing greater light or our poſteritie that ſhall follow vs ſhall ſee a fearfull diſperſion of ſuch as oppone them ſelues to impietye, or take vpon them to puniſh the ſame otherwayes then lawes of men, will permit, if we ſaye we or they ſhall ſee ſuch left of men, yea as it were deſpyſed and puniſhed of God, yet let vs not dampne the perſons, that puniſh vyce (and that for iuſt cauſe) nor yet diſpaire but that the ſame God that deiectes (for cauſes vnknowen to vs) will raiſe vp againe the perſons deiected to his glory and their cōfort. And to let the world vnderſtād in plaine terms what we meane, that great abuſer of this common wealth, that pultron, and vyle knaue *Danie* was iuſtly puniſhed the nynth of March in the yeare of our Lord 1565 for abuſing of the common wealth and for his other *VVilliam* which we liſt not to expreſſe by the counſell and handes of *Iames Douglas* Earle of Mortoun *Patrik* Lord *Lindſay*: and the Lord *Ruthwen* with others aſſiſters in their company, who all for their iuſt act, and moſt worthy of all praiſe are now vnworthely left of their brethren, and ſuffer the bitternesſe of baniſhment and exile. But this is our hope in ȳ mercies of our God. That this ſame blind generation whether it will or not, ſhalbe compelled to ſee, that he will haue reſpect to them that are iniuſtlie purſued. That he will pardone their former offences: that he will reſtore them to the libertie of their countrey, and common wealth againe. And that he will puniſh (in diſpite of man) the head and the taile, that now troubles the iuſt, and maintaineth impietie. The head is knowen, the taile hath

The ſlaughter of that William Danie.

two branches. The temporall Lordes that maintaine her abhominations, and her flattering counſellors, blaſphemous *Balfoure* now called clerk of Regiſtre, *Cinclare* Deane of Reſtalrige and Biſhop of Brechē blind of one eye in the body, but of both of his ſoule vpon whome God ſhortlie after tooke vengeance *Leſlie* preaſtes gate, Abbot of Londorſſe and Biſhop of Roſſe. *Simon* Preſton of Cragmillar a right Epicurian. Whoſe ende will be or it be long according to their workes. But now to returne to our hiſtorie.

The rulers of Marie anno 1566 and their prediction.

Haddington being keapt and much hearſhippe done about in the countreye (for what the Engliſh men deſtroyed not, that was cōſumed by the Frēch) God beginnes to feight for Scotland. For in the towne he ſent a plague ſo cōtagious that with great difficultie, could they haue their dead buried. They were oft refreſhed, with new men, but all was in vaine. Hunger and plague within, and the purſuit of the ennemie with a campe volant lay about them, and intercepted all victualles (except when they were brought by a conuoye from barwike) ſo conſtrained them that the counſel of Englād was compelled in ſpring tyme, to call their forſes from that place. And ſo ſpoyling and burning ſome part of the towne, they left it to be occupied to ſuch as firſt ſhould take poſſeſſion, & thoſe were the French mē with a meane nūber of the aūcient inhabitants, & ſo did God performe, the wordes & threatnings of *M. George Viſchart*. who ſaid that for ẏ cōtempt of Gods meſſenger, they ſhould be viſited with ſword & fire, with peſtilence, ſtraungers and famine, which all they found in ſuch perfection, that to this daye yet, that towne hath nether recouered the former beautie, nor yet men of ſuch wiſdome and habilitye, as then did inhabit it. Hereafter was peace contracted betwixt

betwixt Fraunce England and Scotland, yea a ſeuerall peace was contracted betwixt Scotland and Flanders togethet with all the Eaſterlings. So that Scotland had peace with the world. But yet would there Biſhoppes make warre againſt God. For how ſoone that euer they gotte anie quietnes, they apprehended *Adam Wallace*, alias *Fean*, a ſimple man without great learning, but one that was zelous in godlineſſe, and of an vpright life. He with his wife Beatrice Leuingſtonne frequented the cumpanie of the Ladie Ormeſton, for inſtruction of her children during the trouble of her huſband, who thé was baniſhed. This Baſtard called Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes tooke the ſaid *Adam* forth of the place of Wynton (men ſuppoſed that they thought to haue apprehended the Lairde) and caryed him to Edinburgh, where after certaine dayes he was preſented to the iudgement in the Church of the blacke theeues, alias frears, before the Duke, the Earle of *Huntlie*, and diuerſe others beſides. The Biſhops and their rabble, they beganne to accuſe him (*Maiſter Iohn Lawder* was his accuſator) that he tooke vpon him to preach. He anſwered that he neuer iudged him ſelfe worthy of ſo excellent a vocation, & therefore he neuer toke vpō him to preach, but he would not deny, but ſometimes at the table, and ſometimes in ſome other priuie places he would read and had read the Scripturs and had geuen ſuch exhortation as God pleaſed to geue to him, to ſuch as pleaſed to heare him. Knaue quoth one what haue ye to do to meddle with the Scriptures? I thinke (ſaid he) it is the duetie of euerie Chriſtian, to ſeeke the will of his God, and the aſſurance of his ſaluation where it is to be found, and that is within the old and new Teſtament. What then (ſaid an other) ſhall we leaue

The accuſation of Adam Wallace & his aunſweres.

The papiſticall manner of accuſation.

to the Biſhoppes and Churchmen for to do? if euerie man ſhallbe a babler vpon the Bible. It becõmeth you (ſaid he) to ſpeake more reuerently of God, & of his bleſſed word: if the Iudge were vncorrupted he would puniſh you, for your blaſphemy. But to your queſtion I anſwer. That albeit ye & I, and other fiue thowſand within this Realme ſhould read the Byble and ſpeake of it, what God ſhould geue vs to ſpeake yet left we more to the Biſhoppes to do, nor either they will do, or yet can do. For we leaue to thẽ publicklie to preach ỹ Goſpel of Ieſus Chriſt, & to feed the flock, which he hath redemed by his own blud & hath commaunded the ſame to al true paſtors. And when we leaue this vnto thẽ, me thinke, we leaue to thẽ a heauy burden: & that we do vnto thẽ no wrõg although we ſearch our owne ſaluatiõ where it is to be found, cõſidering that they are but dumb dogs & vnſauery ſalt, that hath altogether loſt the ſeaſon. The Biſhops hereat offended, ſaid, what praiting is this? Let his accuſatiõ be read. And then was begun falſe traitour hereticke. Thou baptizedſt thine owne childe. Thou ſaidſt there is no purgatory. Thou ſaidſt that to pray to Sainctes, and for the dead is Idolatry and a vaine ſuperſtition. &c. What ſayeſt thou to theſe thinges. He anſwered, if I ſhould be bound to aunſwere, I would require an vpright and an indifferent Iudge. The Earle of *Huntlie* diſdainefully ſaid: fooliſh man wilt thou deſire an other Iudge, nor my Lord Dukes grace, great gouernour of Scotland, and my Lords the Biſhops, & the cleargy heare preſent? Whereto he anſwered. The Biſhops can be no Iudge to me, for they are opẽ enemies to the doctrine that I profeſſe. And as for my Lord Duke, I can not tell, if he hath the knowledge that ſhould be in him, that ſhould iudge & decerne betwixt lies & the trueth, the

inuen-

uentiõs of men & the trew worshipping of God. I desire Gods word (& with that he produced the Bible) to be iudge betwixt the Bishops & me, & I am cõtent that ye all heare, & if by this booke I shall conuict, to haue taught spoken or done in matters of Religion any thing that repugneth to Gods will, I refuse not to die. But if I can not be conuict (as I am assured by Godes word I shall not) then I in Godes name desire your assistance, that malitious men execute not vpon me iniust tyrannye. The Earle of *Huntlie* said, what a babling foole is this? Thou shalt get none other Iudges then those that sit here. Whereunto the said *Adam* aunswered. The good will of God be done. But be ye assured my Lord, with such measure as ye met to others with the same measure it shalbe met to you againe. I know that I shall dye, but be ye assured that my blud shalbe required at your hands. *Alexander* Earle of Glencarne, yet aliue said to the Bishop of Orknay and others that sat ney him, take you all my Lordes of the Cleargie for here I protest for my part, that I consent not to his death and so without feare prepared the said *Adam* to answere. And first to the baptizing of his owne child, he said, It was and is as lawfull to me, for lacke of a trew minister to baptize my owne childe, as that it was to Abraham to circumcise his sonne Ismaell, and his familie. And as for purgatory, praying to Sanctes, and for the dead, I haue oft read (said he) both the new & old Testamẽts, but I neither could find mentiõ, nor assurance of them. And therfore I beleeue that they are but meere inuentions of men, deuised for couetousnes sake. Well quoth the Bishope, ye heare this my Lordes. What sayest thou of the masse. Speares the Earle of *Huntlie* He answered, I say my Lord as my Lord Iesus Christ sayeth. That which is in grea-

Protestation of the Earle of Glencarne.

beſt eſtimation before men, is abhomination before God. Then all cryed our hereſie, hereſie, And ſo was the ſimple ſeruãt of God, adiudged to the fire, which he patientlie ſuſtained that ſame day at after noone vpon the caſtle hill.

And ſo beganne they againe to pollute the land which God had latelie plagued, for yet their iniquity was not come to ſo ful ripenes as that God would that they ſhould be manifeſted to this whole Realm (as this day they are) to be faggottes prepared for euerlaſting fire. And to be men whome neyther plagues may correct, nor the light of Goddes word conuert from their darkeneſſe and impietie.

The peace as laid is contracted. The Queene *Dowager* paſt by ſea to Faunce with gallies that for that purpoſe were prepared and tooke with her diuerſe of the nobilitie of Scotland. The Earles *Humly Glencarine, Merſhell, Caſſilles.* The Lordes *Maxwell*, flying, *Sir George Dowglaſſe*, together with all the kings ſonnes, and diuerſe Barrones, and gentle men of Eccleſiaſticall eſtate: the Biſhop of Galloway, and manie others, with promiſe that they ſhould be rechlie rewarded for their good ſeruice. What they receaued we can not tell, but few were made rich at their returning. The Dowager had to practiſe ſomewhatwith her brethren, the Duke of Gwyſe and the Cardinal of Lorane. The weight wherof the gouernour after felt: for ſhortlie after his returning, was the gouernour depoſed of the gouernement (Iuſtlie by God, but moſt iniuſtlie by man) and ſhe made regent, in the yeare of our Lord 1554. And a crowne put vpon her head, as ſeemelie a ſight (if men had eyes) as to put a ſaddle vpon the back of an vnruly cow. And ſo beganne ſhe to practiſe, practiſe vpon practiſe, how France might be aduaũced, hir friends made

made rich, and ſhe brought to immortall glorie. For that was her common talke, *So that I may procure the wealth and honour of my friendes, and a good fame vnto my ſelfe, I regarde not what God doe after with me.* And in verie deede in deepe diſſimulation to bring her owne purpoſe to effect ſhe paſſed the common ſort of women, as we will after heare. But yet God to whoſe Goſpell ſhe declared her ſelfe enemie, in the ende fruſtrate her of all her deuiſes. Thus did light and darkeneſſe ſtriue within the realme of Scotlande: the darkeneſſe euer before the world ſuppreſſing the light, from the death of that notable ſeruaunt of God, *Maiſter Patricke Hammilton* vntill the death of *Edward* the ſixt, that moſt godly and moſt vertuous king, that had bene knowen to haue raigned in England, or elſe where, theſe manie yeares by paſt, who departed the miſeries of this life the vj. of Iuly, anno 1553. The death of this Prince was lamented of all the godly within Europe, for the graces giuen vnto him of God, as well of nature as of erudition and godlineſſe paſſed the meaſure that accuſtomablie is vſed to be giué to other princes in their greateſt perfection, & yet exceeded he not ſixteene yeares of age. What grauity aboue age? what wiſedome paſſed all vnderſtãding or expectation of man? and what dexteritie in aunſwering in all things proponed, were in that excellent Prince. The Ambaſſadours of all countries (yea ſome that were mortall enemies to him, and to his realme, amongſt whõ the Queene *Dowager* of Scotland was not the leaſt) could and did teſtifie. For the ſaid Queen *Dowager* returning frõ Fraunce, through England, commoned with him at length, and gaue record when ſhe came to this realme, that ſhe found more wiſedome, and ſolide iudgement in yong king

The death and vertues of Edwarde the ſixt.

Edward then ſhe would haue looked for, in any three princes, that were then in Europe. His liberality towardes the godly and learned that were in other realms perſecuted was ſuch, as Germans, Frēchmen Italians, Scots, Spaniards, Polonians, Grecians, and Hebrues born, can yet giue ſufficient document. For how honorably was *Martin Bucer*, *Peter Martyr*, *Iohn Alaſco*, *Emanuell Gualterus*, & many others vpon his publike ſtipends entertained, their patents can witneſſe, & they them ſelues during their liues woulde neuer haue denied. After the death of this moſt vertuous Prince, of whom the godleſſe people of England (for the moſt part) were not worthie, Sathan intended nothing leſſe then the light of Ieſus Chriſt vtterly to haue bene extinguiſhed within the whole Ile of Britanny. For after him was raiſed vp in Gods hote diſpleaſure that Idolatres Ieſabell miſchieuous *Marie* of the Spaniards bloud, a cruell perſecutrix of Gods people, as the actes of her vnhappie raigne can ſufficiently witneſſe. And in Scotland that ſame time (as we haue heard) raigned that craftie practiſer, *Marie* of Lorane, then named Regent of Scotland, who bound to the deuotion of her two brethrē the Duke of Guiſe & Cardinall of Lorane, did onely abide the oportunitie to cut the throte of all thoſe, in whome ſhe ſuſpected any knowledge of God to be within the realme of Scotland. And ſo thought Sathan that his kingdome of darkeneſſe was in quietneſſe and reſt, as well in the one realme as in the other. But that prouident eye of our eternall God, who continually watches for preſeruation of his Church, did ſo order all things that Sathan ſhortlie after found him ſelfe farre diſapointed of his concluſion taken. For in that cruell perſecution vſed by that monſter *Marie* of England, were godly men diſperſed

Who firſt after the death of K. Edward begā to preach in Scotland.

ſperſed into diuerſe nations: of whom it pleaſed the goodneſſe of God to ſend ſome vnto vs for our cõfort and inſtruction. And firſt came a ſimple man, *VVilliam Harlaw*, whoſe erudition although it excell not, yet for his whole and diligent plainneſſe in doctrine, is he to this day worthie of praiſe: & remaines a frutefull member within the church of Scotlande. After him came that notable man *Iohn VVilbock* as one that had ſome commiſſion to the Queene Regent, from the Ducheſſe of Emden. But his principall purpoſe was to aſſay what God would worke by him in his natiue countrey. Theſe two did ſomtimes in ſeuerall companies aſſemble the brethrẽ, who by their exhortations began greatly to be encoraged, & did ſhew that they had an earneſt thirſt of godlines. And laſt came *Iohn Knox* in the end of ỳ harueſt, an. 1555. who firſt being lodged in the houſe of that notable man of God *Iames Sime*, began to exhort ſecretly in that ſame houſe, whereunto repared the Laird of Dune, *Dauid Ferreſſe*, & ſome certane perſonages of the towne, amongſt whome was *Elizabeth Adamſon* then ſpouſe to *Iames Barrone* burges of Edinburgh, who by reaſon that ſhe had a troubled cõſcience delited much in the companie of the ſayde *Iohn*: becauſe that he according to the grace geuen vnto him, opened more fully the fountaine of Gods mercies, then did the common ſort of teachers, that ſhe had heard before (for ſhe had heard none except Frears) & did with ſuch greedines drink therof, that at hir death ſhe did expreſſe the fruit of hir hearing, to the great cõfort of al thoſe ỳ repared vnto hir. For albeit ſhe ſuffred moſt grieuous tormẽt in her body, yet out of her mouth was heard nothing, but praiſing of God, except ỳ ſomtims ſhe laméted the troubles of thoſe that wer troubled by hir. Being ſomtims

Elizabeth Adamſon, & her death.

demaunded by her ſiſters. What ſhe thought of that paine which ſhe then ſuffred in bodie, in reſpect of that wherwith ſometimes ſhe was troubled in ſpirit. She aunſwered, a thouſand yeare of this torment, & ten times more ioyned vnto it, is not to be compared to the quarter of an houre that I ſuffred in my ſpirit. I thanke my God through Ieſus Chriſt, that hath deliuered me from that fearfull paine, and welcome be this, euen ſo long as it pleaſeth his godly maieſty to exerciſe me therewith. A litle before hir departure ſhe deſired her ſiſters & ſome others that were beſide her, to ſing a Pſalme, and amongſt others ſhe appointed the 103. Pſalme, beginning, My ſoule praiſe thou the Lord alwayes, which ended ſhe ſaid, At the teaching of this Pſalme began my troubled ſoule, firſt effectuallie to taſt of the mercie of my God, which nowe to me is more ſweete & pretious then if all the kingdomes of the earth were giuen to me to poſſeſſe them a thouſand yeares. The prieſtes vrged her with their ceremonies and ſuperſtitions. To whome ſhe aunſwered, depart from me ye Sergeants of Sathan: for I haue refuſed & in your owne preſence do refuſe all your abhominations. That which ye call your Sacrament, & Chriſtes bodie (as ye haue deceaued vs to beleeue in times paſt) is nothing but an Idoll, and hath nothing to do with the right inſtitution of Ieſus Chriſt, & therefore in Gods name I commaund you not to trouble me. They departed alleadging that ſhe raued, and wiſt not what ſhe ſayd. And ſhe ſhortly after ſlept in the Lord Ieſus, to no ſmall comfort of thoſe that ſaw her bleſſed departing. This we could not omit of this worthie woman, who gaue ſo notable a confeſſion before that the great light of Gods worde did vniuerſally ſhine throughout this realme.

At

At the firſt comming of the ſayde *Iohn Knox*, he perceauing diuerſe who had a zeale to godlineſſe, make ſmall ſcruple to go to the Maſſe, or to communicate with the abuſed Sacramentes in the Papiſticall manner, beganne as well in priuie conference as in doctrine to ſhewe the impietie of the Maſſe, and howe daungerous a thing it was, to communicate in anie ſorte with idolatrie: wherewith the conſcience of ſome being affrayed, the matter began to be agitat from man to man. And ſo was the ſayde *Iohn* called to ſupper, by the Laird of Dun, for that ſame purpoſe, where were aſſembled *Dauid Forreſſe*, *Maiſter Robert Lockart*, *Iohn VVillocke*, and *VVilliam Maitland* of Lethington Younger, a man of good learning, and of ſharpe wit and reaſoning. The queſtion was proponed, and it was aunſwered by the ſayde *Iohn*, That in no wiſe it was lawfull to a Chriſtian to preſent him ſelfe to that Idoll. Nothing was omitted that might ſerue for the purpoſe, and yet was euerie head ſo fullie aunſwered, and eſpecially one, whereunto they thought their greate defence ſtood. To wit, that Paule at the commaundement of Iames and of the Elders of Ieruſalem, paſſed to the Temple and fayned him ſelfe to pay his vowe with others. This we ſay and others, were ſo fullie aunſwered, that *VVilliam Maitland* cõcluded, ſaying, I ſee very perfectly that our ſhifts will ſerue no thing before God, ſeing that they ſtande vs in ſo ſmall ſtead before men. The aunſwer of *Iohn Knox* to the fact of Paule, and to the commaundement of Iames was. That Paules fact had nothing to doe with their going to Maſſe. For to pay vowes was ſometimes Gods commaundement, and was neuer Idolatrie: But their Maſſe from the originall, was and remained odiouſe ido-

latrie. Therefore the fact was moſt vnlike. Secondarilie ſayd he, I greatly dout whether either *Iames* commaundement or *Paules* obedience, proceeded of the holy Ghoſt: we know their counſel tendeth to this, that Paule ſhould ſhewe him ſelfe one that obſerued the verie ſmall points of the Lawe, to the end he might purchaſe to him the fauours of the Iewes, who were offended at him, by reaſon of the brutes that were ſpread, that he taught defection from Moſes. Now while he obeyed their counſell, he fell into the moſt deſperat daunger, that euer he ſuſtained before: whereby it was euident that God approued not that meane of reconciliation, but rather that he plainly declareth, that euill ſhould not be done, that good might come of it. Euill it was for Paule to confirme thoſe obſtinate Iewes in their ſuperſtition by his example, worſe it was to him to expone him ſelf & the doctrine which before he had taught to ſlaunder & mockage. And therfore concluded the ſayde *Iohn*, that the fact of Paule & the ſequele that therof followed, appeared rather to fight againſt them, that would go to the Maſſe, thē to giue vnto them any aſſurance to follow his exāple, vnleſſe that they would that the like trouble ſhould inſtantly apprehend thē, that apprehended him for obeying worldly wiſe councell. After theſe and like reaſonings, the Maſſe began to be abhorred of ſuch as before vſed it for the faſhion and auoiding of ſlaunder (as then they termed it) *Iohn Knox* at requeſt of the Laird of Dun followed him to his place of Dun, where he remained a moneth, daylie exerciſed in doctrine, whereunto reſorted the principall men of that countrey. After this returning, his reſidence was moſt in Calder, where repared vnto him, the Lord *Erskin* that nowe is, the Earle of Argile, then Lorde of Lorne,

and

and Lord *Iames*, then priour of Sainct Andrewes, & now Earle of Murrey, where they heard and so approued his doctrine, that they wished it to haue bin publike. That same winter he taught commonly in Edinburgh, & after Christmas by the conduct of the Laird & *Robert Campbell* of Kingzeancleuch he came to Kyle, and taught in the barre, in the house of the Carnell, in the Kingzeancleuch, in the town of Air, and in the houses of Vchiltrie and Gathgirth, and in some of them ministred the Lordes table. Before Easter the Earle of Glencarne sent for him to his place of Fynlaston, where after doctrine, he also ministred the Lordes table. Whereof besides him selfe were partakers, his ladie, two of his sonnes, and certaine of his friendes. And so returned he to Calder, where diuerse from Edinburgh, and from the countrey about, assembled, as well for the doctrine, as for the right vse of the Lords table, which before they had neuer practised. From thence he departed the seconde time to the Laird of Dun, and teaching then in greater libertie, the gentlemen required, that he should minister likewise vnto them the Table of the Lord Iesus, where were partakers, the most part of the gentlemē of the *Merses*, who God be praised, to this day doe constantly remaine in the same doctrine which then they professed. To wit, that they refused all societie with idolatrie, and bent them selues to the vttermost of their powers to maintaine the true preaching of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, as God should offer vnto them preachers and oportunitie. The brute hereof sparsed (for the Frears from all quarters flocked to the Bishops) the saide *Iohn Knox* was summoned to appeare in the church of the blacke Frears in Edinburgh, the fifteenth daye of May, which day the sayde *Iohn*

decreed to keepe, and for that purpoſe *Iohn Erſkin* of Dun with diuerſe other gentlemen aſſembled to the towne of Edinburgh. But that diet held not. For whither the Biſhops perceaued informalitie in their owne proceedings, or if they feared daunger to enſue vpon their extremitie, it is vnknown vnto vs. But the Saturday before ỹ day appointed, they caſt their owne ſummons, & the ſaid *Iohn*, the ſame day of the ſummons taught in Edinburgh in a greater audiẽce then euer before he had done in that towne. The place was the biſhop Dunkellis, his great lodging, where he continued in doctrine ten dayes before & after noone. The Erle of Glencarne allured the Erle of Marſchell, who with hearie *Drummond* (his counſeller for that time) hard an exhortation (but it was vpon the night) who were ſo well contented with it, that they both willed the ſaid *Iohn* to write vnto the Queene Regent ſomewhat that might moue her to heare the word of God. He obeyed their deſire, and wrot that which after was imprinted, and is called the letter to the queene *Dowager*, which was deliuered vnto her owne hands by the ſaid *Alexander* Erle of Glencarne, which letter when ſhe had read within a day or two, ſhe deliuered it to the proud prelate *Becon* biſhop of Glaſgow, & ſaid in mockage, pleaſe you my Lord to reade a paſquill, which words comming to the eares of the ſaid *Iohn*, was the occaſion that to his letter he made his additions, as yet may be ſeene. As concerning the threatnings pronounced againſt her owne perſon, & the moſt principall of her friends let theſe very flatterers ſee what had fayled of all that he had writtẽ. And therfore it were expedient that her daughter nowe miſchieuouſlie raigning ſhould loke to that which had paſſed before, leſt that in following the coũſels of the wicked

ſhe

ſhe end more miſerably then her craftie mother did.

While *Iohn Knox* was thus occupied in Scotland, letters came to him from the Engliſh Churchy was aſſembled at Geneua (which was ſeparated frō that ſuperſtitious and contentious company that was at Francford) commaunding him in Gods name, as he that was their choſen paſtor, to repaire vnto thē for their cōfort. Vpon the which the ſayd *Iohn* tooke his leaue from vs almoſt in euery congregation where before he had preached, and exhorted vs to praiers, to reading of the Scriptures, & mutuall conference, vntill ſuch time as God ſhould giue vnto vs greater libertie. And hereupon he ſent before him to Deap, his mother in law *Elizabeth Bowes* & his wife *Marcury* with no ſmall dolour of their harts, & vnto manie of vs He him ſelfe by procurement & labors of *Robert Cāpbell* of Kingzeancluch remained behind in Scotland, and paſſed to the Earle of Argile, who then was in the caſtle of Campbell, where he taught certaine dayes. The Laird of Glenurquhair (which yet liueth) being one of his auditours, willed the ſayde Earle of Argile to retaine him ſtill, but he purpoſed vpon his iourney, would not at that time ſtaye for no requeſt, adding that if God bleſſed thoſe ſmall beginnings that they continued in godlineſſe, when ſoeuer they pleaſed to commaund him they ſhould find him obediēt. But ſayd, that ones he muſt needs viſit that litle flocke which the wickedneſſe of men had compelled him to leaue. And ſo in the moneth of Iuly he left this realme, & paſt to Fraunce, & ſo to Geneua. Immediatly after the Biſhops ſummoned him, and for none appearance burnt him in effigie, at the croſſe of Edinburgh in the yeare of our Lord 1555. from the which vniuſt ſentence the ſayde *Iohn* made his appellation, and cauſed to printe

the ſame & direct it to the nobility & cõmõs of Scotland, as yet may be read. In the winter that the ſayd *Iohn* aboad in Scotlãd appeared a comet, the courſe whereof was from the South and Southweſt to the North & Northeaſt. It was ſene the moneths of Nouember December and Ianuarie, It was called the fyrie booſome. Sone after dyed *Chriſtierne* Kinge of Démarke, & warr roſe betwixt Scotland & Englãd for the commiſſioners of both realmes, who almoſt the ſpace of ſix moneths entreated vpon the conditions of peace, and were vpon a neere poinct of concluſion. The Queene Regent with her counſell of the french faction decreed were at new battaill without giuing any aduertiſmẽt to the cõmiſſioners for the parte of Scotlãd.

Warre againſt England by the meanes of Queene Regent.

Such is the fidelity of Princes guyded by Prieſtes whenſoeuer they ſeeke theyr owne affections to be ſerued. In the end of that next harueſt was ſeene vpon the borders of England and Scotland a ſtrange fyre which deſcended from the heauen and burnt diuerſe cornes in both the realmes, but moſt in Englãd. There was preſẽted to the Queene regẽt by *Robert Ormeſton* a calfe hauing two heads, whereat ſhe ſcripped, & ſaid, It was but a cõmon thing. The warr began in the end of the harueſt, as ſaid is, & concluſiõ was takẽ that Warke ſhould be aſſieged. The army & ordinance paſt foreward to Maxwel Hewcht. The Queene Regẽt remained in the caſtle of Hom & thinking that all things were in aſſurãce *Monſieur Doſell* then Lieuetenant for Fraunce gaue charge that the cannõs ſhould be tranſported ouer the water of Tweid, which was done with expeditiõ (for the French in ſuch facts are expert) but the nobility of Scotland nothing cõtent of ſuch proceedings after cõſultatiõ amongſt thẽſelues, paſt to the Palezeõ of

A calf with two heades.

The fact of the nobility of Scotland at Maxwell Hewcht.

Monſieur

Monſieur Doſel afrayd and in his owne face declared that in no wayes would they inuade England. And therefore commaunded the ordinaunce to be retyred, and that it was without farther delay. This put an effray in *Monſieur Doſels* breath, and kindled ſuch a fyre inthe Queene Regentes ſtomacke, as was not well ſlakened till her breath fayled. And thus was that enterpriſe fruſtrate. But yet were continewed, during the which, the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt beganne wonderouſlie to floriſh. For in Edinburgh beganne publiklie to exhorte *William Harlaw*, *Iohn Dowglaſſe* who had (being with the Erle of Argyle) preached in Lyth, and ſometimes exhorted in Edinburgh. *Paule Meaffen* beganne publiklie to preach in Dondy & ſo did diuerſe others in Anguiſh and the Mearnes. And laſt at Goddes good pleaſure arriued *Iohn Willock* the ſecond time from Eniden whoſe returne was ſo ioyfull to the brethren that their zeale and godlie courage daylie encreaſed. And albeit he contracted a daungerous ſicknes, yet he ceaſed not from laboures, but taught and exhorted from his bedde ſome of the Nobilitie (of whom ſome are fallen backe amongſt whome the Lord Seaton is cheefe) with many Barrones, & gentle men were his auditors, and by him were godlie inſtructed, & wonderouſly comforted. They kept their conuentions & held counſails with ſuch grauity & cloſenes, that the ennemies trembled. The Images were ſtollen away in all partes of the countrey. And in Edinburgh was that great Idol called Sainct Gyle firſt drowned in the North Loch, after burnt which raiſed no ſmall trouble in the towne. For the frears rooping like rauēs vpon the Biſhops, the Biſhops ranne vpon the Queene, who to them was fauorable inough, but that ſhe thought it could not

The ſecond returne of Iohn Willock to Scotland.

Lord Seton an apoſtata.

The aboliſhing of Images and trouble therefore

ſtand with her aduãtage to offend ſuch a multitude as then tooke vpon them the defence of the Goſpell, and the name of proteſtantes. And yet conſented ſhe to ſummond the preachers: whereat the proteſtants neither offended neither yet therof affrayed determined to keepe the day of ſummondes, as that they did. Which perceaued by the prelates and preaſtes they procured a proclamation, to be publiklie made, that all men that were come to the towne without commandement of the authoritie ſhould with all diligence repaire to the borders and there remaine fifteene dayes. For the Biſhop of Galloway in this maner of rime ſaid to the Queene. Madame becauſe they are come without ordour, I read ye ſend them to the Bordour. Now ſo had God prouided, that the quarter of the waſtland (in the which was manie faithfull men) was that ſame day returned from the bordour, who vnderſtanding the matter to proceed from the malice of the prieſts aſſembled themſelues together, and made paſſage to themſelues till that they came to the verie priuie chamber, where the Queene Regent and the Biſhoppes were. The gentlemen beganne to complaine vpon their ſtraunge intertenement, conſidering that her grace had foũd in them ſo faithfull obedience in all thinges lawfull. While the Queene beganne to craft a zelous and a bold mã *Iames Chalmers* of Gaithgyrth ſaid Madame we know that this is the malice and deuiſe of the Iewells and of that baſtard (meaning the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes) that ſtandeth by you, we auow to God we ſhall make a day of it. They oppreſſe vs and our tenantes, for feding of their Idell bellies. They trouble our preachers, and would murther them & vs: ſhall we ſuffer this any lõgar? No Madame it ſhal not be. And therewith euerie man put on his ſteele bonnette

The preachers ſummoned

The practiſe of prelats and what thereof enſued.

The bolde wordes of Ieames Chalmeris of Gayth. gyrth.

bonnet. There was heard nothing of the Queenes part, but my ioyes, my heartes, what ailes you? Me meane no euill to you nor to your preachers. The Biſhops ſhall do you no wrong, ye are all my louing ſubiectes: I know nothing of this proclamation. The day of your preachers ſhall be diſcharged, and me will heare the controuerſie that is betwixt the Biſhoppes and you. They ſhall do you no wrong. My Lordes ſaid ſhe to the Biſhoppes, I forbid you either to trouble them or their preachers, and vnto the gẽtlemen who were wonderouſly commoued, ſhe turned againe and ſaid. O my hearts ſhould yẽ not loue the Lord, your God with all your hart, with all your mind, and ſhould ye not loue your neighboures as your ſelfe. With theſe and the like wordes, ſhe kept the Biſhopes from buffetes at that tyme. And ſo the day of ſummondes being diſcharged, beganne the brethren vniuerſallie farther to be encouraged. But yet could the Biſhoppes in no ſort be quyet. For Sainct Gilles day approching they gaue charge to the proueſt Ballies and counſell of Edinburgh, either to get againe the old Sainct Geill, or elſe vpon their expenſes to make a new image. The counſell aunſwered that to them the charge appeareth very vniuſt for they vnderſtood that God in ſome places had commaunded Idolles and Images to be deſtroyed. But where he had commaunded Images to be ſet vp, they had not read, and deſired the Biſhop to find a warrant for his commaundement. Whereat the Biſhop offẽded admoniſhed vnder paine of curſing which they preuented by a former appellation appealing from him as a partiall and corrupt Iudge vnto the popes holineſſe. And ſo greater thinges ſhortly following that paſſed in obliuion. Yet would not the preaſtes and frears ceaſe to haue that great

O craftye flatterer.

The commaund of the Biſhops

The anſwer of Edinburgh.

Edinburgh appealeth from the ſentence of the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes.

ſolemnitie and manifeſt abhomination, which they accuſtomedlie had vpon Sainct Giles day. To witt, they would haue that Idol borne, and therfore was all preparations needefull dewlie made. A mamorſet Idol was borrowed from the gray frears (a ſiluer peece of *Iames Carmichel* was laid in pledg) it was faſt fixed with iron nailles vpon a barrow called there fertor. Their aſſe, blody prieſts, frears chānons, & rotté papiſts with tabornes & trūpetes banners & bag pipes. And who was ther to lead ỹ Reigne but the Queene Regent her ſelfe with al her ſhauelings for honour of that feaſt: Well, about goeth it, & commeth downe the hie ſtreete, & downe to the cōmon croſſe. The Queene Regent dined that day in Sandy carpitanes howſe betwixt the bowes. And ſo when the Idol returned back againe ſhe left it & paſt in to her dinner. The hearts of the brethrē were wōderouſly enflamed, & ſeing ſuch abhominatiō ſo manifeſtly mantained, were decreed to be reuenged. They were deuided in ſeuerall companies, whereof not one knew of an other. Ther were ſome temporizers that day (amongſt whome *Dauid Ferreſſe* called the general was one) who fearing the chaunce to be done, as it fell, labored to ſtay the brethren. But that could not be. For immediatly after that the Queene was entered in the lodging, ſome of theſe that were of the interpriſe drew ney to the Idoll as willing to help to beare him & getting the fertour vpon their ſhoulders began to ſhudder thinking that thereby the Idol ſhould haue fallen, but that was prouided & preuented by the iron nailes as we haue ſaid. And ſo began one to crye downe with the Idol, downe with it. And ſo without delay it was pulled downe, ſome bragg made the prieſtes patrones at the firſt. But when they ſaw the fibleneſſe of their God (for one tooke

Tryumph for bearing of ſtock Giell.

The downe caſting of Stock Gyle and diſcomfitour of Bals prieſtes.

tooke him by the heeles & dading his head to the calſay left dagon without head or handes, and ſaid fie vpon thee thou yong Sainct Giell thy Father would haue taried for ſuch.)This cõſidered(we ſay) the preaſtes and frears fled faſter then they did at Pinckey Clewch. Their might haue bene ſeene ſo ſuddaine a fraie as ſeeldome hath bene amongeſt that ſorte of men within this Realme,For downe goeth the croſſes, of goeth the ſurpliſſe, round cappes cornar with the crownes.The gray frears gaped,the black frears blew,the prieſtes panted & fledde. And happie was he that firſt gat the houſe,for ſuch a ſuddaine fray came neuer amongeſt the generation of Antichriſt within this Realme before. By chaunce there lay vpon a ſtaire a merrie Engliſhman,and ſeing the diſcomfitour to be without blood thought he would adde ſome mearineſſe to the matter:& ſo cried he ouer the ſtaire,& ſaid:fie vpon you hoorſonnes why haue ye brokẽ ordour,down the ſtreet they paſſed in array & with great mirth:why flie the villanes now without ordour, turne and ſtrike euerie man a ſtroke for the honour of his God:fie cowards fie ye ſhall neuer be iudged worthy of your wages againe, But exhortations were neuer vnprofitable.For after that *Bell* had broken his necke there was no comfort to his confuſed Armie. The Queene Regent laid vp this amongſt her other inuentions til that ſhe might haue ſeene the tyme proper to haue reuenged it. Search was made for the doers but none could be deprehended:For the brethren aſſembled for them ſelues in ſuch ſorte in companies ſinging pſalmes & praiſing God,that the proudeſt of the enemies were aſtonied. This tragedie of Sainct Gilles was ſo terrible to ſome Papiſtes, that *Durie* ſometimes called for his filthines Abbot Stottikin, and then intituled

A mearie Engliſhmã.

The death of the Biſhop of Galaway & his laſt confeſſion.

Biſhop of Galoway left his ryming wherewith he was accuſtomed, and departed this life euen as that he liued. For the Articles of his beleefe were. I referre. Decarte you. Ha ha the foure kinges and all made. The deuill go with it, It is but a varlette. From France we thought to haue gotten a rewby, And yet is he nothing but a cohoobie. With ſuch faith & ſuch prayers departed out of this life, that enemy of God who had vowed and plainelie ſaid, that in deſpyte of God ſo long as they that then were prelates liued ſhould that word (called the Goſpell) neuer be preached within this Realme. After him followed that bellie God *Maiſter Dauid Panter* called Biſhop of Roſſe euen with the like documents except that he departed eating and drincking, which together with the reſt that thereupon depended was the paſtime of his life, The moſt part of the Lordes that were in France at the Queenes mariage although that they gat there leaue frō the corut, yet they forget to return to Scotlād. For whither it was by an Italiā poſſet or French figges, or by the pottage of their potingar (he was a French man) their departed frō this life, the Earle of Caſſiles, the Earle of Rotheſſe Lord *Fleming*, and the Biſhop of Orknay, whoſe end was euen according to his life. For after that he was driuen backe by a contrarious wynd and forced to land againe at diep perceauing his ſicknes to encreaſe, he cauſed to make his bedde betwixt his two cofers (ſome ſaid vpon them) ſuch was his God, the gold that therein was encloſed, that he could not depart there from ſo long as memorie would ſerue him. The Lord *Iames* then Prior of Sainct Andrewes had (by all appearance) licked of the ſame boyl that diſpatched the reſt, for thereof to this day his ſtomack doth teſtifie. But God preſerue for a better

The vow of that marked beaſt dury Biſhop of Galoway.

The death of M. Dauid Panter.

The death of the Biſhop of Orknay Reid. &c.

purpoſe

purpoſe. This ſame Lord *Iames* now Erle of Murray, and the ſayd Biſhop were commonly at debate for matters of religion, and therefore the ſaid Lord hearing of the biſhops diſeaſe, came to viſit him. And finding him not ſo well at a point as he thought he ſhould haue bene, & as the honour of the countrey required, ſaid vnto him: Fie my Lord, how ly ye ſo? will ye not go to your chamber, and not lye here in this cõmon houſe. His aunſwer was, I am well where I am my Lord, ſo long as I can tarie, for I am neare vnto my friends (meaning his coffers and the golde therein.) But my Lord (ſaid he) long haue you and I bin in pley for purgatorie, I thinke that I ſhall know or it be long whether there be ſuch a place or not. While the other did exhorte him to call to minde the promiſes of God, and the vertue of Chriſtes death: he aunſwered, Nay my Lorde, let me alone, for you and I neuer agreed in our life, and I thinke we ſhall not agree nowe at my death, and therefore let me alone. The ſayde Lorde *Iames* departed to his lodging, and the other ſhortly after departed this life. Whither, the great day of the Lord will declare.

Orknayes anſwer, and his friendes home.

When the word of the departing of ſo many patrons of the papiſtry, & of the maner of their departing, came vnto the Queene Regent, after aſtoniſhment and muſing ſhe ſaide: What ſhall I ſay of ſuch men, they left me as beaſts, & as beaſts they dy. God is not with them, neither with that which they enterpriſe. While theſe thinges were in doing in Scotland and Fraunce, that perfect hypocrite, *M. Iohn Synclare* then Deane of Reſtalrige, & now Lord Preſident, and Biſhop of Brechin, began to preach in his Church of Reſtarig, & at the beginning held him ſelfe ſo indifferent, that many had opinion of

The queene Regẽts ſentence of the death of her Papiſts.

Deane of Reſtairige hypocrite began to preach.

him, that he was not far from the kingdom of God. But his hypocrisie could not long be cloked. For when he vnderstood that such as feared God, began to haue a good opinion of him, and that the Frears and others of that sect began to whisper. That if he tooke not heede in time to him self and vnto his doctrine, he would be the destruction of the whole estate of the Church. This by him vnderstood, he appointed a sermon, in the which he promised to giue his iudgement vpon all such heads, as then were in controuersie in the matters of religion. The brute hereof made his audience great at the first: but that day he so handled him selfe, that after that no godly man did credit him. For he not onely gainsayd the doctrine of iustification and of prayer, which before he had taught, but also he set vp & maintained the Papistrie to the vttermost pricke, yea holy water, pilgrimage, Purgatorie, and pardons were of such vertue in his conceit, that without them he looked not to be saued. In this meane time the clergy made a bragge that they would dispute. But *Maister Dauid Panter*, which then liued and lay at Restalrige, dissuaded them therefrom, affirming that if euer they disputed, but where them selues were both iudge & partie, and where that fire and sword should obeye their decree, that then their cause was marred for euer. For their victorie stood neither in God nor in his word, but in their owne willes, and in the things concluded by their owne counsells (together with sword and fire) whereto (sayd he) these newe start vp fellowes will giue no place, but they will call you to your compt booke, and that is to the Bible, & by it ye will no more be found the men that ye are called, then the deuill will be approued to be God. And therfore if ye loue your selues enter neuer into dispu-

M. Dauid Panters counsell to his forsworne brethren the bishops.

diſputatiō, neither yet call ye ŷ matter into queſtiō, but defend your poſſeſſiō or elſe all is loſt. Caiaphas could not giue any better counſell to his companions, but yet God diſapointed both them and him, as after we ſhall here. At this ſame time ſome of the Nobilitie directed their letters to call *Iohn Knox* frō Geneua, for their comfort, and for the comfort of their brethren the preachers, and others that then couragiouſlie fought againſt the enemies of Gods truth. The tenor of their letter is this.

Grace, mercie and peace for ſalutation.

Dearely beloued in the Lorde, the faithfull that are of your acquaintaunce in theſe parts (thanks be vnto God) are ſtedfaſt in the beliefe wherein ye left them, and haue a godlie thirſt and deſire daye by day of your preſence againe. Which if the ſpirit of God will ſo moue and permit time vnto you, we will hartelie deſire you in the name of the Lorde, that ye will returne againe into theſe partes, where you ſhall finde all faithfull that ye left behinde you, not onely glad to heare your doctrine, but will be ready to ieoparde liues and goodes for the ſetting forward of the glory of God, as he will permit time. And albeit the magiſtrates in this countrie be as yet but in the ſtate ye left them, yet at the making hereof we haue no experience of anie more crueltie to be vſed, then was before. But rather we haue beliefe that God will augment his flocke, becauſe we ſee daylie the Frears enemies to Chriſtes Goſpell in leſſe eſtimation, both with the Queenes grace, and the reſt of the Nobilitie of our realme. This in fewe words is the mind of the faithfull being preſent, and others abſent. The reſt of our mindes this faithfull

The ſecond vocation of Iohn Knox by letters of the Lordes.

bearer will shewe you at length. Thus fare ye well in the Lord. At Stirueling the tenth of March, anno 1556. This is the true copie of the bill, being subscribed by the names vnder written.

Sic subscribitur.

Glencarne.
Lorne, now Argile.
Erskin.
Iames Stewart.

These letters were deliuered to the sayd *Iohn* in Geneua, by the handes of *Iames Sym*, who nowe resteth with Christ, & of *Iames Barrone* that yet liueth in the moneth of May immediatly after. Which receaued and aduised vpon, he tooke consultation, as well with his owne Church, as with that notable seruant of God *Iohn Caluine*, and with other godly ministers, who all with one consent sayd that he could not refuse that vocation, vnlesse he would declare him selfe rebellious vnto his God, and vnmercifull to his countrey. And so he returned aunswer, with promise to visite them with reasonable expedition: and so soone as he might put order to that deare flocke that was committed to his charge. And so in the ende of the next September after he departed from Geneua, and came to Deape, where there met him contrarie letters, as by his aunswer thereto we may vnderstand.

The Spirit of wisedome, constancie and strength be multiplied with you by the fauour of God our Father, & by the grace of our Lord Iesus Christ.

According to my promise, right Honorable, I came to Deape the xxiiij. day of October, of full minde by the good will of God with the first ships,

to

to haue viſited you. But becauſe two letters not verie pleaſing vnto the fleſh, were there preſented vnto me, I was compelled to ſtay for a time. The one was directed to my ſelfe, from a faithfull brother, which made mention, that newe conſultation was appointed for finall concluſion of the matter before purpoſed: and willed me therefore to abide in theſe partes till the determination of the ſame. The other letter was directed, from a gentleman to a friende, with charge to aduertiſe me, that he had commoned with all thoſe, that ſeemed moſt franke and feruent in the matter. And that in none did he finde ſuch boldneſſe and conſtancie as was requiſite for ſuch an enterpriſe, but that ſome did (as he writeth) repente that euer anie ſuch thing was moued: ſome were partly aſhamed, and others were able to denie that euer they did conſent to any ſuch purpoſe, if anie triall or queſtion ſhould be taken thereof &c. Which letters when I had conſidered, I partly was confounded, and partly was pierced with anguiſh and ſorowe. Confunded I was, that I had ſo farre trauelled in the mater, mouing the ſame to the moſt godlie and moſt learned, that this daye we knowe to liue in Europe. To the effect that I might haue their iudgementes and graue counſailes, for aſſuraunce as well of your conſciences as of mine in all enterpriſes. And then that nothing ſhould ſucceede of ſo long conſultation, can not but redound either to your ſhame or mine. For either it ſhall appeare that I was maruelouſe vaine, being ſo ſolicited, where no neceſſitie required, or elſe that ſuch as were my mouers therto, lacked the ripeneſſe of iudgement in their firſt vocation. To ſome it may appeare, a ſmall and light matter: that I haue caſt of, and as it were abandoned as well

my particular care as my publike office and charge, leauing my houſe and poore familie deſtitute of all head, ſaue God onely, & committing that ſmall (but to Chriſt dearely beloued) flocke, ouer the which I was appointed one of the miniſters, to the charge of another. This I ſay to worldly men may appeare a ſmall matter, but to me, it was, and is ſuch, that more worldly ſubſtaunce then I will expreſſe, could not haue cauſed me willingly behold the eyes of ſo many graue men wept at once for my cauſe, as that I did in taking of my laſt good night from them. To whome if it pleaſe God that I returne, and queſtion be demaunded, what was the impediment of my purpoſed iourney: iudge you what I ſhall aunſwer. The cauſe of my dolor and ſorowe (God is my witneſſe) is for nothing pertaining either to my corporall contentment, or worldly diſpleaſure, but it is for the grieuous plagues & puniſhments of God, which aſſuredly ſhall apprehend not onely you, but euerie inhabitant of that miſerable realme and Ile, except that the power of God by the libertie of his Goſpell deliuer you from bondage. I meane not onely that perpetuall fire and torment prepared for the deuill, and for ſuch as denying Chriſt Ieſus, & his knowen veritie, do follow the ſonnes of wickedneſſe to perdition (which moſt is to be feared,) but alſo that thraldome and miſerie that ſhall apprehende your owne bodies, your children, ſubiects and poſteritie: whom ye haue betrayed (in conſcience I can except none that beare the name of Nobilitie) & preſently fight to betray them and your realme to the ſlauery of ſtraungers. The warre begun (although I acknowledge it to be the work of God) ſhall be your deſtruction, vnleſſe that betime remedie be prouided. God open your eyes that ye may eſpie and conſider your owne

The matrimoniall crowne was graunted & Frēch bāds were ariued.

owne miſerable eſtate. My wordes ſhall appeare to ſome ſharp, and vndiſcretly ſpoken. But as charitie ought to interprete all thinges to the beſt, ſo ought wiſe men to vnderſtand, that a true friende can not be a flatterer. Eſpeciallie when the queſtions of ſaluation both of bodie and ſoule are moued, and that not of one, nor of two, but as it were of a whole realme or nation. What are the ſobbes, and what is the affection of my troubled heart, God ſhall one day declare. But this will I adde to my former rigor and ſeueritie: to wit, if anie perſwade you for feare of daungers that may followe to faint in your former purpoſe, be he eſteemed ſo wiſe and friendlie: let him be iudged of you, both fooliſh & your mortall enemie. Fooliſh, for becauſe he vnderſtood nothing of Gods approued wiſedome: and enemy vnto you, becauſe he laboured to ſeparate you from Gods fauour, prouoking his vengeance, and grieuous plagues againſt you: becauſe he would, that ye ſhould preferre your worldly reſt to Gods praiſe and glorie, and the friendſhip of the wicked, to the ſaluation of your brethren. I am not ignorant that fearefull troubles ſhall enſue your enterpriſe (as in my former letters I did ſignifie vnto you) But ô ioyfull & comfortable are thoſe troubles & aduerſities, which man ſuſtaineth for accompliſhment of Gods will reuealed by his word! For howe terrible ſoeuer they appeare to the iudgement of the naturall man, yet are they neuer able to deuour nor vtterly to cõſume the ſufferers. For the inuiſible & inuincible power of God ſuſtaineth and preſerueth according to his promiſe, all ſuch as with ſimplicity do obey him. The ſubtil craft of Pharao many yeares ioyned with his bloudy cruelty, was not able to deſtroy the male children of Iſraell, neither were the waters of the

Let the Papiſtes themſelues iudge of what ſpirite theſe ſentences coulde proceede.

redde ſea, much leſſe the rage of Pharao able to confound Moſes and the companie which he conducted, and that becauſe the one had Gods promiſe that they ſhould multiply, and the other had his cõmaundement to enter into ſuch daungers. I woulde your wiſedomes ſhould conſider that our God remaineth one and is immutable, & that the Church of Chriſt Ieſus hath the ſame promiſe of protection and defence that Iſraell had of multiplication, and farther that no leſſe cauſe haue ye to enter into your former enterpriſe, then Moſes had to go to the preſence of Pharao (for your ſubiects: yea your brethren are oppreſſed, their bodies and ſoules holden in bondage, and God ſpeaketh to your conſciences, (vnleſſe ye be dead with the blind worlde) that ye ought to hazard your owne liues (be it againſt kings or Emperours) for their deliuerance. For onely for that cauſe are ye called Princes of the people. And ye receaue of your brethren honour, tribute, & homage at Gods commaundement, not by reaſon of your birth and progenie (as the moſt part of men do falſlie ſuppoſe) but by reaſon of your office and dutie, which is to vindicate and deliuer your ſubiectes and brethren from all violence & oppreſſion to the vttermoſt of your power. Aduiſe diligently I beſeech you with the pointes of that letter which I directed to the whole nobilitie, and let euery man applie the matter & caſe to him ſelfe. For your conſcience ſhall one day be compelled to acknowledge that the reformation of religion, & of publike enormities doth appertaine to mo, thẽ to the clergy or chiefe rulers, called kings The mighty ſpirit of the Lord Ieſus rule & guide your counſels to your eternall glory, your eternall comfort, & to the conſolation of your brethrẽ. Amen. From Deape the xxvij. of October 1557.

The duty of the nobility.

The letter loſt by negligence and troubles.

God graunt that our nobility would yet vnderſtand.

Theſe

Theſe letters receaued and read, together with others directed to the whole nobilitie, and ſome to particular gentlemen, as to the Lairdes of Dun and Pettarrow, new conſultation was had what was beſt to be done, & in the end it was concluded, That they would follow forward their purpoſe once intended, and would commit them ſelues, & whatſoeuer God had giuen to them, into his hands, rather then they would ſuffer idolatrie ſo manifeſtly to raigne, and the ſubiectes of that realme ſo to be defrauded, as long as they had bin of the only food of their ſoules the true preaching of Chriſtes Goſpell. And that euerie one ſhould be the more aſſured of other, a cõmon band was made, and by ſome ſubſcribed, the tenor whereof followeth.

We perceauing howe Sathan in his members the Antichriſts of our time cruelly do rage ſeeking to ouerthrow & to deſtroy the Goſpell of Chriſt and his congregatiõ: ought according to our bounden duty to ſtriue in our Maiſters cauſe euen vnto the death, being certaine of the victorie in him. The which our dutie being well conſidered, we do promiſe before the maieſtie of God, and his congregation, that we (by his grace) ſhall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, & our very liues, to maintaine, ſet forward, & eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed word of God, & his congregation. And ſhall labour at our poſſibilitie, to haue faithfull miniſters, truly and purely to miniſter Chriſts Goſpel and Sacraments to his people. We ſhall maintaine them, nouriſh thẽ, & defend them, the whole congregatiõ of Chriſt, & euery member therof at our whole powers, & waging of our liues againſt Sathan and all wicked power that doeth intend tyranny or trouble againſt the foreſaid congregation. Vnto the which

holie word and congregation we do ioyne vs, and ſo doth forſake and renounce the congregation of Sathan with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and Idolatrie therof. And moreouer ſhall declare our ſelues manifeſtly enemies therto. By this our faithful promiſe before God teſtified to his congregatiõ. By our ſubſcription at theſe preſentes. At Edinburgh the 3 of December 1557 yeares. God called to witneſſe.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

A. Earle of Argyle. *Archibald Lord of Lorne.*
Glencarne. *Iohn Erſkin of Dun.*
Mortonn. *Et catera.*

Before a litle that this bõd was ſubſcribed by the fore written, & many other letters were directed againe to *Iohn Knox* frõ the ſaid Lords: together with their letters to *M. Caluin* crauing of him that by his authoritie he would command the ſaid *Iohn* ones againe to viſit them. Theſe letters were deliuered by the hands of *M. Iohn Gray*, in the moneth of Nouember, the yeare of God 1558, who at that ſame tyme paſt to Rome for expeditiõ of the bowes of Roſſe to *M. Henrie Sinclar*. Immediatly after the ſubſcription of this foreſaid band, the Lordes and Barrones profeſſing Chriſt Ieſus conuented frequentlie in counſell in the which theſe heades were concluded. Firſt it is thought expedient deuyſed and ordained, that in all pariſhes of this Realme the common praier be read wikelie on Sonday, & other feſtiuall daies publikelie in the pariſh Churches with the leſſons of the old and new Teſtament conforme to the ordour of the booke of common prayers. And if the Curats of the pariſhes be qualefied, to cauſe them to read the ſame. And if they be not, or if they refuſe, that the moſt qualefied in the pariſh vſe and reade the ſame. Secõdlie it is thought neceſſary that doctrine preaching

The third vocation of Iohn Knox by the Lords and Churches of Scotlãd.

ching and interpretation of Scriptures be had and vſed priuatlie in quiet houſes without great conuē-tions of the people therto while afterward that God moue the Prince to graunt publique preaching by faithfull and trew miniſters.

Theſe two heades concerning the Religion, and ſome others cõcerning the policie being concluded the old Earle of Argyle tooke the maintenance of *Iohn Dowglaſſe*, cauſed him to preach publiklie in his houſe, and reformed many things according to his counſel. The ſame boldneſſe tooke diuerſe others, aſwel within townes, as to landwart which did not a litell trouble the Biſhops & Queene Regēt. As by this letter and credit committed to *Sir Dauid Hammiltō*: from the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes to the ſaid Erle of Argyle may be clearlie vnderſtood.

The Biſhoppes letter to the old Earle of Argyle.

My Lord after moſt hartelie commendation, this is to aduertiſe your L. we haue direct this berar our couſin towardes your Lordſhip in ſuch buſines and affaires, as concerneth your L. honour profite and great weal like as the ſaid bearer wil declare to your L. at more lēgth. Praying your L. effectuouſly to aduert thereto and giue attendence to vſe your Lordſhips friendes that alwayes hath willed the honour profite and vtter wealth of your L. houſe, as of our owne, and credite to the bearer. And Ieſu haue your L. in Euerlaſting keeping of Edinburgh the 25 day of March anno 1558.

Sic ſubſcribitur.
Your L. at all power
Sainct Andrewes.

Follower the credite.

Memorandum to Sir *Dauid Hammilton* to my Lord Earle of Ergyle in my behalfe and let him ſee and heare euerie article.

In primis to repeat the auncient blood of his howſe how long it hath ſtood, how notable it hath bene, and ſo many noble men hath bin Erles, Lords and knightes therof. How long they haue rained in ther parts trew and obedient both to God and the Prince without any ſpotte in their dayes in any maner of ſorte. And to remember how many notable men are cumming of his howſe.

Secundly to ſhow him the great affection I beare towardes him, his blood, howſe and friends and of the ardent deſire, I haue of the perpetuall ſtanding of it in honour and fame, with al them that are come of it. Which is my part for many and diuerſe cauſes as you ſhall ſee.

Thirdlie to ſhew my Lord how heauy & diſpleaſing it is to me, now to heare, that he who is & hath bene ſo noble a man ſhould be ſeduced and abuſed by the flattery of ſuch an infamed perſon of the law, and menſworne Apoſtata, that vnder the pretence that he geueth himſelfe forth as a preacher of the Goſpell and veritie, vnder that cullour ſetteth forth ſchiſmes and deuiſions, in the holie Church of God with hereticall propoſitions, thinking that vnder his maintenance and defence to infect this countrey with hereſie, perſwading my ſaid Lord, and others his barnes and friendes that all that he ſpeaketh is Scripture, and confirme thereto, albeit that manie of his propoſitions are many yeares paſt cõdemned by generall counſails, and the hole eſtate of Chriſtian people.

Fourthly to ſhow to my Lord how perilous this is

to

to his L. and his howſe and decay thereof, in caſe the authoritie would be ſharp & would vſe conforme both to ciuil and cannon, and as your owne Municipall law of this Realme.

Fiftly to ſhow his Lordſhip how well I would be either to heare, ſee, or know any diſpleaſure that might come to him, his ſonne or any of his houſe, or friendes and eſpecially in his owne time and dayes And as how great diſpleaſure I haue elſe to heare great and euil bruites of him that ſhould now in his age in a manner varie of his faith and to be altered therein when the tyme is that he ſhould be moſt ſure and firme therein.

Sixtly to ſhow his L. that there is delation of that man called *Dowglaſſe*, or graunt, of ſundrie Articles of hereſie which lieth to my charge and conſcience to put remedie to, or elſe all the peſtilentious doctrine he ſowes, and ſuch like all that are corrupt by his doctrine, and all that he draweth from our faith and Chriſtian Religion will lie to my charge afore God. And I to be accuſed before God for ouerſeing of him, if I put not remedie thereto, and correct him for ſuch thinges he is delated of. And therefore that my Lord conſider, and wey it well how heighlie it lieth both to my honour & conſcience. For if I fauour him I ſhalbe accuſed for al them that he infects and corruptes in hereſie.

Therfore I pray my Lord in my moſt hartely maner to take this matter in the beſt part for his owne conſcience, honour and weale of himſelfe, houſe, friendes, and ſeruantes. And ſuch like for my parte, and for my conſcience and honour. That conſidering that there are diuerſe Articles of hereſie to be laid to him, that he is dilated of, and that he is preſentlie in my Lordes companie. That my Lord wold

by ſome honeſt way departe with this man and put him from him, and from his ſonnes company. For I would be right ſorie that any being in any of their companies ſhould be called for ſuch cauſes or that any of them ſhould be bruted to hould any ſick man. And this I would aduertiſe my Lord, and haue his L. auſwere and reſolution or any ſummonds paſſed vpon him, togither with my Lordes anſweres.

Item if my Lord would haue a man to inſtruct him trewlie in the faith, and preach to him, I would prouide a cunning man to him, wherefore I ſhal anſwere for his trew doctrine, and ſhall put my ſoule therefore that he ſhall teache no thing but trewlie according to our catholick faith. Of Edinburgh this laſt of March 1558.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Sainct Andrewes,

Item at once your L. ſhall draw to good remembrance and wey the great and heauie murmure, againſt me, both by the Queenes grace, the Churchmen, ſpirituall and temporall eſtates & well geuen people meaning, crying and murmuring me greatly that I do not my office. To thoile ſuch infamous perſons with ſuch peruerſed doctrine within my dioſes and this Realme by reaſon of my Legacie & Primaſie which I haue rather ſuſtained and long ſuffered, for the great loue that I had to your Lordſhip and poſteritie and your friends and your houſe. As beleauing ſurelie your L. wiſedome ſhould not haue mantained and medled with ſuch things, that might do me diſhonour or diſpleaſure, conſidering I being ready to haue put therto alwayes, but haue modeſtly abſtained, for the loue of your Lordſhip and houſe foreſaid, that I beare trewlie. knowing & ſeeing the great harme, and diſhonour, and lack appearantlie that

Fleſh and blood is preferred to God with the Biſhop.

that might come therethrough, in caſe your L. remedie not the ſame haſtelie whereby we might both be quyet of all daunger, which dowtles will come vpon vs both, if I vſe not my office or that he be called the tyme that he is now with your L. and vnder your L. protection.

Subſcribed againe.

Sainct Andrewes.

By theſe former inſtructions thou may perceaue (gentle Reader) what was the care that this paſtor with his complices tooke to feed the flock committed to their charge (as they alleadge) & to gaineſtād falſe teachers. Here is oft mention of conſcience, of hereſie, and ſuch other termes that may fray the ignorant, and deceaue the ſimple. But we heare no crime in particular laid to the charge of the accuſed and yet is he damned as a foreſworn Apoſtata. This was my Lordes conſcience which he learned of his fathers the Phariſies, old enemies to Chriſt Ieſus, who dāned him before they heard him. But who ruleth my Lords conſcience, when he tooke his Emes wife *Ladie Gylton*. Conſider thou the reſt of his perſwaſion, and thou ſhall clearlie ſee, that honour eſtimation, loue to houſe and friends is the beſt ground that my Lord Biſhop hath, why he ſhould perſecute Ieſus Chriſt in his mēbers. We thought good to inſerte the anſweres of the ſaid Earle which follow.

Memorandum this preſent writt is to make anſwere particularlie to euerie Article directed by my Lord of Sainct Andrewes to me with Sir Dauid Hamilton which Articles are in number 9 and here repeated & anſwered as I truſt to his Lordſhips contentment.

The firſt Article putteth me in remembrance of the antiquitie of the blood of my houſe, how manie

Earles, Lordes, and Knightes hath bene therof, how many noble men descended of the same house, how long it continued, trew to God and the Prince without spotte in their dayes in any manner of sorte,

Trew it is my Lord that there is well long continuance of my house by Godes prouidence, and beneuolence of our Princes whome we haue serued & shall serue trewlie next to God. And the like obedience, towardes God and our princes remaineth with vs yet, or rather better, (praised be the Lords name) nether know we any spotte towards our princes and her dew obedience. And if their be offence towards God he is mercifull to remitte our offences. For he will not the death of a sinner. Like as it standeth in his omnipotent power to make vp howse to continew the same to alter them, to make them small or great, or to extinguish them according to his owne inscrutable wisedom. For in exalting depressing and changing of howse, the laude and praise must be geuen to that one eternall God in whose handes the same standeth.

2 The second Article beareth the great affection and loue your L. beareth towardes me and my house and of the ardent desire ye haue of the perpetuall standing thereof in honour and fame with all them that is cumming of it.

Forsooth it is your dewty to wish good vnto my house and vnto them that are cumming of the same Not alonelie for the faithfullnes, amitie and societie that hath bin betwixt our forefathers: But also for the late coniunction of blood that is betwixt our said house, if it be Godes pleasure that it haue succesſe. Which should giue sufficiét occasiō to your L. to wish good to my house and perpetuitie, with Godes glory, without which nothing is perpetuall,

vnto

vnto whome be praiſe and worſhip for euer and euer. Amen.

Thirdly your Lordſhip declareth how diſpleaſant it is to you that I ſhoulde be ſeduced by an infamed perſon of the lawe, and by the the flatterie of a forſworne Apoſtata, that vnder pretence of his forth geuing maketh vs to vnderſtande, that he is a preacher of the Goſpell, and therewith rayſeth ſchiſmes and diuiſions in the whole Church of God. And by our mainetainaunce and defence would infect this countrie with hereſie, alleadging that to be Scripture, which theſe manie yeares paſt hath ben condemned as hereſie by the generall counſels, and whole eſtate of Chriſtian people. 3.

Anſwer.

The God that created heauen & earth, & all that therein is, preſerue me from ſeducing: for I dread others many vnder the coulour of godlines are ſeduced, & thinke that they do God a pleaſure, whē they perſecute one of them that profeſſe his name. What that man is of the law we know not, we heare none of his flatterie, his periured oth of Apoſtata is ignorant vnto vs. But if he haue made an vnlawfull oth, contrarie to Gods commaundement, it were better to violate it then to obſerue it. He preaches nothing to vs but the Goſpell, if he would otherwiſe doe we would not beleeue him, nor yet an Angell of heauē: we heare him ſow no ſchiſmes nor diuiſiōs, but ſuch as may ſtand with Gods word, which we ſhall cauſe him cōfeſſe in preſence of your L. & the clergy, whē ye require vs therto. And as to it that hath bin condemned by general counſels, we truſt ye know wel, ỹ all the generall coūſels haue bin at diuerſity among them ſelues, & neuer two of them vniuerſall agreeing in all pointes, in ſo much as they are of men.

But the ſpirit of veritie that beares teſtimony of our Lord Ieſus hath not, neither can erre. For heauē and earth ſhall periſh, ere one iote of it periſh. By this my Lord neither teaches he, neither will we accept of him, but that which agrees with his ſincere word, ſet forth by the Patriarks, Prophets, Apoſtles, and Euangeliſtes lefte to our ſaluation in expreſſe words. And ſo my Lord to condemne the doctrine not examined is not required. For whē your L. pleaſeth to heare the confeſſion of that mans faith, the maner of his doctrine, which agreeth with the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, I will cauſe him to aſſiſt to iudgment, and ſhal be preſent thereat at Gods pleaſure, that he may render reckening of his beliefe, & our doctrine to the ſuperiour powers, according to the preſcription of that bloud of the eternall teſtament, ſealed by the immaculate lambe. To whom with the Father and the holie Spirit be all honour and glorie for euer and euer, Amen.

4. The fourth article puts me in remembrance how daungerous it is if the authoritie would put me and my houſe, according to comely and common lawes, and our owne municipall lawes of this realme, and howe it appeareth to the decay of our houſe.

Anſwer.

All lawes are (or at leaſt ſhould be) ſubiect to Gods Lawe, which Lawe ſhould be firſt placed, and planted in euerie mans heart, it ſhould haue no impediment. Men ſhould not abrogate it, for the defence and ſetting vp of their owne aduauntage. If it would pleaſe authorities to put at our houſe, for cōfeſſing of Gods worde, or for maintainaunce of his Lawe, God is mightie enough in his owne cauſe, he

ſhould

ſhould be rather obeyed then man. I will ſerue my Prince, with bodie, heart, goodes, ſtrength, and all that is in my power, except that which is Gods dutie, which I will reſerue to him alone. That is, to worſhip him in truth and veritie, and as neare as I can conforme to his written word, to his owne honour and obedience of my Princeſſe.

The fift article puts me in remembraunce howe wo your L. would be, to heare, to ſee, or knowe, anie diſpleaſure that might come, to me, my ſonne, or anie of my houſe, and eſpecially in my time and dayes. And as to heare the great, and euill brute of me, that ſhould nowe in my age in a maner beginne, to varie from my faith, and to be altered therein when the time is that I ſhould be moſt ſure and firme therein. 5.

Anſwer.

Your L. good will is euer made manifeſt vnto me in all your articles, that woulde not heare, ſee, or knowe my diſpleaſure, for the which I am bounde to render your L. thankes, and ſhall do the ſame aſſuredly. But as for wauering in my faith, God forbid that I ſhould ſo doe. For I beleeue in God the Father almightie, maker of heauen and earth. And in Ieſus Chriſt his onely Sonne our Sauiour. My Lord I varie not in my faith: but I praiſe God that of his goodneſſe nowe in my later dayes, hath of his infinite mercie opened his boſome of grace vnto me, to acknowledge him the eternall wiſedome, his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt, my one ſufficient ſatisfaction, to refuſe all idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and ignoraunce, wherewith I haue bene blinded in times paſt, and nowe beleeue that God will be mercifull vnto me,

for nowe he hath declared his blessed will clearely to me before my departing out of this transitorie life.

6. The sixt article declareth, that there are delations of sundrie pointes of heresie vpon that man, *Dowglas* or *Grant*, which lies to your charge and cõscience to put remedie to, or else that all the pestilentious doctrine he sowes, and all whome he corrupteth with his seed, will be required at your hãds, and all whom he drawes from your Christian faith, and if ye should suffer him, that ye will be accused for all them whom he infecteth with heresie, & therfore to regard your L. honour and conscience herin.

Aunswer.

What is his surname I knowe not, but he calleth him selfe *Dowglas*, for I knowe neither his father nor his mother. I haue hearde him teach no articles of heresie, but that which agreeth with Gods worde. For I would maintaine no man in heresie or errour. Your L. regardes your conscience in the punishment thereof. I pray God that ye so do, and examine well your conscience. He preacheth against idolatrie, I remit to your L. conscience if it be heresie or not. He preacheth against adulterie, and fornicatiõ, I referre that to your L. conscience He preacheth against hipocrisie, I referre that to your L. cõscience. He preaches against all maner of abuses, and corruption of Christes sincere religion, I referre that to your L. cõscience. My Lord I exhort you in Christs name to wey all these affaires in your conscience, & consider if it be your duetie also, not onely to suffer this, but in like maner to do the same. This is all my Lord that I varie in mine age, & no other thing, but that

that I knew not theſe offences to be abhominable to God, and now knowing his will by manifeſtation of his word, abhorre them.

The ſeuenth article deſireth me to weye theſe matters in moſt hartie manner, and to take them in beſt parte, for the weale of both our conſciences, my houſe, friendes and ſeruauntes, and to put ſuch a man out of my companie for feare of the rumour and brute that ſhould followe thereupon, by reaſon he is delated of ſundrie hereſies. And that your L. would be ſorie to heare anie of your ſeruantes delated or bruted for ſuch a cauſe, or for holding of any ſuch men, and that your L. would vnderſtand mine aunſwer hereunto, or anie ſummonds paſſed therevpon. 7.

Annſwere.

I thanke your L. greately that ye are ſo ſolicited for the weale of me and of my houſe, and are ſo humane, as to geue me aduertiſement before ye haue ſummoned of your owne good will, & beneuolence, I haue weyed theſe matters, as highly as my iudgement can ſerue me, both for your L. honor & mine. And whé that I haue reaſoned all that I can do with my ſelfe in it, I think it alwayes beſt to ſerue God & obey his manifeſt word, and not be obſtinate in his contrarie, and to geue their due obedience to our Princes rulers, and magiſtrates, and to heare the voice of Gods prophets, declaring his good promiſe to them that repent, and threatning to obſtinate wicked doers, euerlaſting deſtruction. Your Lordſhip knowes well the man, he hath ſpoken with your L. I thought you content with him, I heard no occaſion of offence in him, I can not well want him, or ſome preacher. I can not put awaye ſuch a man,

without I knewe him an offender, as I knowe not: for I heare nothing of him, but ſuch as your L. ſelfe heard of him, & ſuch as he yet will profeſſe in your preſence, when ſoeuer your L. requires. Such a man that is readie to aſſiſt him ſelfe to iudgement, ſhould not be expelled without knowledge of the cauſe, for like as I aunſwered before in an other article, when your L. pleaſeth, that all the ſpirituall and temporall men of eſtate in Scotlande being aſſembled, I ſhall cauſe him render an accompt of his beleefe and doctrine in your preſences, then if he deſerues puniſhment, and correction, let him ſo ſuffer: if he be founde faythfull, let him liue in his fayth.

8. The eight article propones to me that your L. would take the labour, to get me a man to inſtruct me in your Catholike faith, and to be my preacher, for whoſe doctrine ye woulde lay your ſoule, that he would teach nothing but truly conforme to your faith.

Aunſwer.

God almightie ſende vs manie of that ſorte, that will preach truely, and nothing but a Catholike vniuerſall Chriſtian faith, and we Hyland rude people haue miſſe of them. And if your Lordſhippe woulde get and prouide me ſuch a man, I ſhoulde prouide him a corporall liuing, as to my ſelfe, with great thankes vnto your Lordſhip. For truely, I and manie mo, haue great miſſe of ſuch men. And becauſe I am able to ſuſtaine mo then one of them, I will requeſt your L. earneſtly to prouide me a man as ye wrote, for the harueſt is great, but the labourers are fewe.

The laſt and ninth article putteth me in remembrance

brance to conſider what murmure your L. ſuffers and great brute, at many mens handes, both ſpirituall and temporall, and at the Queenes graces hand, and other well giuen people, for not putting of order to theſe affaires, and that your L. hath abſtained from execution hereof for loue of my houſe and poſteritie, to the effect that my ſelfe ſhould remedie it, for feare of the diſhonour might come vpon vs both for the ſame: which being remedied might bring vs out of all daunger.

Aunſwer.

My Lorde I knowe well what murmure, and indignation your L. ſuffers at enemies handes of all eſtates, for not purſuing of poore ſimple Chriſtians. And I knowe that if your L. would vſe their counſell, that would by bloudſhedding and burning of poore men to make your L. ſerue their wicked appetites. Yet your L. knowes your owne duetie, and ſhould not feare the daunger of men: as of him whō ye profeſſe. And verely my Lord, there is no thing that may be to your L. reliefe in this behalfe, but I will vſe your L. counſell therein, and further the ſame, Gods honour being firſt prouided, & the truth of his eternall worde hauing libertie. And to abſtaine for my loue, from purſute, as your L. hath ſignified, I am indebted to your L. as I haue written diuerſe times before. But there is one aboue, for whoſe feare ye muſt abſtaine, from bloudſhedding, or elſe my Lord knocke in your conſcience. Laſt of all your L. pleaſe to conſider howe deſirous ſome are to haue ſedition amongeſt friendes: how mightie the deuill is to ſowe diſcord. Howe that manie would deſire no better game, but to hunt vs at other:

I pray your Lordſhip begile them, we will agree vpon all purpoſes with Gods pleaſure, ſtanding to his glorie. There are diuerſe houſes in Scotland by vs, that profeſſe the ſame God ſecretly: they deſire but that ye begin the bargaine at vs: and when it beginnes at vs, God knowes the end thereof, & who ſhall bid the next put. My Lord conſider this. Make no preparatiue of vs: Let not the vaine exhortatiõ of them that regarde litle of the weale and ſtrength of both our houſes, ſtir vp your L. as they would to doe againſt God, your owne conſcience, and the weale of your poſteritie for euer. And therfore now in the end I praye your Lordſhip wey theſe thinges wiſely, and if ye doe otherwiſe, God is God, was and ſhall be God, when all is wrought that man can worke.

This aunſwer receaued, the Biſhop and his complices found them ſelues ſomewhat diſapointed, for the Biſhops looked for nothing leſſe, then for ſuch aunſwers from the Erle of Argile. And therfore they made them for their extreme defence. That is, to corrupt, and by buds to ſtir vp the Queene Regent againſt vs, as in the ſeconde booke we ſhall more plainely heare. Shortly after that God called to his mercie the ſayd Erle of Argile, from the miſeries of this life, whereof the Biſhops were gladde, for they thought, that their great enemie was taken out of way, but God diſapointed thẽ. For as the ſaid Erle departed moſt cõſtant in ẏ true faith of Ieſus Chriſt, with a plaine renunciation of all impietie, ſuperſtitiõ & idolatrie. So left he it to his ſonne in his teſtamẽt, ẏ he ſhould ſtudie to ſet forward the publike & true preaching of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, & to ſuppreſſe all ſuperſtition and idolatrie to the vttermoſt of his power. In which point ſmall falt can be found

with

with him vnto this day. 10. Maij, anno 1568. God be mercifull vnto other offences. Amen.

The blind, croked, lame, widowes, orphans, & all other poore ſo viſited by the hand of God as may not work. To the flockes of all Freirs within this realme, we wiſh reſtitution of wrongs paſt, and reformation in times comming for ſalutation.

Ye your ſelues are not ignoraunt (and though ye would be) it is now (thanks be to God) well knowen to the whole world, by his moſt infallible word, that the benignitie or alms of all Chriſtiã people pertaineth to vs alone, which ye being hole of body, ſtrõg, ſturdie, and able to work, what vnder pretence of pouertie (& neuertheleſſe poſſeſſing moſt eaſily all abundance) what through cloked & hidden ſimplicitie (though your proudneſſe is knowen) & what fained holineſſe (which now is declared ſuperſtition & idolatrie) haue theſe many yeares, expreſly againſt Gods word, & the practiſe of his holie Apoſtles, to our great torment (alas) moſt falſly ſtolen from vs. And as ye haue by your falſe doctrine, & wreſting of Gods word learned of your father Sathan, induced the whole people high & low, into ſure hope and beliefe, that to cloath, feede, & nouriſh you, is the only moſt acceptable almes, allowed before God. And to giue a penie, or a peece of bread once in a weeke is enough for vs. Euen ſo ye haue perſwaded them to build you great hoſpitals, & maintaine you therin by their force, which onely pertaines now to vs by all lawe, as builded and geuen to the poore, of whoſe number ye are not, nor can be reputed, neither by the Lawe of God, nor yet by no other lawe proceedinge of nature, reaſon or ciuill pollicie. Wherefore ſeeing our number is ſo great, ſo indigent, and ſo heauilie oppreſſed by your falſe meanes, that

none taketh care of our miſerie, And that it is better for to prouide there our impotent members, which God hath geuen vs, to oppone to you in plaine controuerſie, then to ſee you hereafter (as ye haue done afore) ſteale from vs our lodging, and our ſelues in the meane tyme to periſh and die for want of the ſame. We haue thought good therefore ere we enter with you in conflict to warne you, in the name of the great God by this publique writing affixt in your gates where ye now dwel, that ye remoue forth of our ſaid hoſpitals betwixt this and the feaſt of witſounday next. So that we the onlie lawfull proprietars thereof may enter thereto and afterward enioy the commodities of the Church which ye haue herunto wrongfullie holden from vs. Certifying you if ye faile we will at the ſaid terme in hole number (with the help of God and aſſiſtance of his Saincts in earth, of whoſe ready ſupport we dout not) enter and take poſſeſſion of our ſaid patrimonie and eiect you vtterlie forth of the ſame.

Let him therefore that before hath ſtollen ſteale no more but rather let him worke with his hands that he may be helpfull to the poore.

From all Cities, Townes, and vilages of Scotland the firſt day of Ianuary 1558

The Biſhops continued in their prouinciall counſell euen vnto that day that *Iohn Knox* arriued in Scotland, and that they might giue ſome ſhow to the people that they minded reformation. They ſparſed abroade a rumor thereof, and ſet forth ſomwhat in printe which of the people was called the two penny faith. Amongeſt their actes there was much a do, for cappe

cappes, ſhauen crownes, typpettes, long gounes, & ſuch other trifles.

Item that none ſhould enioy office, or benefice Eccleſiaſticall, except a prieſt.

Item that no Church man ſhould noriſh his owne barnes, in his owne companie, but that euerie one ſhould hold the children of others.

That none ſhould put his owne ſonne, in his owne benefice.

That if anie were found in open Adulterie, for the firſt fault he ſhould loſe the third of his benefice for the ſecond tyme the halfe, and for the third the hole benefice. But herefrom appeled the Biſhop of Murray, and other prelates ſaying: that they would abide at the Cannon law. And ſo they might well inough do, ſo long as they remained interpretors, diſpenſators, makers, and diſanullars of the law. But let the ſame law haue the trew interpretation, and iuſt execution, and the Deuill ſhall as ſoone be proued a trew and obedient ſeruant vnto God, as anie of that ſorte ſhalbe proued a Biſhop, or yet to haue anie iuſt authoritie within the Church of Chriſt Ieſus. But we will returne to our hiſtorie.

The perſecution was decreed as well by the Queene Regent as by the prelates. But there reſted a point which the Queene Regent and France had not at that tyme obtained. To wit, that the crowne matrimoniall ſhould be granted to Frances huſband to our Soueraigne, and ſo ſhould France and Scotland be but one kingedome. The ſubiectes of both the Realmes to haue equall liberrie, Scottiſhmen in France and French men in Scotland. The gliſter of the profite that was iudged hereof to haue enſued to Scottiſhmen at the firſt ſight blinded manie mens eyes. But a ſmall wynd cauſed that miſt ſud-

danly to vaniſh away. For the greateſt offices and benefices within the Realme were appointed for the French men. *Monſieur Ruby* kept the great ſeale *Vielmort* was controllour. *Melroſſe* and *Kerſo* ſhould haue bene a commend to the poore Cardinall of Lorane. The freedomes of Scottiſhmerchantes were reſtrained in Rowan, and they compelled to paye towle and taxations others then their auncient liberties did beare. To bring this head to paſſe, to wit, to get the matrimonial crowne, the Queene Regent lefte no point of the compaſſe vnſailed, with the Biſhops and preaſtes. She practiſed on this maner. Ye may clearlie ſee that I can not do what I would with in this Realme. For theſe hetetickes and confederates of England are ſo banded together that they ſtope all good ordour. But will ye be fauorable vnto me in this ſuite of the matrimoniall crowne to be graunted to my daughters huſband, Then ſhall we ſee how I ſhall handle theſe heretickes and traitors ere it be long. And in very deede in theſe her promiſes ſhe ment no deceite in that behalfe. Vnto the proteſtants ſhe ſaid, I am not vnmindfull how oft ye haue ſolicited me for reformation in Religion, and gladly would I conſent thereunto but ye ſee the power and craft of the Biſhop of Sainct Andrewes together with the power of the Duke, & of Churchmen euer to be bent againſt me in all my proceedings, So that I may do nothing, vnleſſe the full authoritie of this Realme be deliuered to the King of Fraunce, which can not be, but by donation of the crowne matrimoniall, which thing if ye will bring to paſſe, then deuiſe ye what ye pleaſe in matters of Religion and they ſhalbe graunted. With this commiſſion and credite, was Lord *Iames* then prior of Sainct Andrewes directed to the Earle of Argyle with moe

other

other promiſes then we liſt to rehearſe. By ſuch diſſimulation to thoſe that were ſimple and trew of hart inflamed ſhe them to be more feruent in her petition, then her ſelfe appeared to be. And ſo at the Parliament holden at Edinburgh in the moneth of October the yeare of God 1558. It was clearlie wotted no man reclaming (except he drincke for his entereſſe) and yet for it there was no better law produced, except that there was a ſolemned maſſe appointed for that purpoſe in the Pontificall. This head obtained whereat Fraunce and ſhe principally ſhotte, what faith ſhe kept to the proteſtantes in this our ſecond booke ſhall be declared. In the beginning whereof we may more amply rehearſe ſome thinges that in this our firſt are ſummarely touched.

The ende of the firſt Booke.

Τέλος.

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF THINGES DONE IN SCOTLAND. IN *the reformation of Religion beginning in the yeare of God* 1558

OVR purpose was to haue made the beginning of our history from the things that were done from the yeare of God 1558 yeares till the reformation of Religion which of Gods mercie we once possessed, and yet in doctrine, and in the right vse of administration of Sacramentes do possesse. But because diuerse of the Godlie (as before is said) earnestly required that such persons as God raised vp in the mideſt of darkenes, to oppone them selues to the same should not be omitted: We obeyed ther requeſt, and haue made a short rehearsall of all such matters as concerne Religion from the death of that notable seruant of God *M. Patrike Hammilton* vnto the foresaid yeare when that it pleased God to looke vpon vs more mercifullie then we deserue, & to geue vnto vs greater boldnesse and better (albeit not without hazard and trouble) successe in all our interprises then we looked for as the trew Narration of this second booke shall witnesse. The preface whereof followeth.

PREFA-

PREFATIO

LEAST that Sathan by our ſilence ſhall take occaſion to blaſpheme and to ſclaunder vs the proteſtāts of the Realme of Scotland, as that our fact tended rather to ſedition, and rebellion, then to reformation of maners and abuſes in Religion: VVe haue thought expedient ſo trewlie and briefly as we can to committ to writing the cauſes moouing vs (as we ſay, and great parte of the nobilitie, and Barrones of the Realme) to take the ſword of iuſt defence, againſt thoſe that moſt iniuſtlie ſeeke our deſtruction. And in this our cōfeſſion we ſhall faithfullie declare, what moued vs to put our hāndes to the reformation of Religion. How we haue proceeded in the ſame what we haue aſked, and what preſent'y we require of the ſacred authoritie. To the end that our cauſe being knowen, aſwell our enemies as our brethrē in all Realmes may vnderſtand how falſely we are accuſed of tumult and rebellion, and how iniuſtlie we are perſecuted,

by France and by their faction. And alſo that our brethren naturall Scottiſhmen, of what ſoeuer religion they be may haue occaſion to examinate themſelues, if they may with ſafe conſcience oppone themſelus to vs who ſeeke nothing but Chriſt Ieſus his glorious Goſpell to be preached, his holie Sacramentes to be trewlie miniſtred, ſuperſtition tyranny and Idolatrie to be ſuppreſſed in this Realme and finallie of this our natiue countrey to remaine free from the bondage and tyranny of ſtraungers.

While that the Queene Regent practiſed with the prelates, how that Chriſt Ieſus his bleſſed Goſpell might vtterlie be ſuppreſſed within Scotland: God ſo bleſſed the laboures of his weake ſeruantes that no ſmall parte of the Barrones of this realme beganne to abhor the tyranny of the Biſhoppes. God did ſo open their eyes, by the light of his word, that they could clearlie decerne, betwixt Idolatrie, and the trew honoring of God. Yea men almoſt vniuerſallie began to doubt whether they might (God not offeded) giue their bodely preſence to the maſſe or yet offer their children to the papiſticall Baptiſme. The which doubtes when the moſt godlie, and the moſt learned in Europe had aunſwered both by word and write, affirming that neither of both we might doe, with-

The firſt doubte

without the extreme peril of our ſoules, we be- The ſecond.
gan to be more troubled. For then alſo began men of eſtimation, and that bare rule amongeſt vs, to examime themſelues concerning their duties, as well towards reformation of religion, as towardes the iuſt defence of their brethren moſt cruelly perſecuted. And ſo began diuerſe queſtions to be moued. To wit, if that with ſafe conſcience, ſuch as were Iudges, Lordes, and Rulers of the people might ſerue the vpper powers in maintaining of idolatrie, in perſecuting their brethren, and in ſuppreſſing Chriſtes truth: or whether they to whom God in ſome caſe hath committed the ſword of iuſtice might ſuffer the bloud of their brethren to be ſhed in their preſence, without any declaration that ſuch tyrannie diſpleaſed them. By the playne Scriptures aunſwering the doubts.
Scriptures it was found, that a liuely faith required a plaine confeſſion when Chriſtes truth is oppugned, that not onely are they gilty that doe euill, but alſo they that conſente to euill. And plaine it is, that they conſent to euill, who ſeeing iniquitie openly committed, by their ſilence ſeeme to iuſtifie and auowe what ſoeuer is done. Theſe thinges being reſolued, and ſufficiently proued by euident Scriptures of God: we beganne euerie man to looke more diligentlie to his ſaluation. For the idola-

trie and tyrannie of the clergie (called the Church men) was and is so manifest, that who soeuer doeth denie it, declareth him selfe ignorant of God, and enemie to Christ Iesus. We therefore with humble confession of our former offences with fasting and supplication vnto God beganne to seeke some remedie in so present a daunger. And first it was concluded, that the brethren in euerie towne at certaine times should assemble together, to common prayers, to exercise, and reading of the Scriptures, till it should please God to giue the Sermon of exhortation to some, for comforte and instruction of the rest. And this our weake beginning God did so blesse, that within a few moneths the hearts of manie were so strengthned, that we sought to haue the face of a Church amongest vs: and open crimes to be punished without respect of person. And for that purpose by common election, were Elders appointed: to whome the whole brethren promised obedience. For at that time we had no publike ministers of the worde: onely did certaine zealous men (amongest whome was the Laird of Dun, Dauid Forresse, Maister Robert Lockhart, Maister Robert Hammilton, William Harlawe and others) exhort their brethren, according to the giftes and graces

This was called the priuye church.

graunted

graunted vnto them. But ſhortly after did God ſtirre vp his ſeruaunt Paule Methuen (his laterfall ought not to deface the worke of God in him) who in boldneſſe of ſpirite began openlie to preach Chriſt Ieſus in Dondie, in diuerſe partes of Anguſt, and in Fyffe, and ſo did God worke with him, that manie began openly to renounce their olde idolatrie, and to ſubmitte themſelues to Chriſt Ieſus, and vnto his bleſſed ordinaunces. In ſo much that the towne of Dondie beganne to erect the face of a publike Church reformed: in the which the word was openly preached, and Chriſts Sacraments trulie miniſtred. In this meane time did God ſend to vs our deare brother Iohn Willock, a man godly, learned and graue, who after his ſhort abode at Dondie repaired to Edinburgh, and there (notwithſtanding his long and daungerous ſickneſſe) did ſo encourage the brethren by godly exhortations, that we began to deliberate vpon ſome publike reformation. For the corruption in religion was ſuch, that with ſafe conſcience we coulde no longer ſuſtaine it: yet becauſe we woulde attempt no thing without the knowledge of the ſacred authoritie: with one conſente, after the deliberation of manie dayes, it was concluded, that by our publicke and common ſupplication, we ſhoulde attempt,

Iohn Willock.

the fauour, ſupporte, and aſſiſtaunce of the Queene then Regent, to a godly reformation. And for that purpoſe, after we had drawen our Oration and petitions as followeth, we appointed from amongeſt vs a man, whoſe age, and yeares deſerued reuerence, whoſe honeſtie and worſhip might haue craued audience, of anie Magiſtrate in earth: and whoſe faithfull ſeruice to the authoritie at all times hath bene ſuch, that in him coulde fall no ſuſpition of vnlawfull diſobedience. This Orator was that auncient and honourable father, Sir Iames Sandelandes of Calder Knight, to whome we gaue commiſſion and power in all our names then preſent, before the Queene Regent thus to ſpeake.

The Laird of Calder Elder.

THE

THE FIRST ORATION AND PETITION OF THE PROTESTANTS of Scotland to the Queene Regent.

ALBEIT we haue of long time contayned our ſelues in that modeſtie (moſt noble princeſſe) that neither by exile of body, loſſe of goods, nor periſhing of this mortall life, was able to cõuene vs, to aske at your grace reformatiõ, & redreſſe of thoſe wrongs, and of that ſore griefe patiently borne of vs in bodies and minds of long time: Yet are we nowe of verie conſcience, & by the feare of our God compelled to craue at your Graces feet, remedy againſt the moſt vniuſt tyrannie, vſed againſt your Graces moſt obedient ſubiects, by thoſe that be called the eſtate Eccleſiaſticall. Your Grace can not be ignorant what controuerſie hath bin, & yet is, concerning the true religion, & right worſhipping of God. And how the clergie (as they will be termed) vſurpe to them ſelues ſuch empire aboue the conſciences of men: that what ſoeuer they commaund muſt be obeyed, and what ſoeuer they forbid muſt be auoyded without farder reſpect to Gods pleaſure, commaundement or will reuealed to vs in his moſt holy worde, or elſe there abideth nothing for vs but fagot, fire & ſword. By the which many of our brethrẽ moſt cruelly and moſt iniuſtly haue bin ſtriken of late years, within this realme, which nowe we finde to trouble and wounde our conſciences. For we acknowledge it to haue bene our bounden dueties before God, either to haue defended our brethren from

The tiranny of the clergie.

thoſe cruell murtherers (ſeeing we are a parte of ỳ power which God hath eſtabliſhed in this realme) or elſe to haue giuen open teſtification of our fayth with them. Which now we offer our ſelues to doe, leſt that by our continuall ſilence, we ſhall ſeeme to iuſtifie their cruell tyrannie: which doth not onely diſpleaſe vs: but your graces wiſdome moſt prudẽtly doth foreſee, that for the quieting of this inteſtine diſſention a publike reformation as well in the religion, as in the temporall gouernment were moſt neceſſarie. And to the performãce therof, moſt grauely and moſt godly (as we are informed) ye haue exhorted as well the clergie as the nobilitie, to employ their ſtudie, diligence and care. We therfore of conſcience dare no longer diſſemble in ſo weighty a matter, which concerneth the glorie of God & our ſaluation: neither now dare we withdrawe our preſence or counſell, or petitions, leſt that the aduerſaries hereafter ſhall obiect to vs, that place was graunted for reformation, & yet no man ſued for the ſame. And ſo ſhall our ſilence be preiudiciall vnto vs in time to come. And therefore we knowing no other order placed in this realme, but your grace and your graue counſel ſet to amend, aſwell the diſorder eccleſiaſticall, as the defaults in the temporall regiment, moſt humblie proſtrate our ſelues before your feete, asking iuſtice and your gratious helpe, againſt them that falſlie traduce and accuſe vs as that we were heretickes, and ſchiſmatikes, vnder that colour ſeeking our deſtructiõ, for that we ſeeke the amendment of their corrupted liues, and Chriſtes religion to be reſtored to the originall puritie. Farther we craue of your Grace with open and patent eares, to heare thoſe our ſubſequent requeſtes, and to the ioy and ſatisfaction of our troubled conſciences mercifully

The petitiõ.

fullie to graunt the ſame, vnleſſe by Gods playne word anie be able to proue that iuſtly they ought to be denied.

The firſt Petition.

Firſt humblie we ask that as we haue of the lawes of this realme, after long debate obtained to reade the holie bookes of the olde and new Teſtament, in our common tong, as ſpirituall food to our ſoules: ſo from henceforth it may be lawful, that we may meet publikely or priuately to our common praiers in our vulgar tong, to the end that we may increaſe & grow in knowledge, & be induced in ſeueritie of prayer to commend to God, the holy vniuerſall Church, the Queene our Soueraigne, hir honorable & gratious husband, the abilitie of their ſucceſſion, your grace Regent, the nobilitie, & whole eſtate of this realme.

Secondly if it ſhall happen in our ſayd meetings anie hard place of Scripture to be read, of the which no profit ariſeth to the meeters, that it ſhall be lawfull to anie qualified perſons in knowledge, being preſent to interpret, and open vp the ſayd hard places to Gods glorie, and to the profit of the auditory. And if anie thinke that this libertie ſhould be occaſion of confuſion, debate or hereſie, we are content that it be prouided that the ſaid interpretation ſhall vnderly the iudgement of the godly, and moſt learned within the realme at this time.

Thirdlye, that the holie Sacrament of Baptiſme, may be vſed in the vulgar tong, that the godfathers and witneſſes may not onely vnderſtand the points of the league and contract made betwixt God & the infant, but alſo that the Church then aſſembled more grauely may be informed and inſtructed of their dueties, which at all times they owe to God,

according to that promiſe made vnto him, when they were receaued into his houſhold by the lauacre of ſpirituall regeneration.

Fourthly, we deſire that the holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper or of his bleſſed bodie and bloud may likewiſe be miniſtred vnto vs in the vulgar tõg, and in both kindes according to the plaine inſtitution of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus.

And laſt we moſt humblie require, that the wicked, ſlaunderous and deteſtable life of Prelates and of the ſtate eccleſiaſticall may be reformed, that the people by them haue not occaſion (as of many days they haue had) to contemne their miniſterie, & the preaching, whereof they ſhould be meſſengers. And if they ſuſpect that we rather enuying their honors, or coueting their riches & poſſeſſions, thé zealouſly deſiring their amendement and ſaluation, dò trauel and labour for this reformation: We are content not only that the rules and precepts of the newe Teſta-
The offer. ment, but alſo the writings of the auncient Fathers, and the godly and approued lawes of Iuſtinian the Emperour decide the controuerſie betwixt vs & thé. And if it ſhall be found, that either maleuolently or ignorantly we aske more then theſe 3. forenamed haue required and continually doe require of able and true miniſters in Chriſts Church, we refuſe not correction as your grace with right iudgement ſhall thinke meete. But if all the forenamed ſhall damne that which we damne, and approue that which we require: then we moſt earneſtly beſeech your grace that notwithſtanding the long cuſtome which they haue had to liue at their luſt, that they be compelled either to deſiſt from Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration, or to diſcharge their duties, as becometh true miniſters. So that the graue & godly face of the primitiue Church

Church reduced, ignorance may be expelled, trew doctrine & good manners may once againe appeare in the Church in this Realm. Theſe things we as moſt obediét ſubiects require of your grace, in the name of the eternall God, & of his Sonne Chriſt Ieſus in preſence of whoſe throne iudicial ye & al other ý here in earth beareth authority ſhall giue accõpts of your temporall regimét. The ſpirit of the Lord Ieſus auow your graces hart to Iuſtice and equity.

Theſe our petitions being proponed, the eſtate Eccleſiaſticall beganne to ſtorme and to deuiſe all manner of lies to deface the equitie of our cauſes. They bragged as that they would haue publike diſputation which alſo we moſt earneſtly required, two thinges being prouided, firſt that the plaine and writté Scriptures of God ſhould decide al cõtrouerſies. Secondly that our brethré of whome ſome were then exiled & by them vniuſtly damned, might haue free acceſſe to the ſaid diſputation, & ſafe conduct to return to their dwelling places notwithſtãding anie proceſſe which before had bin layd againſt them in maters concerning Religion. But theſe being by thé vtterly denided (for no iudge would they admit, but themſelues, their counſelles, & cannon law) They & their faction began to draw certain Articles of recõciliation, promiſing vnto vs if we would admit the maſſe to ſtand in her former reuerence & eſtimation graunt purgatory after this life confeſſe prayer to Sainctes, and for the dead, and ſuffer them to enioy their accuſtomed rents poſſeſſion and honour: That then they would graunt vs to pray, & baptize in the vulgare tonge, ſo that it were done ſecretlie, and not in the open aſſemblie. But the groſnes of theſe Articles was ſuch that with one voice we refuſed them, & conſtantly craued iuſtice of the Queene Regent

The practiſe of Sathan.

Diſputation with conditions.

The offer of the Papiſts.

and a reasonable answere of our former petitions. The Queene then Regent a woman crafty dissimulat and false thinking to make her profite of both parties gaue to vs permission to vse our selues godlie, according to our desires prouided that we should not make publike assemblies in Edinburgh nor Lieth and did promise her assistance to our preachers, vntill some vniforme ordour might be established by a Parliament. To them (we meane the cleargie) she quietlie gaue signification, of her mind, promising that how soone any oportunitie should serue, she should so put ordour, in their matters, that after they should not be troubled: for some say, they gaue her a large purse 40000 pownds gathered by the Laird of Earles haule. We nothing suspecting her doublenes, nor falshoode departed fullie contented with her aunswere, and did vse our selues so quietlie, that for her pleasure we put silence to *Iohn Dowglasse* who publiquely would haue preached in the towne of Lieth. For in all thinges we sought the contentemẽt of her mind, so farre forth as God should not be offended against vs, for obeying her in thinges vnlawfull.

The apprehension of Water Milne.

Shortly after these thinges, that cruell tyrant and vnmercifull hypocrite falsly called Bishop of Sainct Andrewes, apprehended that blessed Martyre of Christ Iesus *Walter Mylne* a man of decrepite age whome most cruellie & most iniustly he put to death by fire in Sainct Andrewes the twentie eight day of April the yeare of God 1558 yeares which thing did so heighlie offend the hartes of all godlie, that immediatly after his death, beganne a new feruencie among the hole people, yea euen in the towne of Sainct Andrewes beganne the people plainlie to damne such iniust crueltie. And in testification that they

they would his death ſhould abyde in recent memorie, there was caſt together a great heape of ſtones in the place where he was brũt. The Biſhop & prieſts thereat offended cauſed once or twyſe to remoue the ſame, with denunciation of curſing, if anie man ſhould there laye anie ſtone. But in vaine was that wind blowen, for ſtill was the heape made, till that the prieſts and Papiſts, did ſteale away by night the ſtones to build their walls, and to other their priuate vſes. We ſuſpecting nothing, that the Queene Regẽt was conſenting to the forenamed murther, moſt hũblie did complaine of ſuch iniuſt crueltie, requiring that iuſtice in ſuch caſes ſhould be miniſtred with greater indifferencie. She as a woman borne to diſſemble, and deceaue, began with vs to lament the crueltie of the Biſhop, excuſing her ſelfe as innocent in that cauſe, for that the ſentence was giuẽ without her knowledge. Becauſe the man ſometimes had bin a prieſt. Therefore the biſhops officiall did proceed vpon him without any commiſſion of the ciuill authoritie *ex officio*, as they terme it. We yet nothinge ſuſpecting her falſhood, required ſome order to be taken againſt ſuch enormities, which ſhe promiſed as oft before. But becauſe ſhortly after there was a Parliament to be holden for certaine affaires pertaining rather to the Queenes profit particular, then to the commodity of the cõmon wealth, we thought good to expone our matter vnto the whole Parliament, and by them to ſeeke ſome redreſſe. We therfore with one conſent did offer to the Queene and Parliament a letter in this tenour.

The hipocriſie of the Queene regent.

The forme of the letter giuen in Parliament.

Vnto your Grace, and vnto you right honorable Lordes of this preſent Parliament, Humbly meanes

and ſhoweth your graces faithfull and obedient ſubiects. That, where we are daily moleſted, ſclaundered and iniuried, by wicked and ignorant perſons place holders of the miniſters of the church, who moſt vntrewly ceaſe not to infame vs, as heretickes, and vnder that name they moſt cruellie haue perſecuted diuerſe of our brethren. And farther intend to execute their malice againſt vs, vnleſſe by ſome godlie ordour their furie & rage be bridled & ſtayed. And yet in vs they are able to proue no crime worthy of puniſhment, vnleſſe that to read the holie Scriptures in our aſſemblies to inuocate the name of God in publike prayers, with all ſobrietie to interprete & open the places of Scripture, that be red to the further edification of the brethren aſſembled, & trewly according to Chriſt Ieſus his holy inſtitution to miniſter the Sacramentes be crimes worthy of puniſhment: other crimes (we ſay) in vs they are not able to conuict. And to the premiſes are we compelled for that the ſaid place holders diſcharg no part of their duties rightly til vs, neither yet to the people ſubiect to vs. And therefore vnleſſe we ſhould declare our ſelues altogether vnmindefull of our owne ſaluatiō, we are cōpelled of very conſciēce to ſeeke how that we & our brethren may be deliuered from the thraldome of Sathan. For now it hath pleaſed God to open our eies that manifeſtlie we ſee that without extreame daunger of our ſoules, we may in no wayes communicat with the damnable Idolatrie & intolerable abuſes of the papiſticall Church. And therfore moſt hūblie require we of your grace, & of you right honorable Lords, Barrons, and Burgeſſes aſſembled in this preſent Parliament prudentlie to wey, and as it becommeth iuſt Iudges to graunt theſe our moſt iuſt and reaſonable petitions.

Proteſtatiō.

First

Firſt ſeing that the cõtrouerſie in Religion which long hath continued betwixt the proteſtants of Almany, Heluetia, & other prouinces, & the papiſticall Church is not yet decided, by a lawfull and generall counſel. And ſeing that our cõſciences are likewaies touched with the feare of God as was thers in the beginning of their controuerſie, we moſt hũblie deſire that all ſuch acts of Parliamẽt as in the time of darknes gaue power to the Church men to execute their tyranny againſt vs, by reaſon that we to them were delated as heretiks may be ſuſpected and abrogated, till a generall counſell lawfullie aſſembled haue decided all cõtrouerſies in Religion. And leaſt that this mutation ſhould ſeeme to ſet all men at libertie to liue as they liſt: we ſecundarily require that it be enacted by this preſent Parliament that the Prelates and their officers be remoued from place of iudgement, onely graunting vnto them neuertheleſſe the place of accuſators in the preſence of a temporall iudge. Before whome the Church men accuſators ſhalbe boundẽ to call any by thẽ accuſed of hereſie. To whom alſo they ſhalbe boũden to deliuer an attẽtike copy of al depoſitions, accuſations, & proceſſe layd againſt the perſõ accuſed. The Iudge likewaies deliuering the ſame to the partie accuſed. Aſſigning vnto him a competent terme to anſwer to the ſame after he hath taken ſufficient caution. *De iudicio ſiſti.*

Thirdly we require that al lawful defences be grãted to the perſone accuſed, as if he be able to proue that the witnes be perſons vnable by law to teſtifie againſt them, that then their accuſations and depoſitions be well according to iuſtice.

Item that place be graunted to the partie accuſed to explaine & interpret his owne mind & meaning which confeſſion we require be inſerted in publike

actes, and be preferred to the depoſitions of ahie witneſſe ſeeing that none ought to ſuffer for Religion that is not found obſtinate in his damnable opinion.

Laſt we require that our brethren be not damned for heretickes, vnleſſe by the manifeſt word of God they be conuicted to haue erred frō that faith which the holie ſpirit witneſſeth to be neceſſarie to ſaluation, and if ſo they be, we refuſe not, but that they be puniſhed according to iuſtice. Vnleſſe by holeſome admonition they can be reduced to a better mynd.

Theſe thinges require we to be conſidered of you who occupie the place of the eternall God (who is God of ordour and trueth) euen in ſuch ſorte, as ye will anſwere in the preſence of his throne iudiciall: Requyring further that fauorably ye will haue reſpect to the tendernes of our conſciences and to the trouble which appeareth to follow in this common wealth, if the tyrannie of the prelates and of their adherentes be not bridelled by God and iuſt lawes. God moue your heartes deepelie to conſider your owne dueties and our preſent troubles.

Theſe our petitions did we firſt preſent to the Queene Regent becauſe that we were determined to enterpriſe nothing without her knowledge moſt humblie requiring her fauorably to aſſiſt in our iuſt action. She ſpared not amiable lookes, & good words in aboundance. But alwaies ſhe kept our bill cloſe in her pocket. When we required ſecretlie of her grace that our petitions ſhould be proponed to the hole aſſembly. She aunſwered, that ſhe thought not that expedient, for then would the hole Eccleſiaſticall eſtate be contrarie to her proceedinges, which at that tyme were great. For the matrimoniall crowne

was

was aſked and in that Parliament graunted. But ſaid ſhe how ſoone ordour cã be taken with theſe things which now may be hindered by the Church men, ye ſhall know my good mind. And in the meane tyme whatſoeuer I may graunt vnto you ſhall gladlie be graunted. We yet nothing ſuſpecting her falſhoode was content to giue place for a tyme to her pleaſure and pretended reaſon. And yet thought we expedient ſomewhat to proteſt, before the diſſolution of the Parliamẽt. For our petitiõs were manifeſtlie knowen to the hole aſſemblie, as alſo how for the Queenes pleaſure we ceaſed to purſue the vttermoſt. Our proteſtation was formed in manner folowing.

Forme of the proteſtation made in Parliament.

It is not vnknowen to this honorable Parliament what controuerſie is now laitlie riſſen betwixt thoſe that wilbe called the Prelats & rulers of the Church and a great number of vs the nobilitie and comminaltie of this Realme for the trew worſhipping of God, for the duetie of miniſters: for the right adminiſtration of Chriſt Ieſus holie Sacraméts. How that we haue complained by our publique ſupplications to the Queene Regent that our cõſciences are burdened with vnprofitable ceremonies, and are compelled to adheare to Idolatrie. That ſuch as take vpon them the office Eccleſiaſticall diſcharge no part there of as becommeth trew miniſters to do. And finallie that we and our brethren are moſt iniuſtlie oppreſſed by their vſurped authoritie. And alſo we ſuppoſe it is a thing ſufficiẽtly knowen that we were of mind at this preſent Parliament to ſeeke redreſſe of ſuch enormities, but conſidering that the troubles

of the time do not ſuffer? ſuch reformation as we by Godes plaine word do require, we are enforced to delay that which moſt earneſtlie we deſire. And yet leaſt that our ſilence ſhould giue occaſion to our aduerſaries to thinke that we repent our former interprices, we can not ceaſe to proteſt for remedie againſt that moſt vniuſt tyranny which we heretofore moſt patientlie haue ſuſtained.

And firſt we proteſt that ſeing we can not obtaine a iuſt reformation acording to Godes word, that it be lawfull to vs to vſe our ſelues in matters of Religion and conſcience, as we muſt anſwere vnto God vnto ſuch time as our aduerſaries be able to proue themſelues the trew miniſters of Chriſtes church, and to purge themſelues of ſuch crimes as we haue alreadie laid to their charge, offering our ſelues to proue the ſame whenſoeuer the ſacred authoritie pleaſe to giue vs audience.

Secondly we proteſt that neither we nor yet anie other that godly liſt to ioyne with vs in the trew faith which is groũded vpon the inuincible word of God ſhall incurr any daunger, in life, or landes, or other politicall paines, for not obſeruing ſuch actes as heretofore haue paſſed in fauor of our aduerſaries, neyther yet for violating of ſuch rites, as man without Gods commaundement or word hath commaunded.

Let the Papiſtes obſerue.

We thirdlie proteſt that if any tumult or vprore ſhall arriſe amongeſt the members of this Realme for the diuerſitie of Religion, and if it ſhall chaunce that abuſes be violentlie reformed that the cryme thereof be not imputed to vs who moſt humbly doe now ſeeke, all thinges to be reformed by an ordour. But rather whatſoeuer inconueniẽce ſhal happen to follow for lack of ordour taken, that may be imputed

to

to thoſe that do refuſe the ſame.

And laſt we proteſt that theſe our requeſts proceeding from conſcience do tend to none other end but to the reformation of the abuſes in religion onely. Moſt humblie beſeeching the ſacred authority to take vs faithfull and obedient ſubiectes into protection againſt our aduerſaries, and to ſhewe vnto vs ſuch indifferencie in our moſt iuſt petitions, as it becommeth Gods Lieuetenants to do to thoſe that in his name do call for defence, againſt cruell oppreſſors and bloud thirſtie tyrants.

Theſe our proteſtations publikely red we deſired them to haue bene inſerted in the common regiſter, but that by labour of enemies was denied vnto vs. Neuertheleſſe the Queene Regent ſayde, Me will remember what is proteſted, and me ſhall put good order after this to all thinges that nowe be in controuerſie. And thus after that ſhe by crafte had obtained her purpoſe, we departed in good hope of her fauour, praiſing God in our heartes, that ſhe was ſo well enclined towardes godlineſſe. The good opinion that we had of her ſinceritie cauſed vs not onely to ſpende our goodes, and hazarde our bodies at her pleaſure: but alſo by our publike letters written to that excellent ſeruaunt of God *Iohn Calvin*, we did prayſe and commende her, for excellent knowledge in Gods worde, and good will towardes the aduauncement of his glorie. Requiring of him that by his graue counſell and godly exhortation, he would animate her Grace, conſtantly to follow that, which godly ſhe had begun. We did farther ſharply rebuke both by word & writing, all ſuch as appeared to ſuſpect in hir any venom of hipocriſie, or that were contrarie to that opinion which we had conceaued of her godly minde. But howe farre

Letters to Iohn Calvin.

we were deceaued in our opinion and abuſed by hir craft did ſodenly appeare. For howe ſoone that all thinges pertaining to the commoditie of Fraunce, were graunted by vs, & that peace was contracted betwixt king *Philip* of Fraunce, and England and vs, ſhe began to ſpue forth & diſcloſe the latét venome of her double heart. Then began ſhe to frowne and to looke frowardly to all ſuch as ſhe knew did fauor the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt. She commaunded her houſhold to vſe all abhominations at Eaſter, and ſhe firſt her ſelfe to giue example to others, did communicate with the idoll in open audience, ſhe cõtrolled her houſhold, and wold know where that euery one receaued their Sacrament. And it is ſuppoſed, that after that day the deuill tooke more violent & ſtrõg poſſeſſion in her, then he did before. For from that day forward ſhe appeared altogether altered, in ſo much that her countenance and facts did declare, the venome of her heart. For incontinét ſhe cauſed our preachers to be ſummoned. For whom when we made interceſſiõ, beſeeching her Grace not to moleſt them in their miniſtrie, vnleſſe any man were able to conuict them of falſe doctrine, ſhe could not bridle her tong from open blaſphemie: but proudly ſhe ſayde, in deſpite of you and your miniſters both, they ſhall be baniſhed out of Scotlande, albeit they preached as true as euer did S. Paule. Which proude and blaſphemous aunſwer, did greatly aſtoniſh vs: and yet ceaſſed we not moſt humblie to ſeeke her fauour, and by great diligence at laſt obtained that the ſummonds at that time were delayed. For to hir were ſent *Alexander* Erle of Glencarne, & *Sir Hewe Campbell* of Lowdone Knight ſhiriffe of Air to reaſon with her, and to craue ſome performance of hir manifolde promiſes. To whom ſhe aunſwered, It became

She had got ten her leſſon from the Cardinall.

came not ſubiects to burden their Princes with promiſes, further then it pleaſed them to keepe the ſame. Both the Noble men faithfully and boldely diſcharged their duetie, and plainely forewarned her, of the inconueniences that were to followe, wherewith ſhe ſomewhat aſtonied, ſayd, ſhe would aduiſe. Queene Regets anſwer.

In this meane time did the towne of Perth called Sainct Iohneſtone embrace the trueth, which did prouoke her to a newe furie: In which ſhe willed the Lorde *Ruthuein* Prouoſt of that towne, to ſuppreſſe all ſuch religion there. To the which when he aunſwered, that he coulde make their bodies to come to her Grace, and to proſtrate them ſelues before her, till that ſhe was fullie ſaciate of their bloud. But to cauſe them doe againſt their conſcience, he coulde not promiſe. She in furie did aunſwer, that he was to mallaparte, to geue her ſuch aunſwere, affirming that both he and they ſhould repente it. She ſolicited *Maiſter Iames Halſburntoun* Prouoſt of Dondie to apprehende *Paule Methuen*, who fearing God, gaue ſecret aduertiſment to the man to auoid the towne for a time. She ſent foorth ſuch as ſhe thought moſt able to perſwade at Eaſter to cauſe Montroſſe, Dundie, Sainct Iohnſton, and other ſuch places as hath receaued the Goſpell, to communicate with the idoll of the Maſſe, but they could profite nothing, the heartes of manie were bent to followe the trueth reuealed, and did abhorre ſuperſtition and idolatrie. Whereat ſhe more highly commoued, did ſummonde againe all the preachers to appeare at Stirueling, the tenth daye of May, in the yeare of our Lorde 1559. Which vnderſtoode by vs, we with all humble obedience ſought the meanes, howe ſhe might be appeaſed, S. Iohnſton embraced the Goſpel. L. Ruthuens aunſwer.

and our preachers not moleſted: but when we could nothing preuaile, it was cõcluded by the whole brethren, that the gentlemen of euery countrey ſhould accompany their preachers, to the day & place appointed. Wherto all men were moſt willing. And for that purpoſe the towne of Dondy, the gentlemen of Anguſt & Mearnes paſſed forward with their preachers to S. Iohnſton without armour, as peaceable men, minding onely to geue confeſſion with their preachers. And leſt that ſuch a multitude ſhold haue geuen feare to the Queene Regent, the Laird of Dun, a zealous, prudent & godly man paſſed before to the Queene thé being at Stirueling, to declare to her that the cauſe of their conuocation was only to giue confeſſiõ with their preachers, & to aſſiſt them in their iuſt defence. She vnderſtanding the feruẽcy of the people, began to craft with him, ſoliciting him to ſtay the multitude, & the preachers alſo, with promiſe that ſhe would take ſome better order. He a mã moſt gentle of nature, & moſt addict to pleaſe her in all thinges not repugnant to God, wrot to thoſe that then were aſſembled at S. Iohnſton to ſtay & not to come forward, ſhewing what promiſe and hope he had of the Queens graces fauour. At the reading of his letters, ſome did ſmel the craft & deceipt, & perſwaded to paſſe forwarde vntill that a diſcharge of the former ſummons ſhould be had, alleadging that otherwiſe their proces of rebellion ſhould be executed againſt the preachers. And ſo ſhould not onely they, but alſo all ſuch as did accompany them be inuolued in a like crime: others did reaſon, that the Queenes promiſe was not to be ſuſpected, neither yet the Lairde of Dunes requeſt to be contemned, and ſo dyd the whole multitude with their preachers ſtay.

The firſt aſſemblie at S. Iohnſton.

The Laird of Dun ſtaied the congregation & the preachers.

In

In this meane time that the preachers were ſummoned, to wit, the ſecond of May 1559. ariued *Iohn Knox* from Fraunce, who lodging two nightes onely in Edinburgh hearing the day appointed to his brethren repaired to Dundie, where he earneſtly required them, that he might be permitted to aſſiſt his brethren, and to geue confeſſion of his fayth with thé, which graunted vnto him, he departed vnto Sainct Iohnſton with them, where he beganne to exhort, according to the grace of God graunted vnto him. The Queene perceauing that the preachers did not appeare, began to vtter her malice, and notwithſtanding anie requeſt made to the contrarie, gaue commaundement to put them to the Horne: inhibiting all men, vnder paine of their rebellion, to aſſiſt, comfort, receaue or maintaine them in any ſort: which extremity perceaued by the ſaid Laird of Dun, he prudently withdrew him ſelfe (for otherwiſe by all appearance he had not eſcaped impriſonment.) For the Maiſter of Maxwell, a man zealous & ſtout in Gods cauſe (as then appeared) vnder the cloke of another ſmall crime was that ſame day committed to warde, becauſe he dyd boldly affirme, that to the vttermoſt of his power he would aſſiſt the preachers & the congregation, notwithſtanding any ſentence which vniuſtly was, or ſhold be pronounced againſt thé. The Laird of Dun comming to S. Iohnſton exponed the caſe euen as it was: and did conceale nothing of the Queens craft and falſhood. Which vnderſtood, the multitude was ſo enflamed, that neither could the exhortation of the preacher, nor the cõmaundement of the magiſtrate, ſtay them from deſtroying the places of idolatrie. The manner whereof was. The preachers had declared afore, howe odiouſe was idolatrie

in Gods preſence: what commaundement he had
The taking down of the Frears in S. Iohnſton. giuen for the deſtruction of the monuments therof: what idolatry, & what abhomination was in ỹ Maſſe. It chaunced that the next day, which was the xj. of May after that the preachers were exiled, that after the Sermon which was vehement againſt idolatrie, that a Prieſt in contempt would go to the Maſſe, & to declare his malapart preſumption, he would open vp a glorious tabernacle which ſtood vpon the high Altar. There ſtood beſide certaine godly men, & amongeſt others a yong boy, who cried with a bolde voice, This is intolerable, that whē God by his word hath plainly damned idolatrie, we ſhall ſtand & ſee it vſed in deſpite. The prieſt hereat offended, gaue the child a great blow, who in anger took vp a ſtone & caſting at the prieſt, hit the tabernacle, and brake downe an image. And immediatly the whole multitude caſt ſtones, & put hands to the ſaid tabernacle, & to all other monuments of idolatrie: which they diſpatched before the tenth man in the towne were aduertiſed (for the moſt part were gone to diner) which noyſed abrode, the whole multitude aſſembled, not of the gentlemen, neither of thē that were earneſt profeſſors, but of the raſcall multitude, who finding nothing to do in that church, did run without deliberation to the gray & blacke frears, & notwithſtanding that they had within them very ſtrong gards kept for their defence, yet were their gates incontinent burſt vp. The firſt inuaſion was vpon idolatrie, and thereafter the common people began to ſeeke ſome ſpoile. And in verie deed the gray frears
Their prouiſion. was a place ſo well prouided, that vnleſſe honeſt men had ſeene the ſame, we would haue feared to haue reported what prouiſion they had, their ſheets, blankets, beds & couerlets were ſuch, that no Erle in Scotland

Scotlād had better. Their naprie was fine, they were but eight perſons in conuent, & yet had 8. puncheõs of ſalt biefe (conſider the time of the yeare the xj. of May) wine, beare & ale, beſide ſtore of victuals belõging therto. The like abũdance was not in the black frears, & yet there was more then became men profeſſing pouerty. The ſpoile was permitted to ỹ pore, For ſo had the preachers before threatned all men that for couetouſneſſe ſake, none ſhould put their hand to ſuch a reformation, that no honeſt man was enriched thereby the value of a grote. Their conſcience ſo moued them that they ſuffered thoſe hypocrites to take away what they could, of that which was in their places. The Prior of Charterhouſe was permitted to take with him, euen as much gold and ſiluer as he was able to cary. So were mens conſciẽces beaten with the word that they had no reſpect to their owne particular profit, but only to aboliſh idolatrie, the places & monumẽts therof, in which they were ſo buſie, & ſo laborious, that within two dayes theſe three great places monuments of idolatrie, to wit, the black & gray theeues & charterhouſe monks (a building of a wonderous coſt & greatneſſe) was ſo deſtroyed, that the wals only did remain of all thoſe great edifications. Which reported to the Queene, ſhe was ſo enraged that ſhe did auow vtterly to deſtroy S. Iohnſton, man, woman & child, & to cõſume the ſame by fire, & thereafter to ſalt it, in ſigne of a perpetuall deſolation. We ſuſpecting nothing ſuch cruelty, but thinking that ſuch wordes might eſcape her in choler without purpoſe determined, becauſe ſhe was a womã, ſet a fire by the complaints of thoſe hipocrites, who flocked vnto her as rauens to a carion. We (we ſay) ſuſpecting nothing ſueh beaſtly crueltie returned to our owne houſes: leauing in

A godly vowe.

in Sainct Iohnston *Iohn Knox* to instruct, because they were young and rude in Christ. But she set a fire, partly by her owne malice, partly by commaundement of her friendes in Fraunce, and not a litle by bribes, which she and *Monsieur Dosell* receaued from the Bishops and the priests here at home, did continue her in her rage. And first she sente for all the Nobilitie, to whome she complained, that we meaned nothing but rebellion: she did grieuously lament the destruction of the Charterhouse, because it was a kinges foundation. and there was the tombe of king *Iames* the first, and by such other perswasions she made the most part of them graunt to pursue vs. And then incontinent sent she for her French men. For that was & euer hath bin her ioy, to see Scottish men dip one with anothers bloudde. No man was at that time more franke against vs, then was the Duke, ledde by that cruell beast the bishop of S. Andrewes, & by those that yet abuse him the Abbot of Kiluinning, & *Mathew Hammiltō* of Milburne, 2. chiefe enemies to the Duke, & to his whole house, but in so far as therby they may procure their owne particular profit. These & such other pestilent Papists ceassed not to cast fagots on the fire continually crying forwarde vpon these heretickes, we shall once ridde this realme of them. The certainty hereof comming to our knowledge, some of vs repaired to the towne againe, about the xxij daye of May, and there did abide for the comforte of our brethren. Where after inuocation of the name of God, we began to put the towne and our selues in such strēgth, as we thought might best serue for our iust defence. And because we were not vtterly dispaired of the Queenes fauor, we caused to forme a letter to her Grace as followeth.

The complaint of the Queene Regent.

To

To the Queenes grace regent all humble obedience and dueti̇e promiſed.

AS heretofore with ieopard of our liues, and yet with willing harts we haue ſerued the authority of Scotland, and your Grace nowe Regent in this realme in ſeruice to our bodies dangerous, & painfull, ſo now with moſt dolorous mindes we are conſtrained by vniuſt tyrãny purpoſed againſt vs, to declare vnto your Grace, that except this cruelty be ſtaied by your wiſdome, we ſhall be cõpelled to take the ſword of iuſt defence, againſt all that ſhall purſue vs for the matter of religion, & for our cõſcience ſake: which ought not nor may not be ſubiect to mortall creatures, farder then by Gods word man is able to proue that he hath power to commaund vs. We ſignifie moreouer vnto your Grace, that if by rigor we be compelled to ſeeke the extreme defence, that we will not only notifie our innocencie & petitions to the king of France, to our Miſtreſſe, & to her husband, but alſo to the Princes & counſell of euery Chriſtian realme, declaring vnto thé, that this cruell iniuſt, & moſt tyrannicall murther intended againſt townes & multitudes, was and is the onely cauſe of our reuolt from our accuſtomed obedience, which in Gods preſence we faithfully promiſe to our Soueraigne Miſtreſſe, to her husbande, and vnto your Grace Regent. Prouided that our cõſciences maye liue in that peace & liberty, which Chriſt Ieſus hath purchaſed to vs by his bloud, & that we may haue his word truly preached, & holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred vnto vs, without which we firmely purpoſe neuer to be ſubiect to mortal mã. For better we think to expone our bodies to a thouſand deaths, then to hazard our ſouls to perpetuall condemnatiõ by denying Chriſt Ieſus, & his manifeſt verity, which thing

O where is this feruencie nowe?

not onlie do they commit open Idolatrie, but alſo all ſuch as ſeing their brethren purſued for the cauſe of Religion and hauing ſufficient meanes to comfort and aſſiſt them do neuertheleſſe withdraw from thē their doubtfull ſupport. We would not your grace ſhould be deceaued, by the falſe perſuaſions of thoſe cruel beaſts the Church men, who affirme that your grace neadeth not greatlie to regard the loſſe of vs that profeſſe Chriſt Ieſus in this Realme. If (as God forbid) ye giue eare to their peſtilent counſell and ſo vſe againſt vs this extremity pretended, it is to be feared, that neither ye, neither yet your poſteritie ſhal at any time after this find that obediēce & faithfull ſeruice within this Realme, which at al times you haue found in vs. We declare our iudgements freely as trew and faithfull ſubiectes: God moue your gentle heart fauorably to interprete our faithfull meaning. Farther aduertiſſing your grace that the ſelfe ſame thing together with all thinges that we haue done or yet intend to do, we will notifie by our letters to the King of Frāce. Aſking of you in the name of the eternall God, and as your grace tenders the peace and quietnes of this Realme: that ye inuade vs not with violence till we receaue aunſwere from our maiſter her huſband, & from their aduiſed coūſell ther. And this we commit your grace to the protection of the omnipotent. From Sainct Iohnſtone the 22 of May 1559

O would God that the nobility ſhould yet conſider.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your graces obedient ſubiectes in al thinges not repugnant to God.

The faithfull congregation of Chriſt Ieſus in Scotland.

In the ſame tennor we wrote to *Monſieur Doſell* in French requiring of him that by his wiſedome he would

wold mitigate the Queenes rage and the rage of the prieſtes, otherwayes that flame which then begane to burne would ſo kindle, that when ſome men wold it could not be ſlakened. Adding farther, that he declared himſelf no faithfull ſeruant to his maiſter the King of Fraunce, if for the pleaſure of the prieſtes, he would perſecute vs, and ſo compell vs to take the ſword of iuſt defence. In like manner we wrote to Captaine Serra *La burſe* and to all other Captaines and French ſouldears in general, admoniſhing them that their vocation was not to fight againſt vs naturall Scottiſhmen, nor yet that they had any ſuch cõmaundement of their Maiſter, We beſought them therefore, not to prouoke vs to enmitie againſt them, to conſider that they had found vs fauorable. in their moſt extreame neceſſities. We declared farther vnto them that if they entered in hoſtilitie and bloodie warre againſt vs, that the ſame ſhould remaine longer then ther and our liues, to wit, euen in all poſterities to come ſo long as naturall Scottiſhmẽ ſhould haue power to reuenge ſuch crueltie, & moſt horrible ingratitude. Theſe letters were cauſed to be ſpread abrod in great abũdãce, to the end that ſome might come to the knowledge of men. The Queene Regẽt her letter was laid vpõ her caſſing in ỹ chappel roial at Sterueling wher ſhe accuſtomed to ſit at maſſe, ſhe looked vpõ it & put it in the pocket of her gowne, *Monſieur Doſell* and the capitanes receaued thers, deliuered euen by their owne ſouldeors (for ſome amongſt them were fauorers of the truth) who after the reading of them began to riue their owne beardes, for that was the modeſt behauiour of *Monſieur Doſell* when trueth was told vnto him, ſo that it repugned to his fantaſie. Theſe our letters were ſuppreſſed to the vttermoſt of their power and yet they

come to the knowledge of many. But the rage of the Queene and the prieſts could not be ſtaied, but forward they moue againſt vs, who then were but a very few & meane nũber of gentlemen in Sainct Iohnſtone, we perceauing the extremity to approch did write to all brethren to repaire towardes vs for our reliefe to the which we found all men ſo redie bent that the worke of God was euidẽtly to be eſpied. The tenour wherof followeth. And becauſe that we wold omit no diligence to declare our innocencie to all men we formed a letter to thoſe of the nobilitie, who then perſecuted vs, as after followeth.

To the nobilitie of Scotland the congregations of Chriſt Ieſus within the ſame deſire the ſpirite of righteous iudgement.

BECAVSE we are not ignorant that ye the nobilitie of this Realme who now perſecute vs employing your hole ſtudie and force to mantaine the kingdom of Sathan, of ſuperſtitiõ & Idolatry, are yet neuertheleſſe deuided in opinion. We the cõgregation of Chriſt Ieſus by you vniuſtly perſecuted haue thoght good, in one letter to writ vnto you ſeuerally. Ye are deuided we ſay in opinion, for ſome of you thinke that we who haue taken this enterpriſe to remoue idolatrie, & the monuments of the ſame, to erect the trew preaching of Chriſt Ieſus in the boũds committed to our charges are heretiks ſeditious mẽ & troublers of this common wealth, & therfore that no puniſhment is ſufficient for vs: & ſo blinded with this rage, and vnder pretence to ſerue the authority ye proclaime warre and deſtruction without all ordour of law againſt vs. To you we ſay, that neither your blind zeale, nether yet the colour of authority

ſhal

ſhall excuſe you in Godes preſence, who commaundeth none to ſuffer death till that he be openly conuicted in iudgement, to haue offended againſt God, and againſt his law writing: which no mortall creature is able to proue againſt vs: for whatſoeuer we haue done, the ſame we haue done at Godes commaundement, who plainly commaundes idolatry, & all monumentes of the ſame to be deſtroyed & aboliſhed. Our earneſt and long requeſt had bene and is that in open aſſembly it may be diſputed in preſence of indifferent auditors whither that theſe abhominations named by the peſtilent papiſtes Religion, which they by fire and ſword defend be the trew Religion of Chriſt Ieſus or not? now this our humble requeſt denied vnto vs, our liues are ſought in moſt cruel manner. And the nobilitie (whoſe duety is to defend innocentes and to bridell the furie and rage of wicked men were it of Princes or Emperours) do notwithſtanding follow their appetites, & arme your ſelues againſt vs your brethren and naturall country men: yea againſt vs that be innocent and iuſt as concerning all ſuch crimes as be laied to our charges. If ye think that we be criminall, becauſe that we diſſent from your opinion, conſider we beſeech you that the Prophetes vnder the law, the examples of Chriſt Ieſus after his aſſenſion his primitiue Church and holy Martires did diſagree from the hole world in their daies. And will ye denye but that their action was iuſt, and that all thoſe that perſecuted them were murtherers before God? May not the like be trew this day? What aſſurance haue ye this daie of your Religion, which the world that day had not of theirs? ye haue a multitude that agrie with you, and ſo had they: ye haue antiquitie of tyme, and that they lacked not: ye haue counſelles lawes

The perpetuall requeſt of the proteſtantes of Scotland.

and men of reputation that haue eſtabliſhed all thinges as ye ſuppoſe. But none of all theſe can make any Religion acceptable vnto God, which only depended vpon his owne will reuealed to man in his moſt ſacred word. It is not then a wonder that ye ſleepe in ſo deadlie a ſecuritie in the mater of your owne ſaluation. Conſidering that God geueth vnto you ſo manifeſt tokens that ye and your leaders, are both declined from god. For if the tre ſhalbe iudged by the fruite (as Chriſt Ieſus affirmeth that it muſt be) then of neceſſitie it is that your prelates, and the whole rable of their cleargie be euell trees. For if Adultery, pride, ambition, dronkenes, couetouſnes, inceſt, vnthankefulneſſe, oppreſſion, murther, Idolatry and blaſphemy be euell fruits their can none of that generation which clame to themſelues the title of Church men, be iudged to trees. For all theſe peſtilent and wicked fruites do they bring forth in greateſt abundance. And if they be euil trees (as ye your ſelues muſt be compelled to confeſſe they are) aduiſe prudentlie with what conſciences ye can maintaine them to occupie the rome and place in the Lordes vineyarde. Do ye not conſider that in ſo doing ye labour to maintaine the ſeruantes of ſinne in their filthie corruptiō and ſo conſequentlie they labour that the deuill may raigne and ſtill abuſe this Realme by all iniquitie and tyranny, And that Chriſt Ieſus and his bleſſed Goſpell be ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed. The name and the cloke of the authoritie which ye pretend will nothing excuſe you in Gods preſence, but rather ſhall ye beare double condemnation for that ye burden God, as that his good ordinãce were the cauſe of your iniquitie: al authoritie which God had eſtabliſhed is good and perfite and is to be obeyed of all men, yea vnder the paine of damnation. But

Probation againſt the Papiſtes

Againſt ſuch as vnder cullour of authority perſecute their brethren.

do

do ye not vnderſtand, that there is a great difference betwixt the authoritie which is Godes ordinance, & the perſons of theſe which are placed in authoritie, the authoritie and Gods ordinance can neuer doe wrong, for it commaũdeth that vice and wicked mẽ be puniſhed, and vertue with verteous men and iuſt be maintained. But the corrupt perſon placed in this authoritie may offend, and moſt commonly doth the contrary hereof, and is then the corruption of man to be followed, by reaſon it is clothed with the name of the authority? Or ſhal thoſe that obey the wicked commandement of thoſe that are placed in authoritie be excuſable before God? Not ſo, not ſo, but the plagues and vengeances of God taken vpon kinges their ſeruants and ſubiects do witnes to vs the plain contrarie. Pharao was a king, and had his authoritie of God, who commaunded his ſubiectes to murther and torment the Iſraelites. And at laſt moſt cruelly to perſecute their liues. But was their obedience (blind rage it ſhould be caled) excuſable before God the vniuerſall plague doth plainlie declare, that the wicked commaunder and thoſe that obeyed were alike giltie before God. And if the example of Pharao ſhalbe reiected becauſe he was an Ethnike, then let vs conſider the factes of Saule. He was a king anointed of God, appointed to reigne ouer his people, he commaunded to perſecute Dauid, becauſe (as he alleadged) Dauid was a traitour and vſurper of the crowne. And likewaies commaunded Ahimeleck the high prieſt and his fellowes to be ſlaine? But did God approue any part of this obedience? euidẽt it is that he did not. And thinke ye that God will approue in you, that which he did damne in others? be not deceaued: with God there is no ſuch parcialitie. If ye obey the vniuſt commaundements of wicked rulers

Difference betwixt the perſon and the authority.

The fact of King Saule.

ye ſhall ſuffer Gods vengeance and iuſt puniſhment with them. And therefore as ye tender your owne ſaluation we moſt earneſtly require of yow, moderation, and that ye ſtay your ſelues, and the furie of others, from perſecuting of vs til our cauſe be tryed in lawful and open iudgment. And now to you that are perſwaded of the iuſtice of our cauſe that ſometimes haue profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus with vs, and that alſo haue exhorted vs to this enterpriſe and yet haue left vs in our extreame neceſſitie or at the leaſt look out through your fingers in this our trouble, as that the matter appertained not vnto you we ſay, that vnles (all feare and wordly reſpects ſet aſide) ye ioyne youre ſelues with vs, that as of God ye are reputed traytors, ſo ſhall ye be excommunicated from our ſocyetie, and from all participation with vs, in the adminiſtration of Sacraments: the glory of this victory, which God ſhall giue to his church, yea euen in the eyes of men, ſhall not appertayne to you, but the fearefull iudgment which apprehended Ananias and his wife Saphyra, ſhall apprehend you and your poſteritie. Ye may perchaunce contemne and deſpiſe the excommunication of the Church now by Godes mightie power erected amongeſt vs, as a thing of no force. But yet doubt we nothing, but that our Church, and the trew miniſters of the ſame haue the ſame power which our maiſter Chriſt Ieſus graunted to his Apoſtles in theſe wordes: whoſe ſinnes ye ſhall forgiue ſhalbe forgeuen and whoſe ſinnes ye ſhall retaine, ſhalbe retained, and that becauſe they preach, & we beleeue, the ſame doctrine which is contained in his moſt bleſſed word. And therefore except that ye wil contemne Chriſt Ieſus ye nether can deſpiſe our threatning, neither yet refuſe vs calling for your iuſt defence. By your fainting and

Let both the onepart and the other iudge if God haue not iuſtified the cauſe of the innocentes.

and by extracting of your ſupporte the enemies are encouraged, thinking that they ſhall finde no reſiſtance. In which poynt God willing they ſhall be deceaued. For if they were tenne thouſand and we but one thouſand, they ſhall not murther the leaſt of our brethren, but we (God aſſiſting vs) ſhall firſt commit our liues into the hãds of God for their defence. But this ſhall aggrauate your damnation, for ye declare your ſelues both traitors to the truth once profeſſed, & murtherers of vs and of our brethren, from whom ye withdraw your dutifull & promiſed ſupport, whom your onely preſence (to mans iudgement) might preſerue from this daunger. For our enemies looke not to the power of God, but to the force and ſtrength of man, when the number is mean to reſiſt thẽ, then rage they as bloudy wolues, but a part equall or able to reſiſt them by appearance, doeth bridle their furie. Examine your owne conſciences and wey that ſentence of our maiſter Chriſt Ieſus ſaying, whoſoeuer denieth me or is aſhamed of me before men, I ſhal deny him before my Father. Now is the day of his battell in this realme, if ye deny vs your brethren, ſuffering for his names ſake, ye do alſo deny him, as him ſelf doth witneſſe in theſe words, Whatſoeuer ye did to any of theſe litle ones, that ye did to me, & what ye did not to one of theſe litle ons, that ye did not to me: if theſe ſentẽces be true as concerning meat, drinke, clothing & ſuch things as appertaine to the body, ſhall they not be likewiſe true in theſe things that appertaine to the preſeruation of the liues of thouſands, whoſe bloud is now ſought for profeſſiõ of Chriſt Ieſus? And thus ſhortly leaue we you, who ſometimes haue profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus with vs to the examination of your own cõſciences. And yet once again of you, who blinded

Frõ whence this corage did proceed the iſſue did declare.

by ſuperſtition perſecute vs, we require moderation till our cauſe may be tried, which if ye will not graũt vnto vs for Gods cauſe, yet we deſire you to haue reſpect to the preſeruation of your common countrey, which we can not ſooner betray into the hands of ſtraungers, then that one of vs deſtroy and murder an other. Conſider our petitions, & call for the ſpirit of righteous iudgement.

Theſe our letters being diuulgat, ſome men began to reaſon, whether of conſcience they might inuade vs or not, conſidering that we offred due obedience to the authoritie, requiring nothing but the libertie of conſcience and our religion and fact to be tryed by the word of God. Our letters came with conuenient expedition to the handes of our brethren in Cuninghame & Kyle, who aſſembled at the church of Craggie, where after ſome contrarious reaſons, *Alexander* Erle of Glencarne in zeale burſt forth in theſe words, Let euery man ſerue his conſcience, I will by Gods grace ſee my brethren in S. Iohnſton. Yea albeit neuer man ſhould accompany me, I will go, & if it were but a pike vpon my ſhoulder, for I had rather die with that company, then liue after them. Theſe words ſo encouraged the reſt, that all decreed to go forward, as that they did ſo ſtoutly, that whē Lyon Herault in his coate armour commaunded all men vnder paine of treaſon to return to their houſes by publike ſound of trumpet in Glaſgow, neuer man obeyed that charge, but all went forwarde, as we ſhal after heare. When it was cleerly vnderſtood that the prelates and their adherentes ſuppreſſing our petitions ſo farre as in them lay, did kindle the furie of all men againſt vs: it was thought expediēt to write vnto them ſome declaration of our mindes, which we did in this forme following.

To the generation of Antichriſt, the peſtilent Prelates, and their ſhauelinges, within Scotlande the congregation of Chriſt Ieſus within the ſame ſayeth.

TO the end that ye ſhall not be abuſed thinking to eſcape iuſt puniſhment, after ye in your blind furie haue cauſed the bloud of manie to be ſhedde: This we notifie and declare vnto you: that if ye proceede in this your malitiouſe crueltie, ye ſhall be intreated whereſoeuer ye ſhall be apprehended, as murtherers and open enemies to God and vnto mankinde. And therefore betimes ceaſſe from this blind rage. Remoue firſt frō your ſelues, your bands of bloudie men of warre, and reforme your ſelues to a more quiet life, and thereafter mitigate ye the authoritie, which without crime committed vppon our part yé haue enflamed againſt vs, or elſe be ye aſſured, that with the ſame meaſure, that ye haue meaſured againſt vs, and yet intend to meaſure to others, it ſhall be meaſured vnto you. That is, as ye by tyrannie intend not onely to deſtroy our bodies, but alſo by the ſame to hold our ſoules in bondage of the deuill ſubiect to idolatrie: So ſhall we with all force and power, which God ſhalt graunt vnto vs, execute iuſt vengeance and puniſhment vpon you, yea we ſhall begin that ſame warre, which God commaundeth Iſraell to execute againſt the Cananites, that is, contract of peace ſhall neuer be made til that ye deſiſt from your open idolatrie and cruell perſecution of Gods children. And this we ſignifie vnto you, in the name of the eternall God, & of his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus whoſe veritie we profeſſe, & Goſpell we haue preached, & holy Sacramēts rightly miniſtred, ſo long as God will aſſiſt vs to gainſtand your idola-

trie. Take this for aduertiſement & be not deceaued.

Theſe our requeſts & aduertiſements notwithſtanding *Monſieur Doſell* & his French men, with the prieſts & their bandes marched forward againſt S. Iohnſton, & approched within x. miles of the town, then repaired the brethren from all quarters for our relief. The gentlemen of Fyfe, Anguſt, Mearnes with the towne of Dundie were there they that firſt hazarded to reſiſt the enemie: & for that purpoſe was choſen a plat of ground, a mile and more diſtant frō the towne. In this mean time the Lord *Ruthuen* prouoſt of the towne of S. Iohnſton, & a man whom manie iudged godly & ſtout in that action (as in verie deed he was euen vnto his laſt breath) left the town and departed firſt to his owne place, & after to the Queene. Whoſe defection and reuolt was a great diſcourage to the harts of many, and yet did God ſo comfort them, that within the ſpace of xij. hours after the hearts of all men were euerted againe. For thoſe that were thē aſſembled did not ſo much hope victorie by their owne ſtrength, as by the power of him, whoſe verity they profeſſed, & began one to cō-fort another till the whole multitude was erected in a reaſonable hope. The day after that the Lord *Ruthuen* departed, which was the xxiiij. of May, came the Erle of Argile, Lord *Iames* Prior of S. Andrewes, & the Lord Semple directed from the Queene Regent, to enquire the cauſe of that conuocation of lieges there. To whom when it was aunſwered, that it was only to reſiſt the cruell tyrāny deuiſed againſt that poore towne and the inhabitants of the ſame. They asked if we minded not to hold that towne againſt the authoritie, & againſt the Regent. To the which queſtion aunſwered the Lairdes of Dun and Pittarro with the congregatiō of Anguſt & Mearnes

Speakers ſent by the Queene to S. Iohnſton.

the

the maſter of Lindſay, the Lairds of Londy, Balward & others Barrons of Fyfe. That if the Queens grace would ſuffer the religion there begun to proceede, and not trouble their brethren and ſiſters that had profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus with them, that the towne, they them ſelues, and whatſoeuer to them pertained ſhould be at the Queenes commaundement. Which aunſwer vnderſtood, the Erle of Argile & the Prior (who both were then proteſtants) began to muſe, & ſaid plainly that they were farre otherwiſe informed by the Queene, to wit, that we meant no religion, but a plaine rebellion. To the which when we had aunſwered ſimplie, and as the truth was, to wit, that we conuened for none other purpoſe, but onely to aſſiſt our brethren who thé were moſt vniuſtly perſecuted, and therefore we deſired them faithfully to report our aunſwer, and to be interceſſors to the Queene Regent, that ſuch cruelty ſhould not be vſed againſt vs, conſidering that we had offered in our former letters, as well to the Queenes grace, as to the Nobilitie, our matter to be tried in lawfull iudgement. They promiſed fidelitie in that behalfe which alſo they kept. The day after which was the xxv. of May before that the ſayde Lordes departed, in the morning *Iohn Knox* deſired to ſpeake with the ſame Lordes, which graunted vnto him, he was conueyed to their lodging by the Laird of Balwarde and thus began. The preſent troubles, honourable Lordes, ought to moue the heartes not onely of the true ſeruauntes of God, but alſo of all ſuch as beare any fauour vnto your countrey and naturall countrey men, to diſcend within them ſelues, and deepely to conſider, what ſhall be the ende of this pretended tyrannie. The rage of Sathan ſeeketh the deſtruction of all thoſe, that within this

The falſe ſuggeſtiō of the Queene Regent.

The oration of Iohn Knox to the Lords.

realme profesſe Chriſt Ieſus, and they that enflame the Queenes grace,& you the nobles againſt vs regard not who preuaile, prouided that they may abuſe the world,& liue at their pleaſure,as hertofore they haue done: yea I feare that ſome ſeeke nothing more,then the effuſion of Scottiſh bloud,to the end that their poſſeſſions might be more patent to others. But becauſe that this is not ỹ principall which I haue to ſpeake,omitting the ſame to be conſidered by the wiſdom of thoſe to whom the care of the cō-

1. mon wealth appertaineth. I moſt humbly require of you my Lordes in my name, to ſay to the Queenes grace Regent,that we in whom ſhe in her blind rage doth perſecute are Gods ſeruaunts, faithfull & obedient ſubiects to the authoritie of this realme. That that religion which ſhe pretendeth to maintaine by fire & ſword is not the true religion of Chriſt Ieſus, but is expreſſe contrary to the ſame, a ſuperſtition deuiſed by the braine of man, which I offer my ſelfe to proue againſt all that within Scotland will maintaine the contrary,liberty of tōg being graunted vnto me, and Gods written worde being admitted for

2. iudge. I farder require your honours in my name to ſay vnto her grace,that as oft before I haue written, ſo now I ſay,that this her enterpriſe ſhal not proſperouſly ſucceede in the ende, & albeit for a time ſhe trouble the Saincts of God,for ſhe fights not againſt man only,but againſt the eternall God, & his inuincible veritie,& therfore the ende ſhall be her confuſion vnleſſe betimes ſhe repent & deſiſt. Theſe things I require of you in the name of the eternall God, as from my mouth to ſay vnto her grace, adding that I haue bin, & am a more aſſured friend to her grace, then they that either flattering her as ſeruaunts to her corrupt appetites,or elſe enflame hir againſt vs,

Let the Papiſts rather ambitious Romaniſts iudge.

who

who ſeeke nothing but Gods glory to be aduanced, vice to be ſuppreſſed, & veritie to be maintained in this poore realme. They all 3. did promiſe to report his words ſo farre as they could, which afterwardes we vnderſtood they did: yea the Lord ſimplie him ſelfe a man ſold vnder ſinne, enemie to God and all godlines, did yet make ſuch report that the Queene was ſomwhat offended, that any man ſhold vſe ſuch libertie in her preſence. She ſtill proceeded in her malice, for immediatly thereafter ſhe ſent her Lyon herauld with letters ſtraitely charging all men to a-uoyd the towne vnder the paine of treaſon. Which letters after he had declared them, to the chief men of the congregation, he publikely proclaimed the ſame vpon Sunday the xxvij. of May. In this meane time came ſure knowledge to the Queene, to the Duke, & to *Monſieur Doſell*, that the Earle of Glencarne, the Lords *Vchiltrie* & *Boyde*, the yong Shiriffe of Air, the Lairds of Craggy Wallace, Seſnock, Carnell, Bar, Gaitgirth, and the whole congregation of Kyle and Cuninghame approched for our reliefe, & in very deede they came in ſuch diligence and ſuch a number, that as the enemy had iuſt cauſe to feare, ſo haue all that profeſſe Chriſt Ieſus, iuſt matter to praiſe God, for their fidelitie and ſtout courage in that neede. For by their preſence was the tyrannie of the enemy bridled. Their diligence was ſuch, that albeit the paſſage by Stirueling and ſix miles aboue was ſtopped (for there lay the queene, with her bandes, & cauſed the bridges to be cut vpon the waters of Forth, Gudy and Teith, aboue Stirueling) yet made they ſuch expedition through deſert and mountaine, that they preuented the enemy and approched within vj. miles of our campe, which thē lay without the towne awaiting vpon the enemie before

The diligēce of the Earle of Glencarne and of the brethren of the waſt, for the relief of S. Iohnſton.

that any assured knowledge came to vs of their cõming. Their number was iudged to twentie fiue hundred men, whereof there was twelue hundreth horsemen. The Queene vnderstanding howe the sayd Earle and Lordes with their companie approched, caused to beset all wayes, that no aduertismẽt should come to vs. To the end that we dispairing of support might condiscend to such appointment, as she required. And sent first to require that some discret men of our number would come and speake to the Duke and *Monsieur Dosell* (who then with their armie lay at Ancheddirdour, ten miles from S. Iohnston) to the end, that some reasonable appointment might be had. She had perswaded the Erle of Argile & all others, that we meant nothing but rebellion, & therefore had he promised vnto her, that in case we should not stand content with a reasonable appointment, she should declare her selfe open enemy vnto vs, notwithstanding that he professed the same religion with vs. Frõ vs were sent the Laird of Dun, the Laird of Inuerquharite & *Thomas Scot* of Abbotshall to heare what appointment the Queene wold offer. The Duke & *Monsieur Dosell* required that the town should be made patent, & that all things should be referred to the Queens pleasure. To the which they answered, that neither they had commission so to promise, neither durst they of cõscience so perswade their brethren: but if the Queenes grace would promise that no inhabitant of the towne shold be troubled for any such crimes as might be alleadged against them, for the late mutation of religion & abolishment of idolatrie, & for downe casting the places of the same, if she would suffer the religion begun to go forward, & leaue the towne at her departing free from the garrisons of French souldiers, that they would

The petitiõ of the Protestants for the rẽdering of S. Iohnstõ

would labour at the hands of their brethrē, that the Queene ſhould be obeied in all things. *Monſieur Doſell* perceauing the daunger to be great if that a ſodeine appointment ſhould be made, and that they were not able to execute their tyrannie againſt vs, after that the congregation of Kyle (of whoſe comming we had no aduertiſment) ſhold be ioyned with vs, with good woordes dimiſſed the ſayd Lairdes to perſwade the brethren to quiet concord. To ẏ which we were all ſo well minded, that with one voice they cried: Curſed be they that ſeeke effuſion of bloud: let vs poſſeſſe Chriſt Ieſus, & the beneſite of his Goſpel, & none within Scotland ſhall be more obedient ſubiects then we ſhall be. With all expedition were ſent from Stirueling againe (after that the cōming of the Erle of Glencarne was knowen, for the enemie for feare quaked) the Erle of Argile & Lord *Iames* aforeſaid. And in their companie a craftie man *M. Gauin Hammiltō* Abbot of Kilwinning, who were ſent by the Queene to finiſh the appointment aforeſaid. But before that they came, was the Erle of Glencarne and his honorable company ariued in the towne: & then began all men to praiſe God, for that he had ſo mercifully heard them in their moſt extreme neceſſitie, & had ſent vnto thē ſuch reliefe as was able without effuſion of bloud to ſtay the rage of the enemie. The Erle of Argile & lord *Iames* did earneſtly perſwade the agreemēt, to the which all men were willing, but ſome did ſmell the craft of the aduerſary, to wit, that they were minded to keepe no point of the promiſe longer then they had obtained their intēt With the Erle of Glēcarne came our louing brother *Iohn willock*, *Iohn Knox* was in the town before. Theſe 2. went to ẏ Erle of Argile & Prior, accuſing thē of infidelity in ſo far as they had defrauded their brethrē of their

The answer of the Earle of Argyle & Prior of Sainct Andrewes.

ductifull support, and comfort in their greatest necessitie. They answered both that their hart was cõstãt with their brethren and that they would defend that cause to the vttermost of their power. But because they had promised to labour concord, and to assist the Queene in case we refused reasonable offers, of conscience & honour they could do no lesse then be faithfull in their promise made. And therefore they required that the brethren might be perswaded to consent to that reasonable appointment promising in Gods presence that if the Queene did breake in any iote thereof that they with their hole powers would assist & concurre with their brethren in all times to come. This promise made the preachers appeased the multitude, and obtained in the end that all men did consent to the appointment foresaid: which they obtained not without great labours, and no wonder, for many foresaw the daunger to follow: yea the preachers themselues in open sermon did affirme plainly, that they were assuredly perswaded that the Queene ment no trueth. But to stoppe the mouth of the aduersarie who vniustly did burthen vs with rebellion, they most earnestly required all men to approue the appointement and so to suffer hypocrisie disclose it selfe. This appointemẽt was cõcluded the 28 of May, & the day following at two in the after noone departed the congregation from Sainct Iohnstone, after that *Iohn Knox* had in his sermon exhorted all men to constancy & vnfainedly to thank God, for that it had pleased his mercie to stay the rage of the enemie without effusion of blood. Also that no brother should weary nor faint to support such as should after be likwaies persecuted: for (said he) I am assured that no part of this promise made shalbe longar kept then the Queene

The promise of the foresaid.

and

and her Frenchmen haue the vpper hand. Many of the enemies were at the ſame ſermon: for after that the appointment was made they had free entereſſe in the towne to prouide lodgings. Before the Lords departed was this band whoſe tenour followeth as it was written and ſubſcribed.

At Perth the laſt day of May the yeare of God 1559 yeares the congregations of the Weſt contrey with the congregations of Fyfe Perth, Dundie, Anguiſh Mearnes and Munroſſe being conuened in the towne of Perth in the name of Ieſus Chriſt, for forth ſetting of his glory, vnderſtãding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame then to keepe a conſtant amity, vnitie and felowſhip together according as they are commaunded by God, are confederate and become bounden and obliſt in the preſence of God to concurre and aſſiſt togethet in doing all thinges required of God in his Scripture that may be to his glory. And that, that hole powers to deſtroy & away put al thinges that doth diſhonour to his name, ſo that God may be trewly and purelie worſhipped. And in caſe that any trouble be intended againſt the ſaid cõgregations or any part or member thereof, the hole congregation ſhall concurre aſſiſt and conuene together to the defence of the ſame congregation or perſon troubled. And ſhall not ſpare labours Goods ſubſtance bodies and liues in maintaining the liberty of the whole cõgregation & euery member therof againſt what ſo euer power that ſhall intend the ſaid trouble for cauſe of religion or any other cauſe depending thereupon, or lay to their charge vnder pretence thereof although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cauſe. In witneſſing and teſtimony of the which the whole congregations aforeſaid haue ordained and appointed the noble

men and perſones vnder written to ſubſcribe their preſentes,

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Arch Argile.

Iames Steward.

Glencarne.

R. Lord Boid Vchiltrie.

Mathew Campbell of Termgland

The 29 day of May entered the Queene, the Duke *Monſieur Doſel* and the French men who in diſcharging their voley of Hacquebutes did well marke the houſe of *Patrike Murray*, a man feruent in religion, and that boldely had ſuſtained all daungers in that trouble. Againſt whoſe ſtaire they directed VI or VII ſhote euen againſt the faces of thoſe that were there lying, all men eſcaped except the ſonne of the ſaid *Patrike* a boy of 10. or 12 yeares of age, who being ſlaine was had to the Queenes preſence. But ſhe vnderſtanding whoſe ſonne he was, ſaid in mockage, It is pitie it chaunced on the ſonne, and not on the father, but ſeing that ſo it is chāced, me cā not be againſt fortune. This was her happie entereſſe in Sainct Iohnſtone, and the great zeale ſhe beareth to Iuſtice. The ſwarme of Papiſts that entered with her began ſtraight to make prouiſion, for their maſſe & becauſe the alters were not ſo eaſie to be repaired againe they prouided tables, whereof ſome before vſed to ſerue for drunckardes, dizardes & carters but they were holy inough for the prieſt & his padgeon. The Queene began to rage againſt all godly & honeſt men, their howſes was oppreſſed by the French the lawfull Magiſtrates aſwell prouoſt as Bailzeis were vniuſtlie and without all ordor depoſed from their authoritie. A wicked man void of Godes feare and deſtitute of all vertue the Laird of Kylſawnſſe was

The firſt ſlaughter at the entereſſe of the Frenchmen

Idolatrie erected againſt the appointmēt

was intruded by her prouoſt aboue the towne: wherat all honeſt men offended they left their owne houſe and with their wiues and children ſought amongſt their brethrē ſome reſting place for a time. She tooke ordour that foure enſenzeis of the ſoldeors ſhould abide in the towne to maintaine idolatrie and to reſiſt the congregation. Honeſt & indifferent men aſked why ſhe did ſo manifeſtly violat her promiſe? She aunſwered that ſhe was bound to keepe no promiſe to heretickes. And moreouer that ſhe promiſed only to leaue the towne free of French ſoldyers: which (ſaid ſhe) ſhe did, becauſe that theſe that therin were left were Scottiſhmen. But when it was reaſoned in her contrary, that all thoſe that tooke wages of France were counted French ſoldears, She aunſwered, Princes muſt not be ſtraictly bounden to keepe their promiſes, My ſelfe (ſaid ſhe) would make litle conſcience to take from all that ſorte their liues, and inheritance, if I might do it with as honeſt an excuſe, and then ſhe left the towne in extreame bondage, after that her vngodlie Frenchmē had moſt cruelly entreated the moſt parte of theſe that remained in the ſame. The Earle of Argyle and Lord *Iames* foreſaid perceauing in the Queene nothing but meare tyranny and falſhoode, mindefull of their former promiſes made to their brethren did ſecretlie conuey themſelues and their companies of the towne and with them departed the Lord *Ruthwen* of whome before mention is made, the Earle of Menteth and the Laird of Tullybardin: who in Gods preſence did confederate & binde themſelues together faithfully promiſing one to aſſiſt and defend another againſt all perſons that would purſue thē for religiō ſake, & alſo that they with their whole force & power wold defend the brethrē perſecuted for the

Againſt the appointmēt the ſecond time.

Second anſwer of the Queene Regent.

The third aunſwere.

The departure of the Earle of Argyle and Lord Iames from the Queene Regent.

ſame cauſe. The Queene highly offended at the ſuddaine departure of the perſõs aforſaid ſent charges to them to returne vnder the higheſt paine of her diſpleaſure. But they anſwered that with ſafe conſcience they could not be partakers of ſo manifeſt tyrãny as by her was committed, and of ſo great iniquity as they perceaued deuiſed by her, and her vngodlie counſell the prelates. This anſwere was geuen to her the firſt day of Iune, and immediatly the Erle of Argyle & Lord *Iames* repaired toward Sainct Andrews. And in their iourney gaue aduertiſement by writing to the Laird of Dun to the Laird of Pittarrow, to the prouoſt of Dundie and others profeſſors in Anguiſh to viſite them in Sainct Andrewes the fourth of Iune for reformation to be made there which day they kept and brought in their company *Iohn Knox* who the firſt day after his comming to Fife did preach in carrel, the next day in Anſtruther, minding the third day, which was the ſonday to preach in Sainct Andrewes. The Biſhop hearing of reformation to be made in his Cathedrall Church thought tyme to ſturre or elſe neuer, & therefore aſſembled his colledges, and confederate fellowes beſides his other friendes and came to the towne vpon the Satterday at night accompanied with a hundreth ſpeares of mind to haue ſtopped *Iohn Knox* to haue preached. The two Lords and gentlemen foreſaid were onely accompanied with their quiet houſholdes and therfore was the ſuddaine cumming of the Biſhop the more fearefull. For then was the Queene and her Frenchmen departed from Sainct Iohnſtone & were lying in Faikland within twelue miles of Sainct Andrewes. And the towne at that time had not geuen profeſſion of Chriſt, and therefore could not the Lords be aſſured of their friendſhip. Conſultation being

The anſwer of the Earle of Argyle.

being had many were of mind that the preaching ſhould be delaied for that day, and eſpecially ỹ *Iohn Knox* ſhould not preach, for that did the Biſhop affirme that he would not ſuffer: conſidering that by his commaundement the pictor of the ſaid *Iohn* was before burnt. He willed therefore an honeſt gentleman *Robert Colwill* of Cleiſſe to ſay to the Lords that in caſe *Iohn Knox* preſented him ſelfe to the preaching place in his towne and principall Church he ſhould make him be ſaluted with a doſen of culueringes whereof the moſt parte ſhould light vpon his noſe. After long deliberation had, the ſaid *Iohn* was called, that his owne iudgement might be had, when many perſwaſions were made that he ſhould delay for that time, and great terrors geuen in caſe he ſhould interpriſe ſuch a thing as it were in contempt of the Biſhop, he aunſwered. God is witneſſe that I neuer preached Chriſt Ieſus in contempt of any man, neither mind I at any time to preſent my ſelfe to that place hauing either reſpect to my owne priuate commoditie, either yet to the worldly hurte of any creature, but to delay to preach to morrow (vnleſſe the bodie be violently witholden) I can not of conſcience. For in this towne and Church began God firſt to call me to the dignitie of a preacher, frō the which I was reft by the tyranny of Fraunce and procurement of the Biſhops as ye all well inough know how long I continued priſoner, what torment I ſuſtained in the galayes, and what were the ſobbes of my hart is now no time to recite. This onely I can not conceale, which mo then one half heard me ſay when my body was farre abſent from Scotland. That my aſſured hope was in open audience to preach in Sainct Andrewes, before I departed this life. And therefore (ſaid he) my Lordes ſeing that God aboue

The Biſhops good mind towardes Iohn Knox.

the expectation of many hath brought the bodie to the ſame place where firſt I was called to the office of a preacher, and from the which moſt vniuſtly was remoued, I beſeech your honors not to ſtoppe me to preſent my ſelfe vnto my brethren, & as for the feare of daunger that may come to me let no man be ſolliſt, for my life is in the cuſtodie of him whoſe glorie I ſeeke. And therefore I can not ſo feare their boſt nor tyranny that I will ceaſe from doing my dutie, when of his mercie he offereth the occaſion. I deſire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me, onelie do I craue audience: which if it be denied here vnto me at this time, I muſt ſeke farther where I may haue it. At theſe wordes the Lordes were fullie content that he ſhould occupie the place, which he did vpō Sonday the tenth of Iune & did entreat of the eiection of the byars and the ſellars forth of the temple of Ieruſalem. And as it is written in the Euangeliſtes Matthew and Iohn, and ſo applieth the corruptiō that was then to the corruption that is in the papiſtrie. And Chriſtes fact to the duetie of thoſe to whome God geueth power and zeale thereto, that aſwel the magiſtrates, the prouoſt and Ballies as the comminalty for the moſt parte within the towne did agrie to remoue all monumentes of Idolatrie which alſo they did with expedition. The Biſhop aduertiſed hereof departed that ſame day to the Queene who lay with her French men as ſaid is in Faikland. The hote furie of the Biſhop did ſo kindle her choler (and yet the loue was verie cold betwixt them) that without farther delay concluſion was taken, to inuade Sainct Andrewes and the two yong Lordes foreſaid who then were there very ſclenderly accompanied. Poſtes were ſent from the Queene with all diligence to Cowper diſtāt only ſix miles frō Sainct Andrews

The reformation of Sainct Andrewes.

to

to prepare lodgings and victuals for the Queene,& her French men. Lodgings were aſſigned,& furriers were ſent before. Which thing vnderſtood counſell was giuen to the Lords to march forward, & to preuent them before they came to Cowper: which they did, geuing aduertiſement to all brethren with poſſible expedition to repare towards them, which they alſo did with ſuch diligence, that in their aſſemblie the wondrous worke of God might haue bin eſpied. For when at night the Lords came to Cowper, they were not 100. horſe & certaine footemen whō Lord *Iames* brought from the coaſt ſide, & yet before the next day at noone (which was Tueſday the xiij. of Iune) their number paſſed 3000. men, which by Gods prouidence came vnto the Lords, from Lowthiane the Lairds of Ormeſton, Calder, Hatton, Reſtalrig, and Colſton, who albeit they vnderſtoode at their departing from their owne houſes no ſuch trouble, yet were they by their good counſel very comfortable that day. The Lord *Ruthuen* came from S Iohnſton with ſome horſemen with him, the Erle of Rotheſſe ſhiriſe of Fyfe came with an honeſt company. The townes of Dundie & S. Andrewes declared thē ſelues both ſtout & faithful. Cowper becauſe it ſtood in greateſt daunger aſſiſted with the whole force, finally God did ſo multiply our number that it appeared as men had rained from the clouds. The enemy vnderſtāding nothing of our force aſſured thē ſelues of victory. Who had bin in Falkland the night before might haue ſeene embracing & kiſſing, betwixt the Queene, the Duke & the biſhop. But *M Gawan Hamilton* gaper for the biſhoprick of S. Andrews aboue all other was louingly embraced of the Queene. For he made his ſolemne vow, ẏ he wold fight, & that he ſhold neuer return til he brought thoſe traitors to hir

Cowper moore.

M. Gawan Hāmiltons vowe.

grace either quicke or dead. And thus before mid-night did they ſend forward their ordinance, them ſelues did followe before three of the clocke in the morning. The Lordes hereof aduertiſed, aſſembled their company early in the morning vpon Cowper moore: where by the aduiſe of *M. Iames Haliburntoun* Prouoſt of Dundie, was choſen a place of grounde conuenient for our defence. For it was ſo choſen, ỹ vpon all ſides our ordinance might haue beaten the enemy, & yet we haue ſtood in ſaftie, if we had bene purſued till we had come to hand ſtrokes. The Lord *Ruthuen* tooke the charge of the horſemen, & ordered them ſo that the enemy was neuer permitted to eſpie our number, the day was darke which helped thereto. The enemy (as before is ſayd) thinking to haue found no reſiſtance, after that they had twiſe or thriſe practiſed with vs, as that they would retire, marched forward with great expedition, & approched within a mile before that euer their horſemen ſtayed, & yet they kept betwixt vs & them a water, for their ſtrength. It appeared to vs that either they marched for Cowper or S. Andrewes: & therfore our horſemen in their troupe, & a part of the footemen with the ordinance marched ſomewhat alwayes before them for ſafty of the towne. The Lords with the gentlemen of Fyfe, & ſo manie of Anguſt & Mearns as were preſent, kept thé ſelues cloſe in a knot neare to the number of a thouſand ſpeares. The townes of Dundie & S. Andrews were arrayed in another battell, who came not to the ſight of the enemy till that after twelue of the clocke the miſt began to vaniſh, & then paſſed ſome of their horſemen to a mountaine, from the height whereof they might diſcerne our number. Which perceaued by them, their horſmen & footmen ſtayed incontinent, poſts ran to the

Duke

Duke & *Monſieur Doſell* to declare our number, and what order we kept, & then were mediators ſent to make appointment, but they were not ſuffred to approch nere to the Lords, neither yet to the viewe of our campe: which put them in great feare. Aunſwer was giuen vnto them, that as we had offended no mã ſo would we ſeek appointment of no man, but if any would ſeek our liues (as we were informed they did) they ſhould find vs if they pleaſed to make diligẽce. This aunſwer receaued, were ſent againe the Lorde *Lindſay*, & Laird of Wanchtõ, who earneſtly requeſted vs to concord, & that we would not be the occaſion that innocent bloud ſhould be ſhed. We aunſwered, that neither had we quarel againſt any man, neither yet ſought we anie mans bloud: onely we were conuened for defence of our owne liues iniuſtly ſought by other. We added farder, that if they could find the meane, that we and our brethrẽ might be free frõ the tyrannie deuiſed againſt vs, that they ſhould reaſonably deſire nothing which ſhould be denied for our part. This aunſwer receaued, the Duke & *Monſieur Doſell* hauing commiſſion of the Queene Regent, required that aſſurance might be taken for viij. dayes: to the end that indifferent men in the meane time might common vpon ſome finall agreement of thoſe things which then were in controuerſie. Hereto did we fully conſent albeit that in number and force we were farre ſuperiour, and for teſtification hereof, we ſente vnto them our hande writts, & we likewiſe receaued theirs, with promiſe, that within 2. or 3. dayes ſome diſcret men ſhould be ſent to vs to S. Andrewes with farder knowledge of ỹ Queens mind. The tenor of the aſſurãce was this.

First aunſwer at Cowpermoore.

The ſecond aunſwer.

The Aſſurance.

We *Iames* Duke of Chattellerault Erle of Arrane

Lord *Hammilton* and my Lord *Doſell*, liuetenant for the king in theſe partes, for our ſelues out aſſiſtaries & partakers, being preſently with vs in company. By the tenor hereof promits faithfully of honor to my Lords *Archibald* Erle of Argile, & *Iames* commendater of the priory of Sainct Andrewes to their aſſiſtaries and partakers being preſently with them in companie. That we and our companie aforeſayd ſhall retire incontinent to Falkland, and ſhall with diligence tranſport the French men, and our other folkes nowe preſently with vs, and that no French men or other ſoldiers of ours, ſhall remaine within the bounds of Fyfe, but ſo manie as before the rayſing of the laſt army lay in Diſarte, Kirkcaldie, and Kinghorne, and the ſame to lye in the ſame places onely, if we ſhall thinke good. And this to haue effect for the ſpace of viij. dayes following the date hereof excluſiue, that in the meane time certaine noble men by the aduiſe of the Queenes Grace and the reſt of the counſell may conuene to talk of ſuch things, as may make good order and quietneſſe amongſt the Queenes lieges. And further we nor none of our aſſiſters being preſent with vs ſhall inuade, trouble or diſquiet the ſayd Lords nor their aſſiſters during the ſayd ſpace. And this we binde and oblige vs vpon our loyall fidelitie and honor to obſerue and keepe in euerie point aboue written without fraude or guile. In witneſſe wherof we haue ſubſcribed theſe preſentes with our owne handes. At Garlebank the xiij. day of Iune, 1559.

Subſcribed.

Iames.

The other ſubſcription we could not reade, but the ſimilie is this,

Meneits,

And

And this receaued we departed firſt, becauſe we were thereto requeſted by the Duke, and ſo we returned to Cowper, lauding and praiſing God, for his mercy ſhewed, and thereafter euery man departed to his dwelling place. The Lords and a great part of the gentlemen paſſed to Sainct Andrewes, who there abode certaine dayes, ſtill lookinge for thoſe, that were promiſed to come frō the Queene for appointment to be made. But we perceauing her craft & deceipt (for vnder that aſſurance, ſhe meant nothing elſe but to conuey her ſelfe, her ordinance & Frenchmen ouer the water of Forth) toke conſultation what ſhould be done for deliuering S. Iohnſtō from theſe vngodly ſouldiers, & howe our brethren exiled from their owne houſes, might be reſtored againe. It was concluded that the brethren of Fyfe, Anguſt, Mearnes & Streatherne ſhould conuene at Sainct Iohnſton the xxiiij. day of Iune for that purpoſe, & in the meane time were theſe letters written by the Earle of Argile & Lord *Iames* to the Queene then Regent. Madame after our harty commendations of ſeruice, this ſhall be to ſhew your Grace that vpon the xiij. day of Iune, we were enformed, by thē that were commoners, betwixt my Lord Duke, *Monſieur Doſell* & vs: that we ſhould haue ſpoken vnreuerently of your grace, which we beſeech your grace for the true ſeruice that we haue made, & are readie to make, at all times to your grace, that of your goodneſſe ye will let vs know the ſayers therof, & we ſhall do the duty of true ſubiects to defend our own innocencie: as we take God to witneſſe, of the good zeale and loue we beare towardes you, to ſerue you with true harts, & all that we haue, as wel lands as goods: deſiring no other thing for our ſeruice, but the libertie of our conſcience to ſerue our Lorde God,

The deliuerie of Sainct Iohnſton.

Letters to the Queene Regent.

as we ſhall aunſwer to him, which your Grace ought & ſhold giue to vs vnrequired. Morouer pleaſe your Grace that my Lord Duke & the noble men being in Stirueling for the time by your Graces aduiſe ſolicited vs to paſſe the congregatiõ aſſembled at the towne of Perth, to common of concorde, where we did our exact diligence, & brought it to paſſe, as your Grace knowes. And there is a point, that we plainly ſee it not obſerued to vs, which is, that no ſouldier ſhould remaine in the towne after your Graces departing. And ſuppoſe it may be inferred, that it was ſpoken of French ſouldiers onely. yet we tooke it otherwiſe, like as we do yet, that Scottiſhmen or any other nation taking the king of Fraunces wages are reputed and holden French ſouldiers. Therfore ſeeing we of good will and minde brought that matter to your Graces cõtentment, it will pleaſe your grace of your goodneſſe to remoue the ſoldiers and their captaines, with others that haue gotten charge of the towne, that the ſame may be guided & ruled freely as it was before, by the bailiffes and counſell conforme to their infeftments giuẽ to them, by the auncient and moſt excellent kings of this realme, to elect & chuſe their officers at Michaelmas, & they to endure for the ſpace of one yeare, conforme to the old rite & cuſtome of this realme: which being done by your Grace, we truſt the better ſucceſſe ſhall follow therupon to your Graces contentation, as the bearer will declare at more lenth to your Grace, whome God preſerue. To Sainct Iohnſton with the Gentlemen before expreſſed, did conuene the Erle of Monteith, the Laird of Glaneurquhair, & diuerſe others who before had not preſented thẽ ſelues for defence of their brethren. When the whole multitude was conuened, a trumpet was ſent by the Lords commaun-

commaunding the captaines & their bands to auoid the towne,& to leaue it to the auncient libertie and iuſt inhabitants of the ſame. Alſo commaunding the Laird of Kilſawnes inſerted Prouoſt by the Queene, with the captains aforeſaid to open the gates of the towne,& make the ſame patét to all our Soueraignes lieges, to the effect that as well true religion nowe once begun therin, may be maintained, & idolatrie vtterly ſuppreſſed, as alſo the ſayd towne might enioy and brooke their auncient lawes & liberties vnoppreſſed by men of warre, according to their olde priuiledges graunted to them by the auncient Princes of this realme,& conforme to the prouiſion contained in the contract of mariage made by the nobilitie and Parliament of this realme with the king of Fraunce, bearing that name of our olde lawes or liberties ſhould be altered. Adding therto, if they fooliſhly reſiſted,& therin happened to commit murder that they ſhould be intreated as murderers. To the which they aunſwered proudly that they wold kepe and defend that towne according to their promiſe made to the Queene regent. This aunſwer receiued preparation was made for the ſiege & aſſault. For amongſt all it was concluded that the towne ſhold be ſet at liberty, to what daunger ſoeuer their bodies ſhold be exponed. While preparatiõ was in making, came the Erle of Huntly, the Lord *Erskin*, *M. Iohn Bannatine*, Iuſtice *Clerk*, requiring that the purſute of the towne ſhould be delayed. To ſpeake to them were appointed the Erle of Argile, Lord *Iames*, and Lord *Ruthuen*, who perceauing in them nothing but a driſt of time, without any aſſurance that the former wrongs ſhould be redreſſed, gaue vnto them a ſhort and plaine aunſwer, that they would not delay their purpoſe an houre: and therefore willed thẽ to certifie

The ſummoning of S. Iohnſton.

Cõmoning at Sainct Iohnſton.

the captaines in the towne, that if by pride and foolishnesse they would keepe the towne, & in so doing slay anie of their brethren, that they should euerie one die as murtherers. The Erle of Huntlie displeased at this aunswer, departed as highly offended that he could not dresse such an appointment, as should haue contented the Queene & the priests. After their departing the towne was againe summoned, but the captaines supposing that no sudden pursute should be made, & looking for reliefe to haue bin sent from the Queene, abode in their former opinion. And so vpon Saturday the 29. of Iune at x. of the clocke at night, commaunded the Lord *Ruthuen* who besieged the wast quarter to shoot the first volay, which being done, the towne of Dundie did the like, whose ordinance lay on the East side of the bridge. The captaines & souldiers within the towne perceauing that they were vnable long to resist, required assuraunce till xij houres vpon the morow: promising that if or that houre there came vnto them no reliefe frō the Queene Regent, that they would render the towne. Prouided that they shold be suffred to depart ȳ town with ensigne displayed. We thirsting the bloud of no man, and seeking onely the libertie of our brethren, condescended to their desires, albeit that we might haue executed against them without mercy for that they had refused our former fauours, and had slaine one of our brethren and hurt two in their resistance and yet we suffred them freely to depart without any further molestation. The towne being deliuered from their thraldome vpon Sunday the xxvj. of Iune thanks were giuen to God for his great benefite receaued, and consultation was taken, what was farther to be done. In this meane time zealouse men considering howe obstinate, proude,

Huntly.

and

and despitefull the Bishop of Murray had bin before how he had threatned the towne by his souldiers & friends who lay in Scone, thought good that some order should be taken with him, & with that place, which lay nere to the townes end. The Lords wrote vnto him (for he lay within ij. miles of S. Iohnston) that vnlesse he would come & assist them, they neither could spare nor saue his place. He answered by his writing, that he would come, & would do as they thought expedient. that he would assist thē with his force, & would consent with them against the rest of the clergy in Parliament. But because this aunswer was slow in comming, the towne of Dundie partly offended for the slaughter of their men, & especially bearing no good fauor to the saide bishop, for that he was and is chiefe enemy to Christ Iesus, and that by his counsell alone was *VValter Mile* our brother put to death. They marched forwarde. To stay them was first sente the Prouost of Dundie and his brother *Alexander Halyburnetone* captaine, who litle preuayling was sent vnto them *Iohn Knox*, but before his comming, they were entred to the pulling downe of the idolles and dortour. And albeit the sayd *Maister Iames Halyburntoun*, *Alexander* his brother, and the sayd *Iohn* did what in them lay to haue stayed the furie of the multitude, yet were they not able to put order vniuersally, and therfore they sent for the Lordes, Erle of Argile and Lord *Iames*, who comming with all diligence laboured to haue saued the place & the church. But because ỹ multitude had found burnt in the church a great nūber of idols, hid of purpose to haue preserued thē to a better day (as the papistes speake) the towns of Dundie & S Iohnston could not be satisfied til that the whole reparation and ornaments of the church (as they terme

The Bishop of Murray.

The destruction of Scōe.

it)were deſtroyed. And yet did the Lords ſo trauaile that they ſaued the Biſhops palace with the Church and place for that night. For the two Lordes did not departe, till they brought with them the whole number of thoſe that moſt ſought the biſhops diſpleaſure. The Biſhop greatlie offended that anie thing ſhould haue bene enterpriſed in reformation of his place aſked of the Lords his band and hand writing which not two howres before he had ſent vntothem: which deliuered to his meſſenger Sir *Adam Browne*, aduertiſhment was geuen that if any farther diſpleaſure chaunced vnto him, that he ſhould not blame them. The Biſhopps ſeruantes, that ſame night beganne to fortifie the place againe and began to do violence to ſome, rhat were carying away ſuch baggage as they could come by. The Biſhopes girnall was kept the firſt night by the labours of *Iohn Knox*, who by exhortation remoued ſuch as violentlie would haue made irruptiõ. That ſame night departed frõ Sainct Iohnſtonne the Earle of Argyle and Lord *Iames* as after ſhalbe declared. The morrow folowing ſome of the poore in hope of ſpoile, and ſome of Dundie to conſider what was done, paſſed vp to the ſaid Abbay of Scone, whereat the Biſhoppes ſeruantes offended beganne to threaten and ſpeake proudly. And as it was conſtantly affirmed one of the Biſhopes ſonnes thruſt through with a rapior one of Dundie, for becauſe he was looking in at the girnell doore. This bruite noyſed abroade the towne of Dundie was more enraged then before: who putting themſelues in armour ſent word to the inhabitantes of Sainct Iohnſtonne that vnleſſe they ſhould ſupport them to auenge that iniurie that they ſhould neuer after that day concurre with them in anie action. The multitude eaſily enflamed gaue the alarme and ſo was that

The cauſe of the burning of Scone.

that Abbay and palace appointed to ſaccage, in doing wherof they tooke no long deliberation, but cõmitted the hole to the merciement of fire. Whereat no ſmall number of vs were offended, that paciently we could not ſpeake til anie that were of Dundie or Sainct Iohnſtonne, A poore aged matron ſeing the flame of fire paſſe vp ſo mightelie, and perceauing that many were therat offended in plaine and ſober manner of ſpeaking, ſaid, now I ſee and vnderſtand, that Godes iudgementes are iuſt, and that no man is able to ſaue where he will puniſh: ſince my remembrance this place hath bin nothing elſe but a denne of whoormõgers, it is incredible to beleeue how many wiues haue bene adulterat and virgines deflored by the filthie beaſts which haue bene foſtered in this denne. But eſpeciallie by that wicked man who is called the Biſhop: if all men knew aſmuch as I they would praiſe God, and no man would be offended. This woman dwelt in the towne nye to the Abbay, at whoſe wordes were many pacified, affirming with her that it was Godes iuſt iudgement. And aſſuredly if the labours or trauell of anie man could haue ſaued that place, it had not bene at that time deſtroyed. For men of greateſt eſtimation laboured with all diligence for the ſafetie of it. While theſe thinges were done at Sainct Iohnſtonne the Queene fearing what ſhould follow determined to ſend certaine bandes of French ſoldyers to Stirueling of purpoſe to ſtoppe the paſſage to vs that then were vpon the north ſide of Forth, Which vnderſtood the Earle of Argyle and Lord *Iames* departed ſecretlie vpon the night & with great expedition preuenting the Frẽch they tooke the towne (before whoſe cumming the raſcall multitude put hands on the theeues, I ſhould ſay frears places and vtterly deſtroyed them) wherat

Speeking of an auncient matrone when Scone was burning.

The taking of Stirueling.

the Queene and her faction not a litle afrayed, with all diligence departed from Edinburgh to Dumbar. And ſo we with reaſonable diligence marched foreward to Edinburgh for reformatiõ to be made there where we arriued the 29 of Iune. The prouoſt for that time the Lord Seyton a man without God, without honeſty, and oftentimes without reaſon had before greatly troubled and moleſted the brethren, for he had taken vpon him the protection and defence of the black & gray frears. And for that purpoſe did not only lie him ſelfe in the one euery night but alſo conſtrained the moſt honeſt of the towne to watche thoſe monſters to their great griefe and trouble. But hearing of our ſuddaine comming he abandoned his charge & lefte the ſpoile to the poore who had hauocke of all ſuch thinges as was mouable in thoſe places before our comming & had leſte nothing but bare walles: yea not ſo much as doore or window: wherethrough we were the leſſe troubled in putting ordour to ſuch places. After that certaine dayes we had deliberat what was to be done & that ordor was taken for ſuppreſſing of all monumentes of Idolatry within that towne, & the places next adiacẽt, determinatiõ was takẽ to ſend ſome meſſage to ỹ Queene then Regent. For ſhe had bruted (as her accuſtomed maner was & yet her daughters is euer to forge lies) that we ſought nothing but her life & a plaine reuolt ment frõ the lawful obediẽce dew to our ſoueraigne her authoritie, as by the tenour of theſe letters may be ſeene.

Lord Seyton.

The comming of the congregation to Edinburgh.

Francis and *Marie* by the grace of God King and Queene of Scotes Doulphin and Doulphineſſe of Viennois. To our loued Lion king of Armes, &c. Our ſheriues in that part coniunctly and ſeuerally ſpecially conſtitute greeting. Foraſmuch as our deereſt mother

mother Marie Queene Dowager Regent of our Realme and Lordes of our ſecret counſell perceauing the ſeditious tumult raiſed by one part of our lieges, naming themſelues the congregation who vnder pretence of Religion haue put themſelues in armes. And that her grace, for ſatiſfying of euerie mans conſcience, and pacifying of the ſaid troubles had offered vnto them to affixe a Parliament to be houlden in Ianuarie next to come (this was a manifeſt lie, for this was nether offered, nor by her once thought vpon til we required it) or ſooner if they had pleaſed for eſtabliſhing of a vniuerſall ordor in matters of Religion by our aduiſe and eſtates of our religion, and in the meanetime to ſuffer euerie man to liue at liberty of cõſcience, without trouble vnto ỹ tyme that the ſaid ordor was takẽ by aduiſe of our foreſaid eſtates. And at laſt becauſe it appeareth much to ſtand vpon our Borough of Edinburgh offered in like manner to let the inhabitantes thereof choſe what manner of Religion they would ſet vp and vſe for that time, ſo that no man might alleadge that he was forced to doe againſt his conſcience. Which offer the Queenes grace our ſaid deereſt mother was at all times, and yet is readie to fulfill. Neuertheleſſe the ſaid congregation being of mind to receaue no reaſonable offeres, hath ſince by open deed declared that it is no religion nor anie thing thereto pertaining that they ſeeke, but only the ſubuerſion of our authoritie, and vſurpation of our crowne. In manifeſt witneſſing whereof they daylie receaue Engliſhmen with meſſages vnto them, & ſendeth ſuch like into England. And laſt of all haue violently intermitted withtaken, & yet with holdes the irones of our counſell houſe, which is one of the chiefe pointes that concerneth our crowne,

And ſuch like haue intromitted with our palace of Haliroudhouſe. Our wil is therfore. &c, That ye paſſe to the market croſſe of our ſaid brought of Edinburgh or anie other publike place within the ſame, and there by open proclamation in our name and authoritie, commaund and charge all and ſundrie perſons of the ſaid congregation, or yet being preſently within our ſaid brought other then the inhabitantes therof, that they within ſix howers next after our ſaid charge departe furth of the ſame vnder the paine of treaſon. And as that ye command all & ſundrie perſons to leaue their companie, and to adheare to our authoritie: with certification to ſuch as do the cõtrarie ſhalbe reputed and holden as manifeſt traitors to our crowne. &c. Theſe letters did not a litle greeue vs who moſt vniuſtly were accuſed, for ther is neuer ſentence of the narratiue trew except that we ſtayed the iorneſſe, and that for moſt iuſte cauſe. To wit, becauſe that daylie there was ſuch nũber of hardheades printed, that the baſenes thereof made all thinges exceeding deere. And therefore we were counſelled by the wyſeſt to ſtay the iornes while farther ordour might be taken. She with all poſſible diligẽce poſted for her faction. *Maiſter Iames Balfoure* was not idle in the meane time. The Lords to purge them of theſe odious crimes wrote vnto her a ietter, in forme as after followeth. Pleaſe your grace to be aduertiſſed it is come to our knowledge that your Grace hath ſet forth by your letters openly proclaimed, that we called by name the congregation, vnder pretence and colour of religion conueane together to no other purpoſe but to vſurp our ſoueraignes authoritie, and to inuade your perſon repreſenting theirs at this preſent. Which thinges appeareth to haue proceeded of ſiniſter information made

The third letter to the Queene Regent.

made to your Grace by our enemies, conſidering that we neuer minded ſuch thing, but only our mind & purpoſe was & is to promote & ſet forth the glorie of God maintaine and defend the trew preachers of his word, and according to the ſame aboliſh and put away idolatrie and falſe abuſes which may not ſtand with the ſaid word of God. Beſeching your grace to beare patientlie therewith and interpone your authoritie to the furtherance of the ſame as is the duetie of euerie chriſtian Prince and good magiſtrate. For as to the obedience of our Soueraignes authoritie in all ciuill and politike matters were and ſhalbe as obedient as any other your graces ſubiects within the Realme. And that our conuention is for no other purpoſe but to ſaue our preachers & their auditors from the iniurie and violence of our enemies. Which ſhould be more amply declared by ſome of vs in your graces preſence if ye were not accompanied with ſuch as hath purſued our liues and ſought our blood. Thus we pray almightie God to haue your highneſſe in his eternall tuition. At Edinburgh the 2 of Iuly 1559.

And for farder purgation hereof it was thought neceſſarie that we ſhould ſimplie expone aſwell to her grace as to the whole people what were our requeſtes and iuſt petitions. And for that purpoſe after that ſafe conduct was purchaſt and graunted we directed vnto her two graue men of our counſell to wit, the Lairdes of Pittarrow and Cunighameheid to whome we gaue cummiſſion and power firſt to expone our whole purpoſe and intét, which was none other then before, at all times we had required. To wit, Firſt, that we might enioy the libertie of conſcience. Secondly that Chriſt Ieſus might be trewly preached & his holy Sacramentes rightly miniſtred

vnto vs. Thirdly, that vnable miniſters might be remoued from Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration. And that our preachers might be relaxed from the horne and permitted to execute their charges, without moleſtation vnto ſuch time as either by a generall counſell lawfullie conuened, or by a Parliament within the Realme the cõtrouerſies in Religion were decided. And for declaration that her grace was hereto willing that the bandes of Frenchmen, who then were a burden intollerable to the countrey, and to vs ſo fearefull that we durſt not in peaceable & quiet maner haũt the places wher they did lie, ſhould be ſent to France their natiue countrey, which things granted, her grace ſhould haue experience of our accuſtomed obedience. To theſe heades ſhe did aunſwere at the firſt ſo pleaſantly that ſhe put both our commiſſioners in full eſperance that all ſhould be graunted and for that purpoſe ſhe deſired to ſpeake with ſome of greater authoritie. Promiſing that if they wold aſſure her of their ductifull obedience that ſhe wold denie nothing of that which was required. For ſatiſfaction of her mind we ſent againe the Erle of Glencarne, the Lord Ruthwen, the Lord *Vchiltrie*, and the ſaid Lord of Pittarrow with the ſame commiſſion as before. But then ſhe beganne to handle the matter more craftelie, complayning that ſhe was not ſought in a gentle manner. And that they in whome ſhe had put moſt ſingular confidence had left her in her greateſt need. And ſuch other things pertaining nothing to their commiſſion, proponed ſhe to ſpend and driue the time. They aunſwered that by vniuſt tyranny deuiſed againſt them & their brethren (as her grace did well know) they were cõpelled to ſeeke the extreame remedie, and therfore that her grace ought not to wonder though godlie men

The craftines of the Queene Regent. may yet be eſpied.

men left the companie, where they neither found fidelitie nor truth. In the ende of this commoning, which was the xij day of Iuly, 1559. She desired to haue talked priuily with the Erle of Argile and Lord *Iames* Prior of S. Andrewes, for else (as she alledged) she could not but suspect that they pretéded to some other higher purpose then religion. She & her crafty counsell had abused the Duke, perswading him & his friends, that the sayd Erle and Prior had conspired first to depriue our Soueraigne her daughter of her authoritie, and therafter the Duke and his succession of their title to the crowne of Scotlande. By these inuented lyes she enflamed the harts of many against vs, in so much that some of our owne number began to murmure. Which perceaued as well the preachers in their publike Sermons, as we our selues by our publike proclamation, gaue purgation and satisfaction to the people, plainly and simply declaring what was our purpose, taking God to witnes that no such crimes were euer entred into our harts as most iniustly was layde to our charge. The counsell after consultation thought not expedient that the sayd Erle & Priour should talk with the Queene in anie sort, for her former practices put all men in suspition that some deceipt lurked vnder such colored commoning. She had before sayde that if she could by anie meane sunder these two from the rest she was assured shortly to come by her whole purpose. And one of her chiefe counsell in those dayes (and we feare but our inward with her yet) sayde that ere Michaelmas day they two should lose their heads, and therefore all men feared to commit two such yong plants to her mercie and fidelitie. It was therefore finally denied that they should talke with the queene, or any to her appertaining, but in places

Accusations

voide of all ſuperſtition where they ſhould be equall in number with thoſe that ſhould talk with thé. The Queene perceauing that her crafte could not preuaile, was content that the Dukes grace, & the Erle of Huntly with others by her appointed ſhould conuene at Preſton to common w the ſaid Erle & Prior and ſuch others as the Lordes of the congregation wold appoint, to the number of an hundred on the one ſide. Of the which number eight perſons onely ſhould meete for conference. The principalles for their partie the Duke, the Erle Huntly, the Lordes *Erskin* & *Somerwell*, *M. Gawan Hammilton* and the Iuſtice *Clerk*. From vs were directed the Erle of Argile and Glencarne, the Lordes *Ruthuen* and Lord *Iames Boyde* and *Vchiltrie*, the Lairdes Dun and Pittarrow. Who conuening at Preſton, ſpake the whole day without any certaine concluſion: for this was the practiſe of the Queene & of her faction, by driſte of time to weary our company, who for the moſt part, had ben vpon the fields from the tenth day of May. That we being diſperſed, ſhe might come to her purpoſe, in which ſhe was not altogether deceiued. For our cómons were compelled to ſcatter for lacke of expences, and our gentlemen partly conſtrayned by lacke of furniſhing, and partly hoping ſome finall appointment after ſo many commonings, returned for the moſt part to their dwelling places, for repoſing of them ſelues. The Queene in all thoſe conuétions ſeemed that ſhe would geue libertie to religió. Prouided that where ſoeuer ſhe was, our preachers ſhould ceaſſe, and the Maſſe ſhould be maintained. We perceauing her malitious craft aunſwered, that as we would compell her Grace to no religion, ſo could we not of conſcience for the pleaſure of anie earthly treaſure put ſilẽce to Gods true meſſengers: neither

The cómoning at Preſton.

The demaũd of the Queene Regent & aunſwer of the Proteſtants.

neither could we ſuffer that the right adminiſtratiõ of Chriſts true Sacraments ſhould giue place to manifeſt idolatrie, for in ſo doing we ſhould declare our ſelues enemies to God, to Chriſt Ieſus his Sonne to his eternall veritie, and to the libertie and eſtabliſhment of his Church within this realme. For your requeſt being graunted, there can no Church within the ſame be ſo eſtabliſhed, but at your pleaſure & by your reſidence and remaining there, ye might ouerthrow the ſame. This our laſt aunſwer we ſent vnto her with the Lord *Ruthuen* and Laird of Pittarrow, requiring of her Grace, in plaine wordes to ſignifie vnto vs, what hope we might haue of her fauour towardes the outſetting of religion. We alſo required, that ſhe would remoue her Frenchmen, who were a feare to vs, and a burden moſt grieuous to our countrey, and that ſhe woulde promiſe to vs in the word of a Prince that ſhe would procure no man to be ſent in. And then ſhould we not onely ſupport to the vttermoſt of our powers to furniſh ſhips and victualls for their tranſporting, but alſo vpon our honours ſhould we take her bodie into our protection. And ſhould promiſe in the preſence of God and the whole realme, to ſerue our Souerayigne her daughter and her Grace Regent, as faithfully & as obediently, as euer did we kings within Scotland. That moreouer we ſhould cauſe our preachers giue reaſon of their doctrine in her audience to any that pleaſed to impugne any thing that they did or taught. Finally that we ſhould ſubmit our ſelues to a lawfull Parliament. Prouided that the biſhops as the party accuſed and our plaine enemies ſhould be remouęd from iudgement.

The laſt offers of the Proteſtants to the Q. Regent.

To no point would ſhe aunſwer directly, but in all things ſhe was ſo generall & ſo ambiguous, that her

craft appeared to all men. She had gotten assured knowledge that our company was scattered (for her French men were daily amongst vs without molestation or hurt done vnto them) and therefore she began to disclose her mind and sayd. The congregation hath raigned these two moneths past, me my selfe would raigne now other two. The malice of her heart being plainly perceaued, deliberation was had what was to be done. It was concluded that ỹ Lords Barons & Gentlemen with their substantious housholds should remaine in Edinburgh that whole winter for establishing of the Church there. And because it was found that by the corrupting of our money the Queene made to her self immoderat gaines for maintaining of her souldiers to the destruction of the whole common wealth: it was thought necessarie that the printing yrons & all things pertaining shold be stayed for feare that she shold priuily cause to transport them to Dumbar. In this meane time cam assured worde first that the king of Fraunce was hurt, & after that he was dead. Which albeit it ought to haue put her in mind of her owne estate & wicked enterprises: for he that same time in the fulnesse of his glory (as she her selfe vsed to speake) had determined most cruell persecution against the Saincts of God in Fraunce, euen as she her selfe was here persecuting in Scotland: & yet he so perished in his pride, that all men might see that Gods iust vengeance did strike him euen when his iniquitie was come to full ripenesse. Albeit we say, that this wonderous worke of God in his sudden death, ought to haue daunted her furie, and giuen vnto her admonition that the same God could not suffer her obstinate malice against his truth, long to be vnpunished: Yet could her indurate heart nothing be moued to repentance:

The scoffing of the Q. Regent.

The cause why the yrons stayed.

The death of Hary k. of Fraunce.

repentance: for hearing of the ſtaying of the printing yrons, ſhe raged more outragiouſly thé before, and ſending for all ſuch as were of her faction, exponed her greuous complaint, aggrauating the ſame with many lyes. To wit, that we had declared that which before ſhe ſuſpected. For what coulde we meane elſe but vſurpation of the crowne, when we durſt put hands to the coining houſe, which was a portion of the patrimonie of the crowne. She further alledged that we had ſpoiled the coining houſe of great ſummes of money. To the which we anſwered both by our letters ſent to her and her counſell, and by publike proclamation to the people, that we without vſurpation of any ſuch thing, iuſtly appertaining to the crowne of Scotland, did ſtay the printing yrons, in conſideration that the cõmon wealth was greatly hurt by corrupting of our money. And becauſe we were borne counſellers of this realme, ſworne to procure the profite of the ſame, we could do no leſſe of durie & of conſcience then to ſtay that for a time, which we ſaw ſo abuſed, that vnleſſe remedy were found, ſhould turne to the detriment of the whole body of this realme. And as to her falſe accuſation of ſpoile we did remit vs to the conſcience of *M. Roberi Richeſon* maiſter of the coining houſe, who frõ our hands receiued ſiluer, gold & mettall as well coined as vncoined, ſo that with vs there did not remaine the valure of a bawbee. This our declaratiõ and purgation notwithſtanding, ſhe partly by her craft and policie, and partly by the labours of the Biſhops of S. Andrewes and Glaſgow, procured the whole number that were with her to conſent to purſue vs with all cruelty and expedition, before that we could haue our companie (which then was diſperſed for newe furniſhing) aſſembled againe

The certaintie hereof comming to our knowledge the Saturday at night the 25. of Iuly, we did what in vs lay to geue aduertiſement to our bretheren: but impoſſible it was that the Waſt, Anguſt, Mearnes, Strethren or Fyfe in any number could come to vs. For the enemy marched from Dumbare vpon the Sunday, & approched within two miles of vs before ſunne riſing vpon Monday. For they verily ſuppoſed to haue found no reſiſtance, being aſſured that the Lords only with certaine gentlemen remained with their priuate houſes: calling vpon God for counſell in that ſtrait, we ſought what was the next defence. We might haue left the towne, and might haue retired our ſelues without any daunger, but then we ſhould haue abandoned our brethré of Edinburgh, and ſuffred the miniſterie thereof to haue decayed: which to our harts was ſo dolorous, that we thought better to hazard the extremitie then ſo to doe. For then the moſt part of the towne appeared rather to fauour vs then the Queenes faction, and did offer vnto vs the vttermoſt of their ſupport, which for the moſt part they did faithfully kepe. The ſame did the towne of Leith, but they kept not the like fidelitie. For when we were vpon the field marching forward for their ſupport (for the French marched nigh to them) they rendred them ſelues without further reſiſtance. And this they did as is ſuppoſed, by the treaſon of ſome within them ſelues, and by perſwaſion of the Laird of Reſtalrige, who before declared him ſelfe to be one of vs, and notwithſtanding that ſame day rendred him ſelfe vndefired to *Monſieur Doſell*. Their vnprouided and ſudden defection aſtoniſhed manie, and yet we retired quietly to the ſide of Cragingat, which place we tooke for reſiſting the enemie. In the meane time diuerſe mediatours paſſed betwixt,

Leith left vs the congregation.

betwixt, amongſt whome the Lord *Ruthuen* for our part was principall. *Alexander Erskin* did much trauell to ſtay vs and our ſouldiers that we ſhould not ioyne with them of Leith, till that they as is ſaid, had rendred them ſelues to the French. The ſaid *Alexãder* did oft promiſe that the French would ſtay, prouided that we would not ioyne with thoſe of Leith. But after that they were rendred, we heard nothing of him but threatning and diſcomfortable wordes. Before it was eight of the clock in the morning God had giuen vnto vs both courage and a reaſonable number to withſtand their furie. The towne of Edinburgh, ſo many as had ſubiect them ſelues to diſcipline, and diuerſe other beſides them, behaued thẽ ſelues both faithfully and ſtoutly. The gentlemen of Lowthiane, eſpecially Calder, Hatton, & Ormeſton were very comfortable, as well for their counſell as for their whole aſſiſtance. Some gentlemen of Fyſe preuented the French men, other were ſtopped by reaſon that the French had paſſed Leith. Alwayes the enemie tooke ſuch a feare that they determined not to inuade vs where we ſtood, but tooke purpoſe to haue paſſed to Edinburgh by the other ſide of the water of Leith: and that becauſe they had the caſtle to their friend, which was to vs vnkowen, for we ſuppoſed the Lorde *Erskin* captaine of the ſame either to haue bene our friend, or at leaſt to haue bene indifferent. But when we had determined to fight, he ſent word to the Erle of Argile, to Lord *Iames* his ſiſters ſonne, & to the other noble men, that he would declare him ſelfe, both enemie to them and to the towne, and would ſhoote at both, if they made anie reſiſtance to the French men to enter into the towne. This his treaſonable defiance ſent vnto vs, by the Laird of Ricarton did abate the courage of many, for

The Lorde Erskin and his fact.

we could not fight nor ſtop the enemie, but vnder the mercie of the caſtle & whole ordinance therof. Hereupon was conſultation taken, and in concluſiō it was found leſſe domage to take an appointment, albeit the conditions were not ſuch as we deſired, then to hazard battell betwixt two ſuch enemies. After long talking, certaine heads were drawen by vs, which we deſired to be graunted.

1. Firſt that no member of the congregation ſhould be troubled in life, landes, goods or poſſeſſions, by the Queene, her authoritie, nor any other Iuſtice within the realme, for anie thing done in the late innouation till a Parliament (which ſhould begin the x. of Ianuarie) had decided thinges in controuerſie.
2. That idolatrie ſhould not be erected where it was at that day ſuppreſſed.
3. That the preachers and miniſters ſhould not be troubled in their miniſterie where they were already eſtabliſhed, neither yet ſtopped to preach whereſoeuer they ſhould chaunce to come.
4. That no bands of men of warre ſhould be layd in garriſon within the towne of Edinburgh.
5. That the French men ſhold be ſent away at a reaſonable day, and that none other ſhould be brought into the countrey without conſent of the whole nobilitie and Parliament. But theſe our articles were altered & another forme diſpoſed as after foloweth.

At the linkes of Leith the 24. of Iuly, 1559.
It is appointed in maner following.

IN the firſt congregation & their company others then the inhabitants of the ſayd towne ſhall remoue thē ſelues forth of the ſayd towne the morow

at

at x. hours before noone the xxv. of Iuly & leaue the ſame void & rid of them and their ſaid cõpany conforme to the Queenes graces pleaſure and deſire.

Item the ſaid congregation ſhall cauſe the irones of the coininghouſe taken away by them be rẽdred, and deliuered to *M. Robert Ritheſon.* And likewiſe the Queenes graces pallace of Halirudhouſe to be left and rendered againe to *M. Iohn Balfour* or any other hauing her graces ſufficient power in the ſame matter, as it was reſolued, and that betwixt the making of theſe articles and the morne at ten of the clock. For obſeruing and keeping of theſe two articles aboue written the Lord *Ruthuen* and the Laird of Pittarrow haue entred them ſelues pledges.

Item the ſayd Lords of the congregatiõ, & all the members therof ſhall remaine obedient ſubiects to our Soueraigne Lord and Ladies authoritie, and to the Queenes grace Regent in their place, and obey all lawes and lowable cuſtomes of this realme, as they were vſed before the mouing of this tumult, and controuerſie, excepting the cauſe of religion, which ſhall be hereafter ſpecified.

In contemplation of theſe articles aroſe this prouerb Good day Sir Iohn till Ianuarie. Welcome Sir Iohn till Ianuarie.

Itẽ the ſaid congregation nor none of them ſhall not trouble or moleſt a church man by way of deed, nor yet ſhal make thẽ any impediment in the peaceable broking, enioying and vptaking of their rentes, profites and duties of their beneficeſ, but that they may freely vſe and diſpone vpõ the ſame according to the lawes & cuſtome of this realme, to the x. day of Ianuarie next to come.

Item the ſayd congregation nor none of thẽ ſhall vſe in no wayes from thence forth any force or violẽce in caſting downe of churches, religious places, or apparell thereof, but the ſame ſhall ſtand harmeleſſe of them vnto the tenth day of Ianuarie.

Item the towne of Edinburgh ſhall without compulſion vſe and chooſe what religion and manner thereof they pleaſe to the ſaid day . So that euerie man may haue freedome to vſe his owne conſcience to the day foreſaide.

Item the Queenes grace ſhall not interpone her authoritie to moleſt or trouble the preachers of the cõgregation nor their miniſtrie (to them that pleaſeth to vſe the ſame) nor no other of the ſaid congregation, in their bodies, landes Goodes, or poſſeſſions penſions or whatſoeuer other kind of goodes they poſſeſſe: nor yet ſuffer the cleargie or any other either ſpirituall or temporall iuriſdiction to trouble them in any manner of ſorte priuatlie or openly for the cauſe of religiõ or other action depending therupon to the ſaid tenth day of Ianuarie within written & that euerie man in particular liue in the meantime according to his owne conſcience.

Item that no men of warre French nor Scotes be laid in dayly garriſon within the towne of Edinburgh but to repaire thereto to doe their lawfull buſines and thereafter to retyre them to their garriſons,

This alteration in wordes and ordor was made without knowledge and conſent of thoſe whoſe coũſell we had vſed in all ſuch cauſes before. For ſome of them perceauing we beganne to faint and that we would appoint with vnequall conditions ſaid . God hath wõderfully aſſiſted vs, in our greateſt daungers. He hath ſtricken feare in the hearts of our enemies when they ſuppoſed themſelues moſt aſſured of victorie. Our caſe is not yet ſo deſperate that we neede to graunt to thinges vnreaſonable & vngodlie, which if we do, it is to be feared, that thinges ſhall not ſo proſperouſly ſucceede as they haue done hertofore

When

When all thinges were commoned and agreed vpon by meane perſons the Duke & the Erle of Huntlie, who that day were againſt vs deſired to ſpeake with the Earles of Argyle and Glencarne the Lord *Iames* and others of our partie: who obeying their requeſts met them at the quarrell holes betwixt Lieth and Edinburgh who in concluſion promiſed to our Lords, that if the Queene brake to vs any one iote of the appointement then made that they ſhould declare themſelues plaine enemies to her, and friends to vs. Aſmuch promiſed the Duke that he wold do in caſe that ſhe would not remoue her Frenchmen at a reaſonable day: for the oppreſſion which they did was manifeſt to all men. This appointement made and ſubſcribed by the Duke *Monſieur Doſell* and the Erle of Huntlie the 25 of Iuly we returned to the towne of Edinburgh where we remained till the next day at noone, when after ſermon dinner and proclamation made at the market croſſe in forme as followeth we departed.

The promiſe of the Duke and Earle of Huntlie.

Forme of the proclamation.

FORASMVCH as it hath pleaſed God that appointment is made betwixt the Queene Regent and vs the Lordes hole proteſtantes of this Realme: we haue thought good to ſignifie vnto you the chiefe heades of the ſame which be theſe.

First that no member of the congregation ſhalbe troubled in life, landes, goodes or poſſeſſions by the Queene, by her authoritie, nor by any other iuſtice within this realme for any thing done in this laite innouation till that a Parliamẽt hath decided things that be in controuerſie. 1

That Idolatrie ſhal not be erected where it is now 2

at this day ſuppreſſed.

That the preachers and miniſters ſhall not be troubled in the miniſtration where they are already eſtabliſhed neither yet ſtopped to preach whereſoeuer they ſhal happen to trauell within this realme.

That no bandes of men of warre ſhalbe layd in garriſon within the towne of Edinburgh.

Theſe chiefe heades of appointment concerning the libertie of religion and conſeruation of our brethren we thought good to notifie vnto you by this our proclamation. That in caſe wrong or iniurie be done by any of the contrarie faction to any méber of our bodie complaint may be made vnto vs to whome we promiſe as we will anſwere to God our faithfull ſupporte to the vttermoſt of our powers.

Anſwere to the complaint of the papiſts.

At this proclamatiõ made with ſound of trumpet were offended all the papiſtes. For firſt they alleadged it was done in contempt of the authoritie. Secundarily that we had proclaimed more then was contained in the appointment. And laſt that we in our proclamation had made no mention of anie thing promiſed vnto them. To ſuch murmures we anſwered, that no iuſt authority could think it ſelfe contemned becauſe that the trueth was by vs made manifeſt vnto all who otherwayes might haue pretended ignorance. Secondly that we had proclaimed nothing which was not finallie agreed vpon in word & promiſe betwixt vs & thoſe with whome the appointment was made, whatſoeuer their Scrybes had after written who in verie deede had altered both in wordes and ſentences our Articles as they were firſt conceaued. And yet if their owne writinges were diligently examined the ſelfe ſame thing ſhalbe found in ſubſtance. And laſt to proclaime any thing in their fauors we thought it not neceſſary, knowing that in

that

that behalfe they themſelues would be diligent inough. And in this we were not deceaued for within fifteene daies after ther was not a ſhaueling in Scotland to whom tenthes or any other rents pertaineth but he had that Article of the appointment by hart, That the Church men ſhould be anſwered of téthes rentes, and all other dueties and that no man ſhould trouble or moleſt them. We departing from Edinburgh the 26 of Iulie came firſt to Linlithqow, and after to Stirueling, where after conſultation the band of defence and maintainance of Religion and for mutuall defence euerie one of other was ſubſcribed of all that were there preſent. The tenour of the band was thus.

We forſeing the craft and ſleight of our aduerſaries tending all manner of wayes to circumuent vs and by priuey meanes intendeth to aſſaile euerie one of vs particularly by faire hettes and promiſes there through to ſeparate one of vs from another to our vtter ruine and deſtruction. For remedie thereof we faithfullie and trewlie bynde vs in the preſence of God and as we tender the maintenance of trew religion that none of vs ſhall in time comming paſſe to the Queenes grace Dowager to talke or cómon with her for any letter or meſſage ſent by her vnto vs or yet to be ſent without conſent of the reſt & cómon conſultation thereupon, & how ſoone that either meſſage or write ſhould come from her vnto vs with vtter diligéce, we ſhall notifie the ſame one to another. So that nothing ſhall proceed therin without common conſent of vs all. At Stirueling the firſt day of Auguſt 1559. The firſt band at Stirueling.

This band ſubſcribed and we foreſeeing that the Queene & biſhops ment nothing but deceipt thoght good to ſeeke aide, and ſupport of all Chriſtian

Princes, againſt her & her tyranny in caſe we ſhould be more ſharpely purſued. And becauſe that England was of the ſame religion and lay next vnto vs, it was iudged expedient firſt to proue them. Which we did by one or two meſſengers as hereafter in the owne place more amply ſhalbe declared. After we had abidden certaine daies in Stirueling the Earle of Argyle departed to Glaſgow and becauſe he was to depart to his owne countrey (with whom alſo paſſed Lord *Iames*) to pacifie ſome trouble, which by the craft of the Queene was raiſed in his abſence: He required the Earle of Glencarne Lord *Boyd* Lord *Vchiltrie* and others of Kyle to meete there for ſome ordor to be taken that the brethren ſhould not be oppreſſed which with one conſent they did and appointed the tent of September for the next conuention at Stirueling.

The firſt knowledge of the eſcaping of the Earle of Arrane out of France

While theſe things were in doing at Glaſgow, letters and a ſeruant came from the Earle of Arrane to the Duke his father ſignifying vnto him that by the prouidence of God he had eſcaped the French kings handes, who moſt treaſonably and moſt cruelly had ſought his life, or at the leaſt to haue committed him to perpetual priſon. For the ſame time the ſaid Frēch king ſeing he could not haue the Earle himſelf gart put his yonger brother a childe of ſuch age as could not offend, in ſtraite priſon where he yet remained to wit, in the moneth of October the yeare of our Lord 1559. Which thinges were done by the power and craft of Queene Dowager, what time that the Duke and his friendes were moſt readie to ſet forth her cauſe. Theſe letters receaued, and the eſtate of her two ſonnes knowen, of whome the one was eſcaped, and the other caſt in vile priſon. The Duke deſired commoning of the Earle of Argyle, who partly

Let this be noted.

againſt

againſt the will of ſome that loued him ridde vnto the Duke from Glaſgow to Hammilton, where abyding a night he declared, his iudgement to the Duke and to his friendes eſpecially to *Maiſter Gawane Hammilton*, The Duke requyred him and the Lord *Iames* to write their friendly and comfortably letters to his ſonne, which they both moſt willingly did, and thereafter addreſſed them to iourney. But the verie day of their departing came one bowten court from the Queene Regent with lettres as was alleaged from the King and Queene of Frãce to Lord *Iames* which he deliuered with a bragging countenance, and many threatning wordes: The tenour of his letters was this.

Le Roy.

MY couſin I haue bin greatlie marueled hauing vnderſtood the troubles that are happened in theſe partes. And yet more maruell that ye in whom I had a whole confidence, and alſo hath this honour to be ſo neere the Queenes grace my wife, and hath receaued ſometimes the Kings Grace my father his grace and me ſuch graces and fauors that ye ſhould be ſo forgetfull, as to make your ſelfe the head & one of the principall beginners and nouriſhers of the tumultes and ſeditions that are ſeene there. The which becauſe it is ſo ſtraunge as it is, and ſinne againſt the profeſſion that ye at al times haue made, I can not well beleeue it. And if it be ſo I can not thinke but ye haue bene entyſed and led thereto by ſome perſons, that haue ſeduced and cauſed you cõmit ſuch a fault as I am aſſured you repent of alreadie, which wilbe a great diſpleaſure to me to the effect I might loſe a part of the occaſion I haue to be

miscõtent with you as I wil you to vnderstand I am. Seing you haue so far deceaued the esperance I had of you and your affection toward God, and the weale of our seruice vnto the which ye know, ye ar asmuch and more obliged thẽ any other of the Lords there. For this cause desiring that the matters might be dewly amended, and knowing what ye may therein, I thought good on this manner to write vnto you & pray you to take heede to returne to the goodway, from which ye haue declined, and cause me know the same by the effectes, that you haue an other intention thẽ this, which their folies bypast maketh me now to beleeue, doing all that euer ye can to reduce all thinges to their first estate, and put the same to the right and good obedience that you know to be dew vnto God and vnto me. Otherwayes ye may be well assured that I will put to my hand, and that in good earnest, that you and all they haue done and doe as ye shall feele (through their owne fault) that which they haue deserued and merited. Euen as I haue geuen charge to this gentleman present bearer to make you know more larglie of my part: for which cause I pray you credite him euen as ye would doe my selfe. Praying God my cousin to haue you in his holy and worthy protection. Written at Paris the 19 day of Iuly 1559.

Brages inough

The same messenger brought also letters from the Queene our soueraigne more sharp and threatning then the former. For his conclusion was. *Vous senteras la poincture a iamais.*

His credite was that the king would spend the crowne of Fraunce or that he were not reuenged vpon such seditious persons. That he would neuer haue suspected such inobedience, and such defection from his owne sister in him. To the which the said

ſayd Lord *Iames* aunſwered firſt by worde, and then by writing as followeth.

Sir my duety remembred, your Maieſties letters I receaued from Paris the xvij. of Iuly laſt, importing in effect, that your Maieſtie ſhould maruell that I being forgetfull of the graces and fauours ſhewed me by the king of bleſſed memorie your Maieſties father, and the Queens grace my Soueraigne, ſhold declare my ſelfe head, and one of the principall beginners of their alleadged tumultes and ſeditions in theſe partes, deceauing thereby your Maieſties expectation in all times had of me, with aſſurance that if I did not declare by contrarie effectes my repentance, I with the reſt that had put or yet putteth hande to this worke, ſhould receaue that rewarde which we had deſerued and merited.

Sir it grieues me verie heauily that the crime of ingratitude ſhould be layed to my charge, by your highneſſe, and the rather that I perceaue the ſame to haue proceeded of ſiniſter information of them (whoſe part it was not ſo to haue reported, if true ſeruice paſt had bene regarded.) And as touching the repentance and declaration of the ſame by cõtrarie effects, that your Maiesty deſires I ſhew. My conſcience perſwades me in their proceedinges to haue done nothing againſt God, not the duiifull obedience towardes your highneſſe, & the Queens grace my Soueraigne. Otherwiſe it ſhould not haue bene to repent, and amended alreadie according to your Maieſties expectation of me. But your Highneſſe being truly informed and perſwaded that the thing which we haue without any manner of derogation to your Maieſties due obedience. We doubt not but your Maieſtie ſhall be well contented with our proceedings, which being groun-

ded vppon the commaundement of the eternall God, we dare not leaue the ſame vnaccompliſhed, onely wiſhing & deſiring your Maieſty did know the ſame & truth thereof, as it is perſwaded to our conſcience, & all them that are truly inſtructed in the eternall word of our God, vpon whó we caſt our care from all daungers that may follow the accompliſhment of his eternall will, & to whome we commend your highneſſe, beſeeching him to illuminate your hart with the Goſpell of his eternall truth to knowe your Maieſties duety towards your poore ſubiectes Gods choſen people, and what you ought to craue iuſtly of them againe: for then we ſhould haue no occcaſion to feare your Maieſties wrath & indignation, nor your Highnes ſuſpition in our inobedience. The ſame God haue your Maieſtie in his eternall ſauegard. At Dumbartane the 12. of Auguſt, 1559.

This aunſwer directed to the Queene our Soueraigne, & *Frauncis* her husband, the Queene *Dowager* receaued and was bold vpon it, as ſhe might wel enough, for it was ſuppoſed that the former letters were forged here at home in Scotland. The aunſwer read by her, ſhe ſayd, that ſo proud an aunſwere was neuer giuen to king, prince nor princeſſe. And yet indifferent men, thought that he might haue aunſwered more ſharply, & not haue tranſgreſſed modeſty nor truth. For where they burden him with the great benefits which of them he had receaued, if in plaine words he had purged him ſelfe, affirming that the greateſt benefite that euer he receaued of them was to ſpend in their ſeruice, that which God by others had prouided for him: no honeſt man would haue accuſed, and no man could haue bene able to haue conuicted him of a lie, but princes muſt be pardoned to ſpeake what they pleaſe.

For

For the comfort of the brethren & continuance of the Church in Edinburgh, was left there our dere brother *Iohn VVillock*, who for his faithfull labors & bold courage in that battell, deſerued immortall praiſe. For when it was found daungerous that *Iohn Knox* who before was elected miniſter to ỳ church, ſhold cõtinue there: the brethrẽ requeſted the ſaid *Iohn VVillock* to abide with them, leſt that for lacke of miniſters idolatrie ſhould be erected vp againe. To the which he ſo gladly conſented, that it might euidently appeare, that he preferred the comforte of his brethren and the continuance of the Church there to his owne life. One part of the French men were appointed to lye in garriſon at Leith (that was the firſt benefite which they gate for their confederacie with them) the other part were appointed to lye in the Cannõgate, the Queene and her traine abiding in the way. Our brother *Iohn VVillock* the day after our departure preached in Sainct Giles church & feruently exhorted the brethren to ſtand cõſtant in the truth which they had profeſſed. At this and ſome other ſermons was the Duke and diuers other of the Queenes faction. This libertie of preaching and reſort of all people thereto, did highly offende the Queene & the other Papiſts. And firſt they began to giue terrours to the Duke, affirming that he would be reputed as one of the congregation, if he gaue his preſence at the Sermons. Thereafter they began to require that Maſſe might be ſet vp again in S. Giles church, & that the people ſhould be ſet at libertie to chuſe what religion they would. For that ſaid they was contained in the appointmẽt that the towne of Edinburgh ſhold chuſe what religion they liſt. For obtaining hereof were ſent to the town the Duke, the Erle of Huntly, & the Lord *Seaton* to ſoliſt

The reſidence of Iohn Willocke.

all men to condiſcend to the Queenes mind, wherin the two laſt did labour that they could, the Duke not ſo, but as a beholder, of whom the brethrē had good hope, and after many perſwaſions and threatnings made by the ſaid Erle & Lorde, the brethren ſtoutly and valiantly in the Lord Ieſus gainſayd their moſt vniuſt petitions. Reaſoning that as of conſcience they might not ſuffer idolatrie to be erected, where Chriſt Ieſus was truely preached, ſo could not the Queene nor they require any ſuch thing, vnleſſe ſhe and they would plainely violate their faith & chiefe article of the appointment. For it is plainely appointed that no member of the congregation ſhall be moleſted in anie thing, that the day of the appointment be peaceably poſſeſſed. But ſo it was that we the bretheren and Proteſtantes of the towne of Edinburgh, with our miniſters the daye of the appointment, did peaceably enioy Sainct Giles church appointed vs for preaching of Chriſtes true Goſpell & right miniſtration of his holie Sacraments. Therfore without manifeſt violation of the appointmeat you can not remoue vs therefrom, vntill a Parliament haue decided the controuerſie. This aunſwer giuen the whole brethren departed. & left the foreſayd Erle and Lord *Seaton* thē Prouoſt of Edinburgh ſtill in the Tolbuith. Who perceauing that they could not preuaile in that maner, began to entreate that they would be quiet, and that they would ſo far condiſcend to the Queenes pleaſure, as that they wold chuſe them another within the towne, or at the leaſt be content that Maſſe ſhould be ſaid, either after or before their Sermons. To the which aunſwer was giuen. That to giue place to the deuill (who was the chiefe inuenter of the Maſſe) for the pleaſure of anie creature they could not. They were in poſſeſſiō of

of that church which they could not abandon, neither yet could they ſuffer idolatrie to be erected in the ſame, vnleſſe by violence they ſhold be cõſtrained ſo to do. And then they were determined to ſeek the next remedy. Which aunſwer receaued the Erle of Huntly did louingly intreate them to quietneſſe faithfully promiſing, that in no ſort they ſhould be moleſted, ſo that they wold be quiet & make no farther vprore. To the which they were moſt willing, for they ſought onely to ſerue God, as he had commaunded, & to keepe their poſſeſſion, according to the appointment: which by Gods grace they did, till the month of Nouember, notwithſtanding the great boſting of the enemy. For they did not only cõuene to the preaching, daily ſupplications & adminiſtration of Baptiſme, but alſo the Lords table was miniſtred eué in the eyes of the very enemy to the great comfort of many afflicted cõſciences, & as God did ſtrongly work with his true miniſters, & with his trobled Church: ſo did not the deuill ceaſſe to enflame the malice of the Queene, and of the Papiſtes with her. For that after her comming to the Abbey of Halyrudhouſe, ſhe cauſed Maſſe to be ſaide firſt in her owne chapell, & after in the Abbey where the altars before were caſt downe. She diſcharged the cõmon prayers, & forbad to geue any portiõ to ſuch as were the principall yong men, who read them. Her malice extended in like maner to Cumbuſkinneth, for there ſhe diſcharged the portions of as many of the channons, as had forſaken Papiſtrie. She gaue commaũdement and inhibition, that the Abbot of Lyndors ſhould be aunſwered of any part of his liuing in the North, becauſe he had ſubmitted him ſelf to the cõgregation, & had put ſome reformation to his place, by her conſent and procurement was the preaching

The queene Regents malice againſt poore men.

ſtoole broken in the church of Leith, and idolatrie was erected in the ſame, where it was before ſuppreſſed. Her French captaines, with their ſouldiers in great companies in time of preaching and prayers reſorted to Sainct Giles church in Edinburgh, and made their common deambulation therin with ſuch loude talking, as no perfect audience could be had. And although the miniſter was there through oft times compelled to crie out on them, praying to God to rid them of ſuch Locuſts, they neuertheleſſe continued ſtill in their wicked purpoſe deuiſed & ordained by the Queene, to haue drawen our brethré of Edinburgh & them in cumber, ſo that ſhe might haue had any colored occaſion to haue broken the league with them. Yet by Gods grace they behaued them ſelues ſo that ſhe could find no fault in them, albeit in all theſe things before named, & in euerie one of them ſhe is worthely counted to haue gainſayed the ſayd appointment. We paſſe ouer the oppreſſing of our brethren in particular which had bin ſufficient to haue proued the appointment to haue bin plainly violated. For the Lord *Seaton* without anie occaſion offred vnto him, brake a chaſe vpon *Alexander VVhitlaw* as he came from Preſton accompanied with *M. VVilliam Knox* towards Edinburgh, and ceaſſed not to purſue him till he came to the towne of Ormeſton. And this he did ſuppoſing that the ſay *Alexander* had bin *Iohn Knox*. In all this mean time and while that mo French men ariued they are not able to proue that we brake the appointment in any iote, except that a horned cap was taken of a proud prieſts head & cut in foure quarters, becauſe he ſayd he would weare it in deſpite of the congregation. In this meane time the Queene then Regent knowing aſſuredly what force was ſhortly to come

vnto

vnto her ceaſſed not by all meanes poſſible to cloke the incomming of the French, and to enflame the hearts of our countrymen againſt vs. And for that purpoſe ſhe firſt wrote vnto my Lord Duke in forme as followeth.

The queene Regentes falſe flattering letter to the Duke

My Lord and couſin after harty commendations we are enformed that the Lords of the waſtland cõgregation intend to make a conuention and aſſemblie of your kin and friends vpon Gowan moore beſides Glaſgow on Monday come 8. dayes, the 28. day of Auguſt inſtant for ſome high purpoſe againſt vs, which we can not ſcantly beleeue, conſidering they haue no occaſion on our part ſo to do. And albeit we know the appointment was made by our aduiſe, yet we accepted the ſame at your deſire, and haue ſince made no cauſe, whereby they might be moued to come in the contrarie thereof. Like as we are yet minded to keepe firme and ſtable all things promiſed by you in our behalfe. We thinke on the other part, it is your dutie to require them, that they violate not their part thereof in no wiſe. And in caſe they meane any euill towards vs, and ſo will breake their promiſe: we beleeue ye will at the vttermoſt of your power conuene with vs, and compell them to do that thing which they ought if they will not, praying you to haue your ſelfe, your kin and friends in readineſſe to come to vs as ye ſhall be aduertiſed by proclamation, in caſe the congregation aſſemble themſelues for any purpoſe againſt vs, or the tenour of the ſayd appointment. Aſſuring you without they gather and make firſt occaſion, we ſhall not put you to anie paines in that behalfe. And that you aduertiſe vs in writing what we may truſt to herein with this bearer, who will ſhewe you the feruent minde we beare to haue concord with the ſayd congrega-

tion, what offers we haue made them, and howe desirous we are to drawe them to the obedience of our Soueraignes authoritie, to whom you shall giue credit, and God keepe you. At Edinburgh the x. of August 1559.

The like letter she wrote to euery Lord, Barron and Gentleman of this tenour,

The Regēts letter to the Barrons.

TRustie friende after harty commendations, we doubt not but ye haue heard of the appointmēt made beside Leith, betwixt my Lord Duke, the Erle of Huntly and *Monsieur Dosell* on the one partie, and the Lordes of the congregation on the other side. Which appointmēt we haue approued in all points, albeit it was taken by our aduise & is minded to obserue & keepe all the contents thereof for our part. Neuertheless as we are informed the said Lords of the congregation intend shortly to conuene all such persons as will assist them, for enterprising of some high purpose against vs, our authoritie & tenour of the sayde appointment, which we can not beleeue, seeing they neither haue, nor shall haue any occasiō giuen therto on our part. And yet thinke not reasonable in case they meane any such thing, & therefore haue thought it good to geue warning to our speciall friends of the aduertisment we haue gotten & amongst the rest to you, whom we esteeme of that number: praying you to haue your selfe, your kinne and folkes in readinesse to come to vs, and so forth, as in the other letter aboue sent to the Duke worde by word. After that by these letters, and by the deceitfull surmising of her soliciters, she had somewhat stirred vp the hearts of the people against vs, then she beganne openly to complaine, that we were of mind

mind to inuade her perſon, that we would keepe no part of the appointment, and therfore ſhe was compelled to craue the aſſiſtance of all men againſt our vniuſt purſute. And this practiſe ſhe vſed, as before is ſayd, to abuſe the ſimplicitie of the people, that they ſhould not ſuddenly eſpie for what purpoſe ſhe brought in her new bands of men of warre, who did ariue about the midſt of Auguſt, to the number of a thouſand men. The reſt were appointed to come after with *Monſieur de la Broche*, and with the Biſhop of Ammiane, who ariued the xix. day of September following as if they had bene Ambaſſadours. But what was their negotiation the effect did declare, and they them ſelues could not long conceale. For both by tongue and pen they vttered that they were ſent for the extermination of all thoſe that wold not profeſſe the Papiſticall religion in all pointes. The Queenes practiſe nor craſte could not blinde the eyes of all men, neither yet could her ſubtiltie hide her owne ſhame, but that manie did eſpie her deceipt, and ſome ſpared not to ſpeake their iudgements liberallie, who foreſeeing the daunger, gaue aduertiſement, requiring that prouiſion might be founde before that the euill ſhould exceede our wiſdome and ſtrength to put remedie to the ſame. For prudent men foreſaw, that ſhe pretẽded a plaine cõqueſt, but to the end that the people ſhould not ſuddenly ſturre, ſhe would not bring in her full force at once (as before is ſaid) but by cõtinuall trafique purpoſed to augment her armie, ſo that in the ende we ſhold not be able to reſiſt. But the greateſt part of the nobility & many of the people were ſo enchãted by her treaſonable ſoliciters, that they could not heare nor credit the truth plainly ſpoken. The French thẽ after the ariuing of their new men, began to bragge

The practiſe of Q. Regent.

The arriuall of the Frẽch

The diuiſion of the Lords lands by the French.

then beganne they to deuide the landes and lordſhippes according to their owne fantaſies. For one was ſtyled *Monſieur de Argyle* another *Monſieur le Paior*, the third *Monſieur, de Ruthwen*, yea they were aſſured in their owne opiniõ to poſſeſſe whatſoeuer they liſt. So that ſome aſked rentales and reuenewes of diuerſe mens landes, to the end that they might chooſe the beſt: And yet in this meanetime ſhe aſhamed not to ſet out a proclamation in this forme.

A proclamation ſet out by the Queene Regent to blinde the vulgar people

Foraſmuch as we vnderſtand that certaine ſeditiour perſons haue of malice inuented and blowen abroad diuerſe runnars and euill bruites tending ther by to ſtirre vp the heartes of the people & ſo to ſtop all manner of reconciliations, betwixt vs & the ſubiects being of the number of the congregation and conſequentlie to kindle & nouriſh a continuall ſtrife and diuiſion in this Realme, to the manifeſt ſubuerſion of the hole eſtate thereof. And amongeſt other purpoſes haue malitiouſly deuiſed for that effect & haue perſwaded to many that we haue violated the appointment laitly taken in ſo far as any mo French men ſince came in, and that we mind to draw in great forces of men of warre forth of Fraunce to ſuppreſſe the libertie of this Realme, oppreſſe the inhabitantes thereof and make vp ſtraungers with their landes & goodes. Which reportes are all (God knoweth) moſt vaine fained and vntrew. For it is of trueth that nothing hath ben done on our part ſince the ſaid appointement whereby it may be alleadged that any point thereof contrauened, nor yet was at that time any thing commoued or concluded to ſtop the ſending in of French mẽ as may clearly appeare by inſpection of the ſaid appointment which the berer hereof hath preſent to ſhow, what number of mẽ of warre be arriued: we haue ſuch regard to our ho-

nour

nour and quietneſſe of this Realme, that in caſe in the rowme of euerie Frenchman that is in Scotland there were a hundreth at our commaund, yet ſhould not for that any iote that is promiſed be broken, or any alteration made by our prouocation. But the ſaid proclamation trewlie and ſurely obſerued in euerie point. If the ſaid congregation will in like maner faithfully keepe their part thereof, nor yet mean we to trouble any man in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their goodes & romes nor yet to enrich the crowne and farr leſſe any ſtraungers with your ſubſtance: for our deereſt ſonne and daughter the King & Queene are by Goddes prouiſion placed in the rome where all men of iudgement may well conſider, they haue no neede of any mans goodes and for our ſelfe we ſeeke nothing but dutiefull obedience vnto thé, ſuch as good ſubiectes ought to giue to their Soueraigne without diminution of your liberties and priuiledges or alteration of your lawes. Therefore we haue thought good to notifie vnto you our good mynde foreſaide, and deſire you not to giue eare nor credite to ſuch vaine imaginations, wherof before God no part entered in our conceit, nor ſuffer your ſelues be thereby led from your dew obedience, aſſuring you ye ſhall euer finde with vs trueth in promiſe, & a motherly loue towards al you behauing your ſelues as our obediét ſubiects. But of one thing we giue you warning, that wheras ſome preachers of the cõgregation in their publike ſermons ſpeaketh irreuerétly and ſlaunderouſly aſwel of Princes in generall as of our ſelfe in particular, and of the obedience of higher powers inducing the people by that part of their doctrine to defection from their duety: which pertaineth nothing to Religion, but rather ſedition and tumult things direct cõtrarie to Religion. Ther-

Let the Bp ſhop of Amiance letters and Monſieur de la Broche letters written to Frãce witnes that.

Few dayes after declareth the trueth of this

Iesabell would be honored but Helias wold not.

fore we desire you to take ordour in your towne and boundes that when the preachers repaireth there they vse themselues more modestly in the behalfes, and in their preaching not to meddle so much with ciuill policie and publike gouernance nor yet name vs, or other Princes but with honor and reuerence, otherwayes it will not be suffered. And seeing you haue presently the declaration of our intention, we desire likewaies to know what shalbe your parte to vs. That we may vnderstand what to truste for at your handes, whereof we desire a plaine declaration in wryting with this bearer without excuse or delay at Edinburgh the 28 of Auguſt 1559.

This proclamation she sent by her messengers through all the countrey and had her soliciters in all partes who painefullie trauelled to bring men to her opinion amongest whome these were the principall *Sir Iohn Ballenden*, Iustice *Clerke*, *Maister Iames Balfoure*, officiall of Lowthian *Maister Thomas*, and *Maister VVilliam Scots* sonnes to the Laird of Balwerie, *Sir Robert Carnegie*, and *Maister Gawand Hammilton*, who for fainting of the brethrens hearts and drawing manie to the Queenes faction, against their natiue countrey haue declared themselues enemies to God and traitors of their common weale, but aboue all others *Maister Iames Balfoure* officiall for the tyme ought to be abhorred. For he of an old professour is become a new denyar of Christ Iesus and manifest blasphemour of his eternall veritie against his knowledge and conscience seeking to betray his brethren and natiue countrey into the hands of a cruell and vnfaithful nation. The aunswere to this former proclamation was made in forme as followeth.

To

To the Nobilitie, Burghis and communitie of this Realme of Scotland, the Lordes Barrons & others brethren of the christian congregation wisheth encrease of all wisedome with adãucement of the glory of God, and of the common wealth.

THE loue of our natiue countrey craueth, the defence of our honors requireth, and the sincerities of our consciences compelleth vs (deareſt brethren) to aunswere some parte to the last writings, and proclamations, set forth by the Queenes grace Regent no lesse to make vs and our cause odious, then to abuse your simplicity, & your finall destruction conspired of old and now alreadie put to work. And first wher she alledgeth that certaine seditious persons haue of malice inuented and blowen abroad diuerse rumors tending thereby (as she alleadgeth) to sturre vp the hearts of the people to sedition. By reason that the Frenchmen are creapt in of laite in our countrey. Trew it is (deare brethrẽ) that all such as beare naturall loue to their coũtrey to you their brethren inhabitãts therof, to our house wiues children the esperance of our posterity and shortly to our commõ wealth, & the anciẽt lawes & liberties thereof, can not, but in hart lament, & with mouth & teares complaine the most crafty assaults deuised and practised to the vtter ruine of all these thinges forenamed. And that so manifestly is gone to worke that euen in our eyes our deereſt brethren trew members of our common wealth are most cruellie oppressed by straungers: In so farre as some are banished their owne houses, some robbed & spoiled of their substãce cõquest by their iust labours in ỹ sweat of their browes, some cruelly murthered at the pleasure of these inhumane soldyers

And altogether haue their liues in ſuch feare and dread as if the enemy were in the middeſt of them ſo that nothing can ſeeme pleaſant vnto them which they poſſeſſe in the bowells of their natiue countrey ſo neere iudged euerie man (and not but iuſt cauſe) the practiſe vſed vpō their brethren to approch next vnto them, their wiues childrens houſe and ſubſtances, which altogether are caſt at the feete of ſtraungers men of warr to be by them thus abuſed at their vnbrydeled luſtes deſire. Now if it be ſedition (deare brethren) to complaine lament and poure forth before God the ſorowes and ſobbes of our dolorous heartes crying to him for redreſſe of their enormities (which elſe where is not to be found) & theſe altogether doe proceed of the vnlawfull holding of ſtraunge ſoldyers ouer the heades of our brethren. If this to complaine be ſedition, then in deed (deare brethren) can none of vs be purged of that crime, for as in very heart we damne ſuch inhumane cruelty with the wicked and crafty pretence thereof, ſo can we nor dare we not nether by mouthes ſpeaking, nor yet by keeping of ſilence iuſtifie the ſame. Neither doe we here aggrauate the breaking of the appointment made at Lieth (which alwayes hath manifeſtly bene done) but herein we remember, what oth we haue made to our common weale and how the duty we ought to the ſame compelleth vs to cry out that her grace by wicked and vngodlie counſell goeth moſt craftelie about vtterlie to oppreſſe the ſame & the auncient lawes and liberties thereof. Aſwell againſt the King of Fraunces promiſe her owne duty in reſpect of the high promotiōs that ſhe had receaued thereby: which iuſtly ſhould haue cauſed her to haue bene in deede, that which ſhe would be called (and is nothing leſſe in veritie) to wit a carefull mo-

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ther ouer this common wealth. But what motherlie care ſhe hath vſed towardes you, ye can not be ignorant. Haue ye not bene euen from the firſt enterie of her raigne euer ſmitted and oppreſſed with vnaccuſtomed and more exhorbitant taxatiõs then euer were vſed within this Realme? Yea & how farr was it ſought here to haue bene brought in vpõ you & your poſteritie, vnder colour to haue bin laid vp in ſtoare for ỹ warres. The inquiſitiõ takẽ of al your goodes mouable and vnmouable by way of Teſtament the ſeeking of the whole coyle and ſalt of this realme to haue bene laid vp in ſtoare and gernall and ſhe alone to haue bene merchant thereof doth teach you by experiẽce ſome of her motherly care. Againe, what grace ouer your common wealth doth her grace inſtantly beare, when euen now preſently and of a long time begonne by the miniſtrie of ſome (who better deſerue the Gallowes, then euer did Cochrane) ſhe doth ſo corrupt the laied money and hath brought it to ſuch buſines and ſuch great quantitie of ſtrife that all men that had their eyes open may perceaue, an extreame beggarie to be brought therethrough vpon the whole realme. So that the whole exchange and traffique to be had with forrane nations (a thing moſt neceſſary in all common wealthes) ſhall thereby be vtterly extinguiſhed, and all the gaines receaued therby is, that ſhe therwith entertaineth ſtraũgers vpõ our heads. For brethren, you know that her money hath ſerued for no other purpoſe in our common wealth this long time beganne. And the impunitie of thoſe wicked miniſters (whome laitlie we ſpake of) hath brought the matter to ſuch a licentious enormitie and plaine contempt of the common weale, that now they ſpare not plainelie to breake downe and

Let the nobility iudge hereof.

Let Sir Robert Richard ſonne and others aunſwere to this.

conuerte the good and ſtarke monie coyned in our Soueraignes leſſe age into this their corrupted ſkruife and baggages of hardheades and non ſunte moſt like as ſhe and they had conſpired to deſtroy all the whole good coyne of this Realme. And cõſequently that parte of the common weale. Beſides all this their clipped and ronged ſouſe which had no paſſage there three yeares paſt in the realme of Fraunce are commaunded to haue courſe in this realme to gratifie thereby her new come foldears and all theſe thinges together are done without the aduiſe or conſent of the nobilitie and counſell of this realme. And manifeſtlie therethrough againſt our auncient lawes and liberties. Thirdly her laſt and moſt weightie proceeding more fully declareth the motherlie care her grace beareth to our common weale, and vs when in time of peace but anie occaſion of forane warres, thouſandes of ſtrãgers are layed here and there vpon the neckes of our poore members of this common weale. There idle bellies fedde vpon the poore ſubſtance of the communitie conqueſt by there iuſt labours in the painefull ſweate of their browes, which to be trew Dumbar, Northbarwike, Trauent, Preſton, Panes, Muſſilburgh, Lieth, Cannongat, Kinghorne, Kirkcaldie, Diſert, with the depauperat ſoules that this day dwell therin can teſtifie. Whoſe oppreſſiõ as doubtles it is entered in before the iuſtice ſeate of God ſo ought it iuſtlie to moue our heartes to haue pity and compaſſion vpon theſe our poore brethren & at our powers to prouide remedie for the ſame. And albeit her ſtraungers had bene garniſed with manie (as you know well they were not) yet cã there here lying be no waies but moſt hurtfull to our common wealth ſeing that the fertilitie of this realme had neuer

neuer bene ſo plentifull that it was able of any continuance to ſuſtaine it ſelfe and inhabitants thereof without ſupport of forreine countreyes, far leſſe able beſides the ſame to ſuſtaine thouſands of ſtrangers wherwith it is burdened to the dearthing of all viuaris, as the murmure & complaint of Edinburgh this day doth teſtifie. But to what effect the commō weale is thus burdened the end doth declare. For ſhortly were they brought to the fieldes againſt our Soueraignes true lieges, euen vs your brethren, who (God knoweth) ſought nought elſe but peace of conſcience vnder protection of our Soueraigne, & reformation of theſe enormities, for no other cauſe but that we would not renounce the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, and ſubdue our neckes vnder the tyranny of that wicked man of ſinne the Romane Antichriſt and his forſworn ſhauelings, who at that time moſt tyrannically oppreſſed our ſoules with hunger of Gods true word, and reft our goods and ſubſtances to waſt the ſame vpon their foule luſtes and ſtinking harlots. But (O deare brethren) this was not the chiefe pretence and finall ſcope of her proceedings (as theſe dayes do well declare) for had not God geuen in our hearts to withſtand that oppreſſion with weapons of moſt iuſt defence, thou O S. Iohnſton and Dundie had bene in no better ſtate then your ſiſter of Leith is this day. For though we in verie deed (God is witneſſe) meant then nothing but in the ſimplicitie of our harts the maintenance of true religion, and ſafetie of our bretheren profeſſors of the ſame, yet lay there another ſerpent lurking in the breaſt of our aduerſaries as this daye (praiſe to God) is plainely opened to all that liſt to behold, to wit, to bring you and vs both vnder the perpetuall ſeruitude of ſtraungers. For we being

appointed as ye knowe, touching religion to be reasoned, in the counsell at the day affixed, and no occasion made to breake the same on our side (as is well knowen) yet come there forth writinges and complaintes that this day and that day we were prepared to inuade her Graces person (when in verie trueth there was neuer such thing thought as the verie deed hath declared.) But because she was before deliberate to bring in French men to both our destructions, that you should not sturre there with, she made you to vnderstand that those bandes came onely for safety of her owne person. O crafte, brethren! O subtiltie, but behold the ende. They are come (yet not so manie, no not the sixt parte that she desired and looked for) and how, not only with weapons to defende her Graces person, but with wiues and children to plant in your natiue roomes, as they haue already begun in the towne of Leith, the principall porte and staple of this realme. The gernall and furniture of the counsell and seate of iustice. And here will they dwell, till they may reenforce them with greater number of their fellowe souldiers, to subdue then the rest if God withstande not. And yet her Grace feared nor shamed not to write, if they were a hundred French men for euerie one Scottish man, yet they shold harme no man. Tell thou nowe Leith if that be true, if this be not a craftie entrie to a manifest conquest fore thought of olde, iudge you deare bretheren. Thus to forte our townes, and euen the principall port of our realme, and to lay so strong garrisons of straungers therein, without any consent of the nobility and counsell of this realme, but expresse against their mind (as our writings sent to her Grace beareth record) if this be not to oppresse the auncient lawes and liberties of our

The cause of the Frēch mens comming with wiues and children.

our realme, let all wiſe men ſay to it. And farther to take the barne yardes newe gathered, the gernalles repleniſhed, and to ſit downe therein, and by force to put the iuſt poſſeſſors and auncient inhabitantes therefrom, with their wiues, children, and ſeruantes to ſhift for them ſelues in begging, if there be no other meanes, they being true Scottiſh men, members of our common wealth, & our deare brethren and ſiſters, borne, foſtered and brought vp in the bowells of our common and natiue countrey, if this be not the manifeſt declaration of their old pretence and minde to the whole Scottiſh nation: let your owne conſcience (brethren) be iudge herein. Was all Leith of the congregation? No, I think not, yet were all alike ſerued. Let this motherly care then be tryed by the frutes thereof: firſt by the great and exhorbitant taxations vſed vpon you, and yet ten times greater preſſed at as ye knowe. Secondly, the vtter deprauation of our coyne, to conqueſt thereby money to entertaine ſtrangers, French ſoldiers vppon you, and to make them ſtrong holdes, leſt you ſhould ſometime expell them out of your natiue roomes. Thirdly by the dayly reenforcing of the ſayd French ſouldiers in ſtrength and number, with wiues and children planting in your brethrens houſes and poſſeſſions. In deede her Grace is and hath bin at all times carefull to procure by her craft of faire wordes, faire promiſes, and ſometimes buds to allure your ſimplicitie, to that point to ioyne your ſelues to her ſouldiers, to daunt and oppreſſe vs, that you the remnaunt (we being cut of) may be an eaſie pray to her ſleights. Which God of his infinit goodneſſe hath now diſcouered to the eyes of all that liſt to behold. But credit the works (deare brethren) if ye will not credit vs, & lay the example of forein na-

tions, yea euen of our brethren, before your eyes,& procure not your owne ruine willingly. If you tender true religiō, you see how her Grace beareth her plaine enemie thereto, and maintaineth the tyrannie of those idle bellies the Bishops, against Gods Church: if religion be not perswaded vnto you, yet cast you not away the care you ought to haue ouer your common wealth, which you see manifestly and violently ruined before your eyes, if this will not moue you, remember your deare wiues, children & posteritie, your auncient heritages and houses, and thinke well these strangers will regard no more your right thereunto, then they haue done your brethren of Leith when euer occasion shall serue. But if you purpose (as we doubt not but that all those that either haue wit, or manhood wil declare and proue in deed) to brooke your auncient romes and heritages conquered most valiantly,& defended by your most noble progenitors against all strangers, inuaders of the same, as the French pretendeth plainly this day if ye will not be slaues vnto them, and to haue your liues, your wiues, your children, your substance, & whatsoeuer is deare vnto you cast at their feet to be vsed and abused at the pleasure of straunge soldiers, as you see your bretherens at this day before your eyes. If you wil not haue experience some day hereof in your owne persons (as we suppose the least of you all would not gladly haue, but rather wold chuse with honor to dy in defence of his own natiue rome then liue and serue so shamefull a seruitude) thē bre-
A puouerbe thren let vs ioyne our forces, and both with wit and manhoode resist their beginnings, or else our liberties herafter shall be dearer bought. Let vs surely be perswaded, when our neighbours houses be on fire, that we dwell not without daunger. Let no man with-

withdrawe him ſelfe herefrom, and if anie will be ſo vnhappie and miſchieuouſe (as we ſuppoſe none to be) let vs altogether repute, holde and vſe him (as he is in deede) for an enemie to vs, and to him ſelfe, and to his common weale. The eternall and omnipotent God, the true and onely reuenger of the oppreſſed, be our comfort and protectour againſt the furie and rage of the tyrantes of this worlde. And eſpeciallie from the inſatiable couetouſneſſe of Gwiſians generation. Amen.

Beſides this our publike letter ſome men aunſwered certaine heads of her ſayd proclamation on this maner. If it be ſedition to ſpeake the trueth in all ſobrietie, and to complaine, when they are wounded, or to call for helpe againſt vniuſt tyrannie before that their throtes be cut, then can we not denie, but we are criminall and guiltie of tumult and ſedition. For we haue ſayd that our common weale is oppreſſed, that we and our bretheren are hurt by the tyrannie of ſtraungers, and that we feare bondage and ſlauerie, ſeeing that multitudes of cruell murtherers are daylie brought into our countrey without our counſell, knowledge and conſent. We diſpute not ſo much whether the bringing in of mo French men be violating of the appointment (which the Queene nor her faction can not denie to be manifeſtly broken by them in mo cauſes then one) as that we woulde knowe, if that the heaping of ſtraungers vppon ſtraungers, aboue vs, without our counſell or conſent, be a thing that maye ſtand with the libertie of our realme, & with the profite of our common wealth. It is not vnknowen to all men of iudgement that the frutes of our countrie in the moſt common yeares be no more then ſufficient reaſonable to nouriſh the borne inhabitants of the

ſame. But now ſeeing we haue ben vexed with wars taken vppon vs at the pleaſure of Fraunce, by the which the moſt frutefull portion of our countrey in corne hath bene waſted. What man is ſo blind, but that he may ſee, that ſuch bandes of vngodly & idle ſoldiers can be nothing elſe but an occaſiō to famiſh our poore brethren. And in this point we refuſe not (which is the chiefe) the iudgement of all naturall Scottiſh men. The Queene Regent alledged that although there was an hundred French men for one in Scotland, yet ſhe is not minded to trouble any in iuſt poſſeſſion. Wherto we aunſwer, that we diſpute not what ſhe intended (which neuertheleſſe by probable coniectures it is to be ſuſpected) but alwayes we affirme that ſuch a multitude of French men is a burden not only vnprofitable, but alſo intolerable to this poore realme. Eſpecially being intreated as that they are by her and *Monſieur Doſell*. For if their wages be payd out of Fraunce, then are they both (the Quene we ſay & *Monſieur Doſell*) traitors to the king & counſell, for the poore commons of this realme haue ſuſtained them with the ſweat of their browes, ſince the cōtracting of the peace, & ſomwhat before.

What motherly affectiō ſhe hath declared to this realme, & to the inhabitants of the ſame, her works haue euidently declared, euen ſince the firſt houre that ſhe hath borne authoritie. And albeit men will not this day ſee what danger hangs ouer our heads, yet feare we that ere it be long experiēce ſhal teach ſome that we feared not without cauſe. The cruell murther and oppreſſion vſed by thoſe whom now ſhe foſtereth is to vs a ſufficient argument, what is to be looked for when her nūber is ſo multiplied that our force ſhall not be able to gaineſtand their tyrannie. Where ſhe complaineth of our preachers, affirming

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that vnreuerently they ſpeake of Princes in generall, and of her in particular, inducing the people therby to defection from their dutie &c. And therefore that ſuch a thing cannot be ſuffred. Becauſe this occaſion is layd againſt Gods true miniſters we can not but witnes what trade & order of doctrine they haue kept and yet keepe in that point. In publike prayers they commend to God all Princes in generall, & the magiſtrates of this our natiue realme in particular. In open audience they declare the authoritie of Princes and magiſtrates to be of God, & therefore they affirme that they ought to be honoured, feared and obeyed, euen for conſcience ſake. Prouided that they commaund nor require nothing expreſly repugning to Gods commaundement and plaine wil reuealed in his holy word. Moreouer they affirme, that if wicked perſons abuſing the authority eſtabliſhed by God, commaund things manifeſtlie wicked: that ſuch as may and do bridle thoſe inordinate appetites of Princes, can not be accuſed as reſiſtaries of the authoritie, which is Gods good ordinaunce. To bridle the furie and rage of Princes in free kingdomes and realmes, they affirme it appertaineth to the nobilitie, ſworne, and borne counſellers of the ſame, and alſo to the Barrons and people whoſe willes and conſentes are to be required in all great and weightie matters of the common wealth, which if they doe not, they declare them ſelues criminall with their Princes, and ſo ſubiect to the ſame vengeaunce of God, which they deſerue for that, that they pollute the ſeate of iuſtice, and doe as it were make God author of iniquitie. They proclame and crie, that the ſame God who plagued Pharao, repulſed Senacherib, ſtroke Herode with wormes, and made the bellies of doggs the graue and ſepul-

The doctrin of our preachers cõcerning obedience to be geuẽ to Magiſtrates.

chre of the ſpitefull Ieſabel, will not ſpare the cruell Princes, murtherers of Chriſts members in this our time. On this maner they ſpeake of Princes in generall, & of your grace in particular. This only we haue heard one of our preachers ſay, rebuking the vaine excuſes of ſuch as flatter thē ſelues by reaſon of the authoritie. Manie now a dayes (ſaid he) will haue no other religion nor faith, then the Queene & the authoritie had. But is it not poſſible ẏ the Queene be ſo farre blinded, that ſhe wil haue no religion nor no other faith, then may content the Cardinall of Lorane? And may it not likewiſe be able that the Cardinall be ſo corrupt, ẏ he will admit no religion, which doeth not eſtabliſh the Pope in his kingdome? But plaine it is that the Pope is Lieuetenant to Sathā, & enemie to Chriſt Ieſus, & to his perfect religion. Let men therfore conſider what daunger they ſtand in, if their ſaluation ſhall depend vpō the Queens faith & religion. Further, we neuer heard any of our preachers ſpeak of the Queene Regent, neither publikely nor priuatly. Where her Maieſtie declareth it will not be ſuffred that our preachers meddle not with pollicie, nor ſpeake of her nor of other Princes but with reuerence. We anſwer, that as we will iuſtifie & defend nothing in our preachers, which we find not God to haue iuſtified & allowed in his meſſengers before thē: So dare we not forbid them openly to reprehend that, which the ſpirit of God ſpeaking in ẏ Prophets & Apoſtles hath reprehended before thē. Helias did perſonally reproue Achab & Ieſabell of idolatry, of auarice, of murther, & ſuch like. Eſaias ẏ Prophet called the magiſtrats of Ieruſalē in his time companions to thieues, princes of Sodome, bribe takers & murtherers, he complained that their ſiluer was turned into droſſe, that their wine was mingled with

Let ſuch as this day liue witnes what God hath wrought ſince the writing and publication hereof.

The Prophets haue medled with policy and haue reproued the corruptions thereof.

with water,& that iuſtice was bought & ſold.Ieremie ſaith, that the bones of king Iehoiakim ſhold wither with the ſonne. Chriſt Ieſus called Herode a fox: & Paul called the high Prieſt a painted wall,& prayeth vnto God that he ſhould ſtrike him, becauſe that againſt iuſtice he commaunded him to be ſmitten. Now if the like (and greater)corruptions be in the world this day,who dare enterpriſe to put ſilence to the ſpirit of God,which will not be ſubiect to the appetites of wicked Princes.

We haue before ſaid that the x.of September was appointed for a cõuention to be holdẽ at Stirueling, to the which repared the moſt part of the Lords of ỹ congregation. At that ſame time ariued the Erle of Arrane, who after he had ſaluted his father,came w̃ the Erle of Argile & Lord *Iames* to Stirueling to the ſaid conuention.In which diuerſe godly men cõplained vpon the tyrannie vſed againſt their brethren. And eſpecially that mo French mẽ were brought in to oppreſſe their countrey.After the conſultation of certaine dayes the principal lords with my Lord Arrane & the Erle of Argile paſt to Hammilton for cõſultation to be takẽ with my Lord Dukes grace.And in this mean time came aſſured word ỹ the Frechmẽ had begõ to fortify Leith,which thing as it did more euidẽtly diſcouer the Q. craft,ſo did it deeply grieue the harts of all the nobility there,who with one conſent agreed to write vnto the Q. in form as foloweth.

The coming of the Erle of Arrane to Scotland, & his ioyning with the cõgregation.

At Hammilton the xxiv. day of September.

PLeaſe your Grace we are credibly informed that your armie of French men ſhold inſtantly begin to plant in Leith, to fortifie the ſame of mind to expell the auncient inhabitants thereof, our brethren of the congregation, whereof we maruell not a litle, that your Grace ſhould ſo manifeſtlie breake the appointment made at Leith,without any prouo-

Letters to the Queene Regent.

cation made by vs and our brethren. And ſeing the ſame is done without any manner of conſent of the Nobilitie and counſell of this Realme we eſteeme the ſame not onlie oppreſſiō of our poore brethren indwellers of the ſaid towne, but alſo verie preiudiciall to the common wealth and plaine contrary to our auncient lawes and liberties. Herefore deſireth your grace to cauſe the ſame worke enterpryſed to be ſtaied and not to attempt ſo raſhly and ſo manifeſtly againſt your graces promiſe, againſt the common wealth the auncient lawes and liberties therof (which things beſides the glorie of God, are moſt deere and tender to vs and onlie our pretence) otherwayes aſſuring your grace we will complaine to the hole Nobilitie & commonaltie of this Realme and moſt earneſtlie ſeeke for redreſſe thereof: and this recommending our humble ſeruice vnto your highnes your graces aunſwere moſt earneſtlie we deſire, whome we commit to the eternall protection of God. At Hammilton day and yeare foreſaid. By your graces humble and obedient ſeruitours.

This letter was ſubſcribed with the hands of my Lord Duke, the Erles of Arrane, Argyle, Glencarne and Menteth. By the Lordes *Ruthwen*, *Vchiltry*, *Boyd* and by diuerſe others Barrons and gentlemen. To this requeſt ſhe would not aunſwere by writing but with a letter of credit ſhe ſent *Sir Robert Carnegie*, & *Maiſter Dauid Borthwike* two whome amongeſt manie others ſhe abuſed and by whome ſhe corrupted the heartes of the ſimple. They trauelled with the Duke to bring him againe to the Queens faction, *Labroch* & the Biſhop of Arriance were ſhortly before arriued and as it was bruted were directed as Embaſſadours, but they keapt cloſe their whole cōmiſſion, they onlie made large promiſes to them

that

that would be theirs, and leaue the congregation. The Queene did grieuouſly complaine that we had intelligence with England, the concluſion of their commiſſion was to ſoliſt my Lord Duke to put in all in the Queenes will and then wold ſhe be gratious inough. It was aunſwered, that no honeſt man durſt commit themſelues to the mercie of ſuch throtcutters as ſhe had about her whom if ſhe wold remoue and ioyne to her a counſell of naturall Scottiſhmen permitting the religion to haue free paſſage, then ſhould none in Scotland be more willing to ſerue her grace then ſhould the Lordes and brethren of the congregation be. At the ſame tyme the Dukes grace & the Lords wrot to my Lord *Erſkin* captain of the caſtell of Edinburgh in forme as foloweth.

The petition of la Broche

The anſwer

My Lord and couſin after our hartie commendacion. This preſent is to aduertiſe you that we are crediblie informed the Army of Frenchmen inſtãtly in this Realm, without any aduiſe of the coũſell or Nobilitie are fortified or elſe ſhortly intendeth to fortifie the towne of Lieth, & expell the aũcient inhabitants thereof, whereby they proclaime to all that will open their eares to heare, or eyes to ſee what is their pretence. And ſeing the faithfullnes of your anteceſſors and eſpecialliy of your father of honorable memorie was ſo recommended and experimented to the eſtates and counſellours of this Realme through affection they perceaued in him towardes the common wealth thereof, that they doubted not to giue in his keeping the kay as it were of the counſell, the iuſtice and policy of this realme, the caſtelles of Edinburgh and Stirueling, we can not but beleeue ye will rather augment the honorable fauour of your houſe by ſtedfaſt fauour, and lowlie to your common wealth, then through

Letter to the Lord Erſkin.

the ſubtill perſwaſions of ſome(which care not what after ſhall come of you and your houſe at the preſent would abuſe you to the performance of their wicked interpriſes and pretenſes againſt our common wealth)vtterlie deſtroy the ſame. And herefore ſeing we haue written to the Queenes grace to deſiſt from that enterpriſe otherwayes that we will complaine to the Nobilitie & cõmonalty of the realme and ſeeke redreſſe therof. We likewayes beſeech you as our tender friend,brother & member of the ſame common weale which is, that ye in no wayes meddle nor aſſent to that vngodly enterpriſe againſt the commõ wealth And in likewaies that ye would ſaue your bodie and the Iewell of this country, cõmitted to yours & your predeceſſors loyaltie & fidelitie towards your natiue countrey & commõ wealth. If ye thinke to be reputed hereafter one of the ſame: And that ye wold rather be brother to vs thẽ to ſtraũgers. For we do gather by the effects the ſecretes of mens hearts, otherwayes vnſearchable vnto vs. Thus we write not that we are in doubt of you, but rather to warne you of the daunger,in caſe ye ſuffer your ſelfe to be inchanted with faire promiſes and craftie counſellors : For let no man flatter him ſelfe:we deſire all men to know that though he were our father(ſeing God hath opened our eies to ſee his will)be he ennemy to the commõ wealth which is now aſſailed, & we with it & all trew members thereof,he ſhalbe knowen,and as he is in deed ennemy to vs to our liues our houſes,babes,heritages and whatſoeuer is contained within the ſame. For as the ſhippe periſhing what can be ſafe that is within? So the commõ wealth being betrayed what particular member can liue in quietnes. And therefore in ſo farre as the ſaid caſtles are committed to your

your credit: we desire you to show your faithfulnesse and stoutenesse as ye tender vs and whatsoeuer appertaineth to vs. And seing we are assured ye will be assailed both with craft and force, as now by warning we help you against the first, so against the last ye shall not misse in all possible hast to haue our assistance, only show your selfe the man. Saue your person by wisedome, strengthen your selfe against force. And the Almightie God assist you in both, that one aide the other, and open your eyes of vnderstãding to see and perceaue the craft of Sathan, and his suppostes. At Hammilton the 29 day of September 1559. By your brethren.

The Duke and Lordes vnderstanding that the fortification of Lieth proceeded, appointed their whole forces to conueane at Stirueling the 15 day of October. That from thẽce they might march forward to Edinburgh for the redresse of the great enormities which the French did to the whole countrey, which by them was so oppressed that the life of all honest mẽ was bitter vnto him. In this meane time the Lords directed their letters to diuers parts of the countrey making mention what daunger did hang ouer all mẽ if the Frẽch should be suffered to plant in this countrey at their pleasure. They made mention farther how humblie they had sought the Queene Regent that she wold send away to France her Frenchmen, who were a burden vnprofitable & greeuous to their cõmõ wealth & how that she notwithstanding did dayly augment her number, bringing wiues & barnes a declaratiõ of a plain cõquest. The tyranny of the French.

The Queene Regent perceauing that her craft began to be espied by all meanes possible trauelled to blinde the people, and first she sent forth her pestilẽt post forenamed in all parts of the coũtrey to

perſwade al mē that ſhe offereth al things reaſonable to the congregatiō & that they refuſing all reaſon pretended no religion, but a plaine reuolt from the authoritie. She tempted euerie man in particular, aſwell thoſe that were of the congregation, as thoſe that were newtralles. She aſſaulted euery man as ſhe thought moſt eaſilie he might haue bene ouercome. To the Lord *Ruthwen* ſhe ſent the iuſtice *Clerk*, and his wife who is daughter to the wife of the ſaid Lord, what was their commiſſion and credit is no farther knowen, then the ſaid Lord had confeſſed, which is, that large promiſe of profite was promiſed if he would leaue the congregation, & be the Queenes. To Lord *Iames* prior of Sainct Andrewes was ſent *Maiſter Iohn Spens* of condy with a letter & credit as followeth

The memoriall of Maiſter Iohn Spens of Condie the thirtie of September.

1 YE ſhall ſay that her great fauour towardes you moueth her to this.

2 That ſhe now knoweth that the occaſion of your departing from her was the fauour of the word and of the religion, with the which albeit ſhe was offended, yet knowing your heart and the heartes of the other Lords firmelie fixed thereupon ſhe will beare with you in that behalfe, and at your owne ſightes ſhe will ſet forward that cauſe at her power as may ſtand with Godes word the common policie of this realme and the Princes honour (note good reader what venome lurked here, for plaine it is that the policie which ſhe pretended, and the Princes honour will neuer ſuffer Chriſt Ieſus to raigne in this realme.)

3 To ſay that the occaſion of aſſembling of theſe men

men of warre and fortifying of Lieth is, that it was geuen her to vnderſtand by ſome about her, that it is not the aduancement of the word and religion, which is ſought at this time but rather a pretence to ouerthrow or alter the authoritie of your ſiſter of the which ſhe beleeueth ſtill that ye are not participant, and conſidering the tenderneſſe betwixt you and your ſiſter ſhe truſted more in you in that behalfe then in anie lyuing. But before the Erle of Arrane arriued, and that the Duke departed from her faction ſhe ceaſed not continually to crie, that the Prior ſought to make himſelfe king. And ſo not only to depriue his ſiſter to make himſelfe King, but alſo to defraude the Lord Dukes grace and his houſe. But foreſeing a ſtorme ſhe beganne to ſeeke a new wynd. Let this be noted O craftie flatterer.

She farther willeth, to offer the way ſending of the men of warre if the former ſuſpition could be remoued, ſhe lamented the trouble that appeared to follow if the matter ſhould long ſtand in debate, ſhe promiſed her faithfull labours for reconciliation & required the ſame of him. Requiring farther, fayth, honour, and kindneſſe towards his ſiſter, and to aduertiſe for his part what he deſired with promiſe that he might obtaine what he pleaſed to deſire.

To this letter and credit the ſaid Lord Iames anſwered as followeth.

PLEASE your grace I receaued your highneſſe writing, and haue heard the credit of the bearer & finding the buſines of ſuch importance, that dangerous it were, to giue haſtie anſwere. And alſo your petitions are ſuch that with my honor I can not anſwere them priuatlie by my ſelf, I haue thoght good

to delay the ſame till that I may haue the iudgemẽt of the whole counſell. For this point I will not conceale from your grace that amongſt vs there is a ſolemned oth, that none of vs ſhall traffique with your grace ſecretlie, neither yet that any of vs ſhal make or dreſſe for him ſelf particularly: which oth for my part I purpoſe to keepe vnuiolated to the end. But whẽ the reſt of the noble men ſhall conueane, I ſhal leaue nothing that lyeth in my power vndone, that may make for the quietnes of this poore realme. Prouided that the glorie of Chriſt Ieſus be not hindered by our concord. And if your grace ſhallbe found ſo tractable, as now ye offer, I dout not to obtaine of the reſt of my brethrẽ ſuch fauor towards your ſeruice as your grace ſhall haue iuſt occaſion to ſtand content. For God I take to record that in this actiõ I haue neither ſought, neither yet ſeeke anie other thing then Goddes glorie to encreaſe, and the libertie of this poore realme to be maintained. Farther, I haue ſhowen to your meſſenger what things haue miſliked me in your proceedings euen from ſuch a heart as I would wiſh to God you and all men ſhould know. And this with hartie commẽdacion of ſeruice to your grace I hartelie commit your highnes to the eternall protection of the omnipotent. At Sainct Andrewes the firſt of October.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your graces humble and obedient

Seruitour. I. St.

This aunſwere receaued ſhe raged as hypocriſie vſeth whẽ it is pricked, & perceauing that ſhe could not worke what ſhe would at the handes of men particularlie, ſhe ſet forth a proclamation vniuerſally to be proclaimed in the tenour as followeth.

For ſomuch as it is vnderſtood to the Queenes grace

Grace that the Duke of Chattellawralt hath lately directed his missiues into all partes of this realme, making mention that the French men late arriued with their wiues and children, are begunne to plant in Leith to the ruine of the common weale, which he and his partakers will not passe ouer with patient beholding, desiring to knowe what will be euerie mans parte. And that the fortification of Leith as a purpose deuised in Fraunce, and that therefore *Monsieur de la Broche* and Bishoppe of Amience are come to this countrey. A thing so vaine and vntrue, that the contrarie thereof is knowen to all men of free iudgement Therefore her Grace willing that the occasions whereby her Grace was moued so to do, be made patent, and what haue bin her proceedinges since the appointment last made on the linkes beside Leith. To the effect that the truth of all thinges being made manifest, euerie man may vnderstand howe vniustly that will to suppresse the liberty of this realme is laid to hir charge: haue thought expedient to make this discourse following. First although after the sayd appointment, diuerse of the sayd congregation, and that not of the meanest sort hath violently broke the points therof, and made sundrie occasions of newe cumber. The same was in a part winked at, and ouer looked, in hope that they in time woulde remember their dutie, and abstaine from such euill behauiour, which conuersion her Grace euer sought rather then anie punishment, with such care & solicitude by all meanes till in the meane time nothing was prouided for her owne security. But at last by their frequent messages to and from England, their intelligence thé was perceiued, yet her grace trusted the Queene of Englād (let them seeke as they please) will do the office of a

Christian Princes in time of a sworne peace, throw which, force was to her Grace seeing so great defection of great personages, to haue recourse to the lawe of nature. And like as a small birde being pursued, will prouide some neste, so her Grace coulde doe no lesse in cases of pursute, but prouide some sure retract for her selfe and her companie, and to that effect chose the towne of Leith, as place conuenient therfore: because it was her deareſt daughters property, and no other person coulde acclame title or entresse thereto: and also because in time afore it had bin fortified about the same time that the seeking support of Englande was made manifest, arriued the Erle of Arrane, and adioyned him selfe to the congregation, vpon furder promise the the pretended quarell or religion that was to be set vp by them in authoritie, & so to peruert the whole obedience, and as some of the congregation at the same time had put into their handes and taken the castle of Brochtie, put forth the keepers therof. Immediatly came from the sayd Duke to her Grace vnlooked for, a writing, beside manie other complaining of the fortification of the sayde towne of Leith, in hurt of the auncient inhabitantes thereof, brethren of the sayd congregation, whereof he then professed him selfe a member. And albeit that the bearer of the sayd writing was an vnmeete messenger in a matter of such consequence, yet her Grace directed to him two persons of good credit and reputation with aunswer, offering if he would cause amends be made for that which was cõmitted against the lawes of the realme, to do farther thẽ could be craued of reason. And to that effect to drawe some conference, which in like of him & his collegs tooke no ende, neuertheleſſe they continually since con-

False lying tongue God hath cõfoũded thee.

tinue

tinue in their doings, vſurping the authoritie, commaunding and charging free Boroughes to chuſe Prouoſts and officers of their naming, and to aſſiſt to them in the purpoſe they would be at: and that they will not ſuffer prouiſion to be brought for ſuſtentation of her Graces houſes. A great part haue ſo plainely ſet a ſide all reuerence and humanitie, whereby euerie man may know that it is no matter of religion, but a plaine vſurpation of the authority: and no doubt but ſimple men of good zeale in former times, therewith falſly haue bene deceaued. But as to the Queenes grace part (God who knowes the ſecrets of all harts well knowes, and the worlde ſhall ſee by experience) that the fortification of Leith was deuiſed for no other purpoſe, but for recourſe to her highneſſe and her companie, in caſe they were purſued. Wherefore as good ſubiectes that haue the feare of God in their hearts will not ſuffer them ſelues by ſuch vaine perſwaſions to be ledde away from their due obedience: but will aſſiſt in defence of their Soueraignes quarrell, againſt all ſuch as ſhall purſue the ſame wrongfully. Therefore her Grace ordeineth the officers of armes to paſſe to the market croſſes of all the head Boroughes of this realme, and there by open proclamation commaunde and charge all and ſundrie the lieges thereof, that none of them take in hande to put them ſelues in armes, nor take parte with the ſaid Duke or his aſſiſtaries vnder the paine of treaſon.

God hath purged his people of that falſe accuſation.

Theſe letters being diuulgate, the hearts of many were ſtirred, for they iudged the narration of the Queene Regent to haue bene true, others vnderſtood the ſame to be vtterly falſe. But becauſe the Lordes deſired all men iudge in their cauſe, they

ſet out the declaration ſubſequent.

The declaratiõ of the Lordes againſt the former proclamation.

We are compelled vnwillingly to aunſwere the grieuous accuſations moſt vniuſtly laid to our charges by the Queene Regent,& her peruerſe counſell, who ceaſſe not by all craft and malice to make vs odious to our deareſt brethren natural Scottiſh men, as that we pretended no other thing,but the ſubuerſion and ouerthrowe of all iuſte authoritie, when God knoweth we ſought nothing, but that ſuch authoritie as God approueth by his worde be eſtabliſhed,honored and obeyed amongſt vs.True it is that we haue complained(& continually muſt cõplaine, till God ſend redreſſe)that our common countrey is oppreſſed with ſtrangers,that this in bringing of ſoldiers with their wiues and children, and planting of men of warre in our free townes, appeareth to vs a readie way to conqueſt. And we moſt earneſtly require al indifferẽt perſons to iudge betwixt vs & the Queene Regent in this cauſe: to wit, whether our complaint be iuſt or not? For, for what other purpoſe ſhould ſhe thus multiplie ſtraungers vppon vs, but onely in reſpect of conqueſt: which is a thing not of late deuiſed by her and her auaritious houſe.

The auarice of thoſe of Lorane and Gwiſe.

We are not ignorant that ſixe yeares a go the queſtion was demaunded of a man of honeſt reputatiõ, what number of men was able to daunt Scotland, & to bring it to the full obedience of Fraunce, ſhe alledged that to ſay that the fortificatiõ of Leith was a purpoſe deuiſed in Fraunce, & that for that purpoſe were *Monſieur de la Broche* & the Biſhop of Amience ſente to this countrey, is a thing ſo vayne and vntrue, that the contrarie thereof is notoriouſe to all men of free iudgement. But euident it is, whatſoeuer ſhe alledged that ſince their arriuall Leith was begun to be fortified. She alledged that ſhe ſeeing

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the defection of greate perſonages was compelled to haue recourſe to the lawe of nature, and like a ſmall bird purſued to prouide for ſome ſure retract to her ſelfe and her companie. But why doeth ſhe not aunſwer, for what purpoſe did ſhe bring in her newe bandes of men of warre? Was there anie defection eſpied before their arriuall? was not the congregation vnder appointment with her? Which whatſoeuer ſhe alleadged, ſhe is not able to proue that we haue violated in anie chiefe point, before that her new throte cutters arriued, yea before that they beganne to fortifie Leith, a place ſaith ſhe moſt conuenient for her purpoſe: as in deede it is, for the receauing of ſtraungers at her pleaſure: for if ſhe had feared the purſute of her bodie, ſhe had the Inche, Dumbar and Blackneſſe, forces and ſtrengths all readie made. Yea both theſe coulde not ſo well ſerue her turne as Leith, becauſe it was her daughters propertie, and none other coulde haue title to it, and becauſe it had bene fortified oft before. That all men may knowe the iuſt title her daughter and ſhe had to the towne of Leith, we ſhall in fewe words declare. It it not vnknowen to the moſt parte of this realme, that there hath bene an olde hatred and contention betwixt Edinburgh and Leith. Edinburgh continuallie ſeeking to poſſeſſe the libertie, which by donation of auncient kinges they haue long enioyed. And Leith by the contratie aſpiringe to a libertie, and freedome in preiudice of Edinburgh. The Queene Regent a woman that could make her profit of all hāds was not ignorant howe to compaſſe her own matter and therefore ſecretely ſhe gaue aduertiſement to ſome of Leith that ſhe would make their towne free, if that ſhe might doe it with anie colour of iuſtice.

Nota.

The title that the Q. hath or had to Leith.

The Lairde of Reſtalrig ſuperiour to Leith.

By which promiſes the principall men of them did trauell with the Laird of Reſtalrige, a man neither prudent nor fortunate, to whom the ſuperioritie of Leith appertained. That he ſhould ſell his whole title and right to our Soueraigne for certaine ſummes of money, which the inhabitants of Leith payd with a large taxation more to the Quene Regent in hope to be made free in deſpite & defraud of Edinburgh. Which right and ſuperioritie, when ſhe had gotten, & when the money was payd, the firſt frutes of their libertie they now eate with bitterneſſe. To wit, that ſtraungers ſhall poſſeſſe their towne. This is the iuſt title which her daughter & ſhe might claime to that towne. And where ſhe alleadged that it was fortified before: we ask if that was done without conſent of the Nobilitie & eſtates of the realme as nowe ſhe, & her craftie counſellers do in deſpite & high contempt of vs the lawfull and borne counſellers of this realme. How farre we haue ſought ſupport of England or of any other Prince, & how iuſt cauſe we had & haue ſo to do, we ſhall ſhortly make manifeſt vnto the world, to the praiſe of Gods holy name, and to the confuſion of all thoſe, that ſclander vs for ſo doing. For this we feare not to confeſſe, that as in this our enterpriſe, againſt the deuill, idolatrie, & the maintainers of the ſame, we chieflie and onely ſeeke Gods glorie to be notified vnto man, ſinne to be puniſhed, & vertue to be maintained: ſo where power faileth of our ſelues, we will ſeeke it whereſoeuer God ſhall offer the ſame. And yet in ſo doing we are aſſured neither to offend God, neither yet to do anie thing repugnant to our duties. We hartely praiſe God, who moued the heart of the Earle of Arrane to ioyne him ſelfe with vs his perſecuted brethren. But how malitious a lye it is, that we haue promiſed

to

to set him vp in authoritie, the issue shall declare. God we take to recorde that no such thing hath entred into our heartes, neither yet hath the said Erle neither any to him appertaining, moued vnto vs anie such matter: which if they should do, yet are we not so slender in iudgement, that inconsideratly we would promise that, which after we would repet. Nota. We speake & write to the praise of Gods glorie: the least of vs knoweth better what obedience is due to a lawfull authoritie, then she or her counsell doeth practise the office of such as worthely may sit vpon the seate of Iustice. For we offer and we performe all obedience, which God hath commaunded. For we neither denie toll, tribute, nor feare, to her nor her officers, we only bridle her blind rage, in the which she woulde erect and mainetaine idolatrie, and woulde murther our brethren, who refuse the same. But she doeth vtterly abuse the authoritie established by God, she prophaneth the throne of his maiestie in earth, making the seate of Iustice, which ought to be the Sanctuarie and refuge of all godly and vertuouse personnes vniustly afflicted, to be a denne and receptacle to theeues, murtherers, idolaters, whoremongers, adulterers, and of blasphemers of God and all godlinesse. It is more then euident what men they are, and long haue bene, whome she by her power maintayneth and defendeth, and also what hath bene our conuersation, since it hath pleased God to cal vs to his knowledge, whome nowe in her furie she cruelly persecuteth. The wicked nesse of the Bishops. We denie not the taking of the houses of Brochtie, and the causes being considered, we thinke that no naturall Scottish man will be offended at our fact. When the assured knowledge came vnto vs that the fortification of Leith was begunne

euery man began to enquire, what daunger might ensue to the rest of the realme, if the French should plant in diuerse places, & what were the places that might most annoy vs. In conclusion it was foūd that the taking of the said house by french men, shold be destruction to Dundie, & hurtfull to S. Iohnston, and to the whole countrey. And therfore it was thought expedient to preuent the daunger, as that we did for preseruation of our brethren & common countrey. It is not vnknowen what enemies those two townes haue, and how gladly would some haue all good order & pollicy ouerthrown in them. The coniectures that the French were of mind shortly to haue taken the same place wer not obscure, but whatsoeuer they pretēded we can not repent that we (as said is) haue preuented the daunger, and would God that power had ben in the same maner to haue forecloſed their enterprise to Leith. For what trouble this poore realme shall endure before that those murtherers & vniust possessors be remoued frō the same, the issue will declare. If her acculations against my Lorde Dukes grace, and that we refused conference, be truly and simplie spoken, we will not refuse the iudgement of those verie men, whom she alledgeth to be of such reputation. They know that the Dukes grace did aunswer, that if the realme might be set at libertie from the bondage of those men of warre, which presently did oppresse it, & was so fearfull to him & to his brethren, that they were compelled to absent them selues from the places where she & they made residence. That he and the whole congregation should come and giue all dutifull obedience to our Soueraigne her daughter, and vnto her Grace as Regent for the time. But to enter into conference so long as she kept aboue him and his brethren that

The cause that Brough die craig was taken.

Let all men iudge.

The Dukes aunswer.

feareful

fearefull ſcourge of cruell ſtrangers, he thought no wiſe man would counſell him. And this his aunſwer we approue, adding further that ſhe can make vs no promiſe which ſhe can keepe, nor we can credit, ſo long as ſhe is forced with the ſtrength, and ruled by the counſell of Fraunce. We are not ignorant that Princes thinke it good pollicie to betray their ſubiects by breaking of promiſes, be they neuer ſo ſolemnly made. We haue not forgotten what counſell ſhe and *Monſieur Doſell* gaue to the Duke, againſt thoſe that ſlue the Cardinall, & kept the caſtle of S. Andrewes, and was this, that what promiſe they liſt to require ſhould be made vnto them: but as ſoone as the caſtle was rendred, and thinges brought to ſuch paſſe as was expedient, that he ſhould choppe the heades from euerie one of them. To the which the Duke aunſwered, that he would neuer conſent to ſo treaſonable an act. But if he promiſed fidelity, he would faithfully keepe it. *Monſieur Doſell* ſayd in mockage to the Queene in French, That is a good ſimple nature, but I know no other Prince that wold ſo do. If this was his iudgement in ſo ſmall a matter, what haue we to ſuſpect in this our cauſe. For the queſtion is not of the ſlaughter of one Cardinall, but of the iuſt aboliſhing of all tyrannie, which that Romane Antichriſt hath vſurped aboue vs, of the ſuppreſſing of idolatrie, and of the reformation of the whole religion, by that vermine of ſhauelinges vtterly corrupted. Nowe if the ſlaughter of a Cardinall be a ſinne irremiſſible, as they thē ſelues affirm. And if faith ought not to be kept to heretickes, as their owne lawe ſpeaketh: what promiſe can ſhe that is ruled by the counſell and commaundement of a Cardinall, make to vs that can be ſure. Where ſhe accuſeth vs, that we vſurpe authoritie

Nota.

Nota.

The quarell betwixte Fraunce & the congregation of Scotland.

to cõmaund & charge free boroughs to chuſe prouoſtes & officers of our naming &c. We wil that the whole Boroughs of Scotland teſtifie in that caſe, whether that we haue vſed ane kinde of violence. But louingly exhorted ſuch as asked our ſupport to chuſe ſuch in office as had the feare of God before their eyes, loued equitie and iuſtice, and were not noted with auarice, & brybing. But wonder it is with what face ſhe can accuſe vs of that, whereof we are innocẽt. And ſhe ſo opẽlie criminall, that the whole realme knoweth her iniquitie. In that caſe hath ſhe not compelled the towne of Edinburgh to retaine a man to be their prouoſt moſt vnworthy of any regiment in a well ruled common wealth? Hath ſhe not enforced them to take baliffes of her apointment? and ſome of them ſo meete for their office in this troubleſome time, as a ſowtare is to ſaile a ſhippe in a ſtormie day. She complaineth that we will not ſuffer prouiſion be made for her houſe. In very deed we vnfainedly repent that before this we tooke not better ordour that theſe murtherers and oppreſſors whome ſhe pretendeth to nouriſh for our deſtruction had not bin diſapointed of that great prouiſion of victualls which ſhe & they haue gathered to the great hurt of the whole countrey. But as God ſhall aſſiſt vs in times cõming we ſhal do diligence ſomewhat to fruſtrate their deueliſh purpoſe. What both ſhe and we pretend, we doubt not but God (who cã not ſuffer the abuſe of his owne name lõg to be vnpuniſhed) ſhall one day declare, and vnto him we feare not, to commit our cauſe. Neither yet feare we in this preſent to ſay, that againſt vs ſhe maketh a malitious lie, where that ſhe ſayeth that it is no religion that we goe about, but a plaine vſurpation of the authoritie. God forbid that ſuch impietie ſhould enter

The Lord Seton vnworthie of any regimẽt

Optima collatio.

Let the Papiſts iudge if God hath not geuẽ iudgement to the diſpleaſure of their hearts.

A lie to the Queene Regent.

enter in our heartes, that we ſhould make his holie religion a cloake & couertour of our iniquity. From the beginning of this controuerſie, it is euidentlie knowen what haue bene our requeſtes which if the reſt of the Nobilitie and commonaltie of Scotland wil cauſe be performed vnto vs, if thē in vs appeare anie ſigne of rebellion, let vs be reputed and puniſhed as traitours. But while ſtraungers are brought in to ſuppreſſe vs: our common wealth and poſteritie: while idolatrie is maintained, and Chriſt Ieſus his trew religion deſpiſed, while idle bellies & bloodie tyrantes the Biſhops are maintained & Chriſts trew meſſengers perſecuted, while finallie vertue is contemned and vice extolled, while that we a great part of the nobilitie and comminaltie of this realme are moſt vniuſtlie perſecuted: what godlie man can be offended that we ſhall ſeeke reformation of theſe enormities (yea euen by force of armes ſeing that otherwayes it is denied vnto vs) we are aſſured that neither God neither nature, neither anie iuſt law forbiddeth vs. God had made vs coūſellors by birth of this realme, Nature bindeth vs to loue our owne countrey, and iuſt lawes commaund vs to ſupport our brethren vniuſtlie purſued, yea the oth that we haue made, to be trew to this common wealth compelled vs to hazard whatſoeuer God had geuen vs, before that we ſee the miſerable ruine of the ſame. If anie think it is not religion, which now we ſeeke. We aunſwere, that it is nothing elſe, but the zeale of the trew religion which moueth vs to this enterpriſe. For as the ennemie doth craftely foreſee, that idolatrie can not vniuerſallie be maintained vnleſſe that we be vtterlie ſuppreſſed, So do we conſider that the trew religion (the puritie whereof we openlie require) can not vniuerſallie be erected, vnleſſe ſtraun-

The cauſes that moued the nobility of this realme to oppone thē to the Queene Regent.

The ſame minde remaineth to this day.

gears be remoued, and this poore realme purged of thoſe peſtiléces which before haue infected it. And therefore in the name of the eternall God and of his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus whoſe cauſe we ſuſtaine we require all our brethren naturall Scottiſhmen prudentlie to conſider our requeſts & with iudgement to decerne betwixt vs and the Queene Regent, and her faction, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be abuſed by her craft and deceate, that either they ſhall lift their weapons againſt vs their brethren who ſeeke nothing but Gods glorie, either yet that they extract from vs their iuſt and dutiful ſupport ſeing that we hazard our liues for preſeruation of them and vs, and of our poſteritie to cumme. Aſſuring ſuch as ſhall declare themſelues fauorers of her faction and ennemies vnto vs that we ſhall repute them, whéſoeuer God ſhall put the ſword of iuſtice in our handes worthie of ſuch puniſhmét as is dew for ſuch as ſtudy to betray their countries into the handes of ſtraungears.

This promiſe was forged and therefore God plagued.

What ſpirit could haue hoped for victory in ſo deſperat daungers.

This our aunſwere, was formed and diuulgate in ſome places, but not vniuerſallie, by reaſon of our day appointed to meete at Stirueling as before is declared. In this meane time the Queenes poſtes ranne with all poſſible expedition to draw men to her deuotion. And in verie deede ſhe found mo fauorers of her iniquitie then we ſuſpected. For a mã that oflõg time had bin one of our number in profeſſion offered (as him ſelf did confeſſe) his ſeruice to the Queene to trauel betwixt her grace & the cõgregation for concord, ſhe refuſed not his offer, but knowing his ſimplicitie ſhe was glad to employ him for her aduantage. The man is *M. Robert Lockard*, a man of whome manie haue had and ſtill haue good opinion as touching his religion. But to enter in the

dreſſe

dreſſe of ſuch affaires not ſo conuenient as godlie and wiſe men would require: he trauelleth not the leſſe earneſtly in ỹ Queene Regẽts affairs, & could not be perſwaded, but that ſhe ment ſincerely, and that ſhe would promote the religiõ to the vttermoſt of her power. He promiſed in her name that ſhe would put away her Frenchmen, and would be ruled by the counſell of naturall *Scottiſhmen*: when it was reaſoned in his contrarie, that if ſhe were ſo minded to doe, ſhe could haue found Mediatours a great deale more conuenient for that purpoſe. He feared not to affirme, that he knew more of her mind, then all ye French or Scottes that were in Scotland, yea, more then her owne brethrẽ that were in Fraunce. He trauelled with the Erle of Glencarne, the Lords *Ychiltrie* and *Boyd* with the Laird of Dun & with the preachers, to whome he had certaine ſecret letters which he would not deliuer vnleſſe that they would make a faithful promiſe that they ſhould neuer reueale the thing cõtained in the ſame. To the which it was aunſwered, that in no wayes they could make ſuch a promiſe, by reaſon that they were ſworne one to another, and altogether in one bodie, that they ſhould haue no ſecrete intelligence nor dreſſe with with the Queene Regent, but that they ſhould communicat with the great coũſell whatſoeuer ſhe proponed vnto thẽ, or they did anſwer vnto her, as by this anſwer writtẽ by *Iohn Knox* to ỹ Queene Regẽt may be vnderſtood. The tenour wherof followeth.

My duetie humblie promiſed your graces ſeruãt *Maiſter Robert Lockard* moſt inſtantly hath required me and others to whome your graces lettres as he alledged were directed to receaue the ſame in ſecret maner & to giue him anſwere accordingly, but becauſe ſome of the nũber that he required were &

are vpon the great counsell of this realme,& there-
fore are solemnely sworne to haue nothing to doe
in secret manner, neither with your grace, neither
yet whether anie that cummeth from you,or from
your counsell. And so they could not receaue
your graces letters with such conditions as the said
Maister Robert required, and therefore thought he
good to bringe to your grace againe the said letters
close,& yet because as he reporteth he hath made
to your grace some promise in my name, at his re-
quest I am content to testifie by my letter and sub-
scription the summe of that which I did communi-
cate with him. In Dondie after many words betwixt
him and me, I said that albeit diuerse sinister reports
had bene made of me, yet did I neuer declare anie
euident token of hatred nor enmitie against your
grace For if it be the office of a verie friend to giue
trew and faithfull counsell to them whome he seeth
run to destruction for lack of the same, I could not
be proued ennemy to your grace, but rather a frie-
vnfained. For what counsell I had geuen to your
grace my writinges, aswel my letter and addition to
the same, now printed as diuerse others which I
wrote from Sainct Iohnstonne may testifie. I farther
added, that such an ennemy was I vnto you, that my
tonge did both perswade and obtaine that your au-
thoritie and regiment should be obeyed of vs in all
thinges lawfull till you declare your selfe open en-
nemy to this common wealth, as now alas ye haue
done. This I willed him moreouer to say to your
grace, that if ye following the counsell of flattering
men hauing no God but this world and their bellie
did proceed in your malice against Christ Iesus his
religion and trew ministers, that ye should doe no-
thing else but accelerate and hasten Gods plague

and

and vengeance vpon your ſelfe and vpon your poſteritie. And that ye (if ye did not change your purpoſe haſtelie) ſhould bringe your ſelfe in ſuch extreame daunger, that when ye would ſeeke remedie it ſhould not be ſo eaſie to be found as it had bin before. This is the effect and ſumme of all that I ſaid at that time, and willed him if he pleaſed to cõmunicate the ſame to your grace. And the ſame yet againe I notifie vnto your grace by this my letter written and ſubſcribed at Edinburgh the 26 day of October 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your graces to commaund in all godlineſſe Iohn Knox.

Poſtſcriptum.

God moue your hearte yet in time to conſider that ye fight not againſt men, but againſt the eternall God, and againſt his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt the only prince of the Kinges of the earth.

At which aunſwere the ſaid *Maiſter Robert* was ſo offended that he would not deliuer his letters, ſaying that we were vngodlie, and iniurious to the Queene Regent, if we ſuſpected any craft in her. To the which it was anſwered by one of the preachers that time ſhould declare whether he or they were deceaued, if ſhe ſhould not declare her ſelfe enemy to the trew religion which they profeſſed, if euer ſhe had the vpper hand, then they would be contẽt to confeſſe that they had ſuſpected her ſinceritie without iuſt cauſe. But and if ſhe ſhould declare her malice no leſſe in times cũming then ſhe had done before they required that he ſhould be more moderate, then to damne them whoſe conſcience he knoweth not, and this was the end of his trauelle for that time. After that he had troubled the con-

ſcience of manie godlie and quiet perſons. For he and others who were her hired poſtes ceaſed not to blow in the eares of all men that the Queene was heauelie done to, that ſhe required nothing but obedience to her daughter. That ſhe was contēt that the trew religion ſhould go foreward and that all abuſes ſhould be aboliſhed, and by this meane they brought a grudge and diuiſion amonge our ſelues. For manie (and our brethren of Lowthian eſpecially) beganne to murmure, that we ſought another thing then religion and ſo ceaſed to aſſiſt vs certain daies, after that we were come to Edinburgh, which we did according to the former diet the 16 day of October. This grudge and trouble amongeſt our ſelues was not raiſed by the foreſaid *Maiſter Robert* onlie, but by thoſe peſtilentes whom before we haue expreſſed, and *Maiſter Iames Balfoure* eſpecially whoſe venemous tonges againſt God & his trew religion as they deſerue puniſhment of men ſo ſhall they not eſcape Gods vengeance vnleſſe that ſpeedelie they repent.

After our cumming to Edinburgh the day forenamed we aſſembled in counſell and determined to giue new aduertiſement to the Queenes grace Regent of our conuention and in ſuch ſorte, and ſo with common conſent we ſent vnto her our requeſt as followeth.

The ſecond admonition to the Queene Regent.

It will pleaſe your grace to reduce to your remēbrāce how at our laſt conuenrion at Hammilton we required your highnes in moſt humble manner to deſiſt from the fortifying of this towne of Lieth then enterpriſed and begunne which appeareth to vs (& yet doth) an entrie to a conqueſt and ouerthrow to our liberties, and altogether againſt the lawes and cuſtomes of this realme, ſeing it was begunne & yet conti-

continueth without any aduiſe and conſent of the Nobilitie,& counſell of this realme. Wherfore nowe as oft before according to our duetie to our cõmon wealth,we moſt hũbly require your Grace, to cauſe your ſtraungers & ſoldiers whatſoeuer to depart the ſayd towne of Leith,& make the ſame patent not only to the inhabitants,but alſo to all Scottiſh men our Soueraigne Ladies lieges, aſſuring your highneſſe, that if refuſing the ſame, ye declare thereby your euill mind towards the common wealth & libertie of this realme, we will (as before) moue and declare the cauſes vnto the whole nobility & commonaltie of this realm. And according to the othe which we haue ſworne for the maintenaunce of the common weale in all manner of thinges to vs poſſible we will prouide remedie therfore, requiring moſt humblie your graces aunſwer in haſt with the bearer,becauſe in our eyes the act continually proceeds, declaring our determination of conqueſt, which is preſumed of all men,& not without cauſe. And thus after our commendation of ſeruice,we pray almighty God,to haue your Grace in his eternall tuition.

Theſe our letters receaued, our meſſenger was threatned & witholdé a whole day therafter he was dimiſſed, without any other aunſwer, but that ſhe would ſend an aunſwer,when ſhe thought expedict. In this meane time becauſe the rumour ceaſſed not, that the Dukes grace vſurped the authoritie,he was compelled with the ſound of trumpet at the market croſſe of Edinburgh to make his purgation, as followeth the 19. October.

The Purgation of the Duke.

FOraſmuch as my Lorde Duke of Chatellarault, vnderſtandinge the falſe reporte made by the

Queene Regent againſt him, that he and his ſonne my Lord Arrane ſhould pretende vſurpation of the crowne and authority of this realme, when in verie deede he, nor his ſayd ſonne neuer once minded ſuch thinges, but onely in ſimplicitie of heart, moued partly by the violent purſute of the religion, & true profeſſors thereof, partly by compaſſion of the common wealth, and poore commonaltie of this realme oppreſſed with ſtraungers, he ioyned him ſelfe to the reſt of the nobilitie, with all hazarde to ſupport the common cauſe of the one and of the other. Hath thought expedient to purge him ſelfe & his ſayd ſonne in preſence of you all, as he had done in preſence of the counſell of that ſayd crime of old, euen by ſummondes layd to his charge the ſeconde yeare of the raigne of our Soueraigne Ladie, Which malice hath continued euer againſt him moſt innocent of that crime, as your experience beareth witneſſe, and plainely proteſteth that neither he nor his ſayde ſonne ſues nor ſeeke anie preheminence, either to the crowne or authoritie, but as farre as his puiſſaunce may extende is readie and euer ſhall be, to concurre with the reſt of the Nobilitie his brethren, and all others, whoſe heartes are touched to maintaine the common cauſes of religion and libertie of their natiue countrey, plainely inuaded by the ſayd Regent, and her ſayd ſouldiers, who onely doe forge ſuch vaine reports, to withdraw the harts of true Scottiſh men from the ſuccour they owe of bounden duetie to their common weale oppreſſed. Wherefore exhorting all men, that will mainetaine the true religion of God, or withſtand this oppreſſion or plaine conqueſt enterpriſed by ſtraungers vpon our natiue Scottiſh men, not to credit ſuch falſe and vntrue reports. But rather concurre with vs & the

the reſt of the nobilitie, to ſet your country at libertie, expelling ſtraungers therefrom, which doing, ye ſhall ſhew your ſelues obedient to the ordinance of God, which was eſtabliſhed for maintenance of the common weale and true members of the ſame.

The xxj. day of October, came from the Queene Regent *M. Robert Forman* Lyon king of armes, who brought vnto vs a writing in this tenor and credit.

After cõmendations, we haue receaued your letter of Edinburgh the xix. of this inſtant, which appeareth to vs, rather to haue come from a Prince to his ſubiectes, then from ſubiects to them that beare authoritie. For aunſwer whereof we haue preſently directed vnto you this bearer Lyon Herauld king of armes, ſufficiẽtly inſtructed with our mind, to whom ye ſhall giue credence. At Leith 21. of October, 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Marie R.

His credit is this.

That ſhe wondred how anie durſt preſume to cõmaund her in that realme, which needeth not to be conqueſt by any force, conſidering that it was alreadie conqueſt by mariage. That French men could not iuſtly be called ſtraungers, ſeeing that they were naturalized: & therfore that ſhe wold neither make that towne patent, neither yet ſend any man away, but as ſhe thought expedient. She accuſed the Duke of violating his promiſe. She made long proteſtatiõ of her loue towards the common wealth of Scotlãd, and in the end commaunded, that vnder the paine of treaſon all aſſiſtaries to the Duke & vnto vs ſhold depart from the towne of Edinburgh.

Let this be nõted, & let all mẽ iudge of the purpoſe of the French.

This aunſwer receaued, credit heard, preconceaued malice ſufficiently eſpied, conſultation was taken what was expedient to be done. And for the firſt

it was concluded, that the Herauld ſhould be ſtayed till further determination ſhould be taken.

The order of the ſuſpēſion of the Queene regent frō authority with in Scotland.

The whole Nobilitie, Barons and Burgeſſes then preſent were commaunded to conuene in the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, the ſame xxj. day of October, for deliberation of thoſe matters, where the whole cauſe being exponed by the Lord *Ruthuen*: the queſtiō was proponed, whether ſhe that ſo cōtemptuouſly refuſed the moſt humble requeſt of the born counſellers of the realme, being alſo but a Regent, whoſe pretēces threatened the bondage of the whole common wealth ought to be ſuffred ſo tyrannically to empire aboue them. And becauſe that this queſtion had not bin before diſputed in opē aſſemblie, it was thought expedient that the iudgment of the preachers ſhold be required. Who being inſtructed in the caſe, *Iohn Willock* who before had ſuſtained the burthen of the Church in Edinburgh commaunded to ſpeake, made diſcourſe as followeth.

The diſcourſe of Iohn Willock.

1. Affirming firſt that albeit magiſtrats be Gods ordinance, hauing of him power and authoritie, yet is not their power ſo largely extended, but that it is bounded and limited by God in his worde.

2. And ſecondarily that as ſubiects are commaunded to obey their magiſtrates, ſo are the magiſtrats cōmaunded to geue ſome dutie to the ſubiects, ſo that God by his word hath preſcribed the office of the one & of the other.

3. Thirdly that albeit God hath appointed magiſtrates his lieutenants in earth, & hath honored thē with his own title, calling them gods, that yet he did neuer ſo eſtabliſh any, but that for iuſt cauſe they might haue bin depriued.

4. Fourthly that in depoſing of Princes, & thoſe that haue bene in authority, God did not alwayes vſe his immediat power, but ſometimes he vſeth other meanes, which his wiſedome thought

thought good, and iuſtice approued. As by Aſa he remoued Maacha his owne mother from honour & authority, which before ſhe had vſed. By Iehu he deſtroyed Ioram & the whole poſterity of Achab. And by diuerſe others he hath deposed from authoritie thoſe whom before he had eſtabliſhed by his owne word. And hereupon concluded he, that ſith the Queene Regent denied her chiefe duety to the ſubiects of this realme, which was to miniſter iuſtice to them indifferently, to preſerue their liberties from inuaſion of ſtrangers, & to ſuffer them to haue Gods word freely and openly preached amongeſt them. Seeing moreouer that the Queene Regent was an open and obſtinate idolatreſſe, a vehement maintainer of all ſuperſtition and idolatrie. And finally that ſhe vtterly deſpiſeth the counſell & requeſtes of the Nobilitie. He coulde ſee no reaſon, why they the borne counſellers, Nobility & Barons of the realme might not iuſtly depriue her from all regiment and authoritie amongſt them. The cauſes.

Herafter was the iudgement of *Iohn Knox* required, who approuing the ſentence of his brother: added firſt that the iniquitie of the Queene Regent and miſorder, ought in no wiſe to withdraw neither our harts, neither yet the harts of other ſubiectes frō the obedience due vnto our Soueraignes. Secondarily that and if we depoſed the ſayde Queene Regent rather of malice and priuate enuy, then for the preſeruation of the common wealth, & for that her ſinnes appeared incurable, that we ſhould not eſcape Gods iuſt puniſhment, howſoeuer that ſhe had deſerued reiection from honors. And thirdly he required ỳ no ſuch ſentēce ſhold be pronūced againſt her. But that vpon known & open repentance, & vpō her conuerſion to the common wealth, and ſubmiſ- 1. The iudgemēt of Iohn Knox in the depoſitiō of the Q. regēt. 2. 3.

ſion to the Nobilitie, place ſhould be graunted vnto her of regreſſe to the ſame honours, from the which for iuſt cauſes ſhe iuſtly might be depriued.

The votes of euery man particularly by him ſelfe required, and euerie man commaunded to ſpeake as he would aunſwere to God, what his conſcience iudged in that matter, there was none found amõgſt the whole number, who did not by his owne tongue conſent to her deprivation. Thereafter was her proceſſe committed to writing, & regiſtred as foloweth.

At Edinburgh the xxj. day of October, 1559. the Nobilitie, Barrons & Burgeſſes conuened, to aduiſe vpon the affaires of the common weale, and to aide, ſupport and ſuccour the ſame, perceauing & lamenting the enterpriſed deſtruction of their ſayde common weale, and ouerthrowe of the libertie of their native countrey by the meanes of the Queene Regent & certaine ſtraungers her priuie counſellers, plaine contrary to our Soueraigne Lord and Ladies mind, & direct againſt the counſell of the nobility to proceede by litle and litle, euen vnto the vttermoſt. So that the vrgent neceſſitie of the common weale, may ſuffer no longer delay, & earneſtly craueth our ſupport. Seeing therefore that the ſaid Queene regẽt (abuſing & ouerpaſſing our Soueraigne Lord & Ladies commiſſion, giuẽ & graunted to her) hath in all her proceedings, purſued the Barrons, & Burgeſſes, within this realme, with weapons & armour of ſtrangers, without any proceſſe & order of law, they being our Soueraigne Lorde and Ladies true lieges, and neuer called nor conuict in any crime by any iudgement lawfull. As firſt at S. Iohnſton in the moneth of May, ſhe aſſembled her army againſt the towne and inhabitants therof, neuer called nor conuict in any crime, for ẏ they profeſſed the true worſhip of God,

The enormities committed by the Q. regẽt.

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conforme to his moſt ſacred word. And likewiſe in the moneth of Iune laſt without any lawfull order or calling going before, inuaded the perſons of ſundrie Noble men and Barrons with force of armes conuened at S. Andrewes onely for cauſe of religion as is notoriouſly known, they neuer being called nor cõuict in any crime. Againe, layde garriſons the ſame moneth vpon the inhabitants of the ſayd towne, oppreſſing the liberties of the Queenes true lieges, for feare of which her garriſons, a great parte of the inhabitantes thereof fled from the towne, and durſt not reſort againe vnto their houſes & heritages vntill they were reſtored by armes. They notwithſtanding neuer being called nor conuict in anie crime. And further, that ſame time did thruſt in vpon the heades of the inhabitantes of the ſayd towne, Prouoſt and Bailiffes againſt all order of election, as lately in this laſt moneth of September ſhe had done in the townes of Edinburgh, & Iedburgh, & diuerſe other places in manifeſt oppreſſion of our liberties. Laſt of all declaring her euill minde towardes the Nobilitie, commonaltie and whole nation, hath brought in ſtraungers, and dayly pretendes to bring in greater force of the ſame, pretending a manifeſt conqueſt of our natiue romes and countrey, as the deede it ſelfe declareth. In ſo farre as ſhe hauinge brought in the ſayd ſtraungers without anie aduiſe of Counſell and Nobilitie, and contrary to their expreſſe mind ſent to her grace in writing, hath placed & planted her ſaid ſtrangers in one of the principall towns & parts of the realme: ſending continually for greater forces, willing thereby to ſuppreſſe the common weale & libertie of our natiue country, to make vs & our poſterity ſlaues to ſtrangers for euer: which as it is intolerable to common wealths & free coun-

tries, ſo is it very preiudiciall to our Soueraigne Ladie & her heires whatſoeuer, in caſe our Soueraigne Lord deceaſſe without heirs of her Graces perſon. And to performe theſe her wicked enterpriſes conceiued (as appeareth) of inueterat malice againſt our whole country & nation, cauſed (without any cõſent or aduiſe of the counſell & Nobility to coyne laide mony, ſo baſe & of ſuch quãtity that ỹ whole realme ſhalbe depauperat, & all trafique with forein nations euerted therby. And againe her Grace placeth & maintaineth againſt the pleaſur of the coũſel of this realm, a ſtrãger in one of the greateſt offices of credit in this realm, that is in keeping of the great ſeale therof, wherin great perills may be ingendred to the cõmõ weale & liberty therof. And further lately ſent the great ſeale forth of this realme by the ſaid ſtrangers, againſt the aduiſe of the ſaid counſell, to what effect God knoweth, and hath alſo by his meanes altered the old law & cuſtome of our realme euer obſerued in the graces & pardons graunted by our Soueraignes, to all their lieges being repentant of their offences committed againſt their highneſſe, or the lieges of the realme. And hath introduced a newe captious ſtile, & forme of the ſayd pardons & remiſſions attending to the practices of Fraunce, tending therby to draw the ſaid lieges of this realme by proceſſe of time into a deceauable ſnare, & further ſhall creepe in the whole ſubuerſiõ & alteration of the remanent laws of this realme, contrary to the cõtents of the appointment of mariage. And as peace being accorded amongſt the Princes retaineth the great armie of ſtraungers after commaundement ſent by the king of Fraunce to retire the ſame, making excuſe that they were retayned for ſuppreſſing of the attẽpts of the lieges of this realme. Albeit the whole

Her daughter folowed the ſame, for to Dauie was deliuered the great ſeale.

ſubiects

ſubiects therof of all eſtates is & euer hath bin readie to giue all durifull obediēce to their Soueraigns, & their lawfull miniſters proceeding by Gods ordinance. And the ſame army of ſtraungers not being payd in wages was layd by her Grace vpō the necks of the pore commonaltie of our natiue country, who were compelled by force to defraud thē ſelues, their wiues & children of that pore ſubſtance which they might conqueſſe with the ſweat of their browes, to ſatisfie their hunger & neceſſities, & quite the ſame to ſuſtaine ỹ idle bellies of their ſtrangers. Through the which in all parts roſe ſuch heauy lamentation & complaint of the commonalty, accuſing the Coūſell & Nobility of their ſlouth, that as the ſame oppreſſion we doubt not hath entred in before the iuſtice ſeate of God, ſo hath it moued our harts to pity & compaſſion. And for redreſſing of the ſame, with other great offences, committed againſt the publike weale of this realme, we haue conuened here as ſaid is: & as often times before haue moſt humblie and with all reuerēce deſired & required the ſaid Quene Regent to redreſſe the ſaid enormities, & eſpecially to remoue her ſtrangers, from the necks of the pore commonalty, & to deſiſt from enterpriſing or fortification of ſtrengths within this realm, againſt the expreſſe will of the Nobility & coūſell of the ſame. Yet we being conuened the more ſtrōg for feare of her ſtraungers, who we ſaw preſume no other thing, but with armes to purſue our liues and poſſeſſions, beſought her Grace to remoue the feare of the ſame, and make the towne patent to all our Soueraigne Lorde and Ladies lieges. The ſame in no wiſe would her Grace graunt vnto, but when ſome of our companie in peaceable manner, went to viewe the towne, there was both greate and ſmall munition

ſhot forth at them. And ſeing therfore that neither acceſſe was graunted to be vſed, nor yet her grace would ioyne her ſelfe to vs to conſult vpon the affaires of our common wealth, as we that be borne coũcellors to the ſame by the auncient lawes of the realme. But fearing leaſt the iudgemẽt of the coũſell would reforme as neceſſitie required the aforeſaid enormities ſhe refuſeth all manner of aſſiſtãce with vs, and by force and violence intẽdeth to ſuppreſſe the liberties of our common weale, and of vs the fauorers of the ſame. We therefore ſo manie of the Nobilitie, Barrones, & prouoſt of our Boroughs as are touched with the care of the common weale (vnto the which we acknowledge our ſelus not only borne, but alſo ſworne protectours and defenders againſt all and whatſoeuer inuaders of the ſame) & moued by the foreſaid proceedinges notorious and with the lamẽtable complaint of oppreſſion of our commonaltie our fellow members of the ſame. Perceauing farther that the preſent neceſſitie of our common weale may ſuffer no delay being conueaned (as ſaid is) preſently in Edinburgh for ſupport of our common weale, and ripelie conſulted and aduiſed taken the feare of God before our eyes, for the cauſes foreſaide which are notorious with one conſent and common vote. Euerie man in ordour his iudgement being required in name & authoritie of our Soueraigne Lord and Ladie ſuſpend the ſaid cõmiſſion graunted by our ſaid Soueraigne to the ſaid Queene *Dowager*, diſcharging her of all adminiſtration or authoritie ſhe hath or may haue thereby vnto the next Parliament to be ſet by our aduiſe & conſent. And that becauſe the ſaid Queene by the foreſaid faultes notorious declareth her ſelfe enemie to our common weale, abuſing the power

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of the ſaid authoritie to the deſtruction of the ſame and likewaies we diſcharge all members of her ſaid authoritie from thenceforth and that no coyne be coyned from thenceforth without expreſſe conſent of the ſaid counſell and Nobilitie conforme to the lawes of this realm which we maintaine,& ordaine this to be notified and proclaimed by officers of armes in all head Boroughs within the realme of Scotland. In witneſſe of the which our common cõſent and free vote we haue ſubſcribed this preſent act of ſuſpenſion with our hands day yeare & place foreſaid.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

By vs the Nobilitie and commons of the proteſtants of the Church of Scotland.

After that this our act of ſuſpenſion was by ſound of trumpet diuulgat at the market croſſe of Edinburgh we dimiſſed the Herould with this aunſwere.

Pleaſe your grace we receaued your anſwer and heard the credite of Lyon King of Armes, whereby we gathered ſufficientlie your perſeuerance in euill minde towards vs, the glorie of God our common weale and libertie of our natiue countrey. For ſafety of the which according to our dutie we haue in our Soueraigne Lord & Ladies name ſuſpẽded your cõmiſſion & all adminiſtration of policie which your grace may pretẽd therby being moſt aſſuredly perſwaded that your proceedings are direct cõtrary to our Soueraigne Lord and Ladies will, which we euer eſteemie to be for the weale & not for the hurt of this our common wealth. And as your grace will not acknowledge vs our Soueraigne Lord and Ladies liegis trew Barrons and liegis for your ſubiects and counſell, no more will we acknowledge you for anie Regent or lawfull Magiſtrate vnto vs, ſeing if

any authority ye haue by reaſon of our Soueraigns commiſſion graũted vnto your grace. The ſame for moſt worthy reaſons is wordelie ſuſpended by vs in the name and authoritie of our Soueraignes whoſe counſell we are of in the affaires of this our cõmon weale. And foraſmuch as we are determinate with hazard of our liues to ſet that towne at liberty wher in ye haue moſt wrongouſly planted your ſoldyers and ſtraungers. For the reuerence we ought to your perſon, as mother to our Soueraigne Ladie we require your grace to tranſporte your perſon therfrõ ſeing we are cõſtrained for the neceſſitie of the cõmon weale to ſute the ſame by Armes being denyed oft the libertie therof by ſundrie requiſitions made of before. Again your grace would cauſe to depart with you out of the ſaid towne any perſõ hauing cõmiſſion in Embaſſadry if any ſuch be or in Lieuetenanſhip of our Soueraignes together with al Frẽch mẽ ſoldyers being within the ſame (whoſe blood we thryſt not becauſe of the old amity & friendſhip betwixt the realm of Fraũce & vs, which amity by the occaſion of the mariage of our Soueraigne Lady to the King of that realme ſhould rather increaſe then decreaſe) And this we pray your grace & thẽ both to doe within the ſpace of twentie foure howres, for the reuerẽce we ought to your perſons. And this recõmẽding our humble ſeruice to your grace we cõmit your highnes to the eternall protection of God. At Edinburgh the 24 day of October 1559.

Your graces humble ſeruitours.

The day following we ſummoned the towne of Ieth by the ſounde of trumpet in forme as followeth.

I Require and charge in name of our ſoueraigne Lorde and Ladie, and of the counſel preſentlie in

in Edinburgh that all Scottes and French men of whatſoeuer eſtate and degree they be, that may depart out of this towne of Lieth within the ſpace of 11 houres, & make the ſame patent to all & ſundry our Soueraigne Ladies liegis. For ſeing we haue no ſuch hatred at either the one or the other that we thryſt the blood of any of the two, for the one is our naturall brother, borne nouriſhed and brought vp within the bowells of one common countrey, and with the other our nation hath continued long amity & allie, and hopeth that ſo ſhal doe, ſo long as ſo they liſt to vſe vs and not ſute to make ſlaues of friendes which this ſtrengthening of our townes pretẽdeth, And therefore moſt hartelie deſire that one and the other to deſiſt from fortifying or maintaining of this towne in our Soueraignes & their ſaid coũſelles name deſire thẽ to make the ſame free within the ſpace of 12 houres.

Defiance geuen there was skirmiſhing without great ſlaughter, preparation of ſcalles and laddars was made for the aſſault which was concluded by common conſent of the Nobilitie and Barrons. The ſcalles were appointed to be made in Sainct Gyles church, ſo that preaching was neglected, which did not a litle greeue the preachers and many godlie with them. The preachers ſpared not openly to ſay, that they feared the ſucceſſe of that enterpriſe ſhould not be proſperous becauſe the beginning appeared to bringe with it ſome contempt of God and of his word, other places ſaid they had bene more apt for ſuch preparations then where the people conueaned to common prayers and vnto preaching. In verie deede the audience was wonderfullie troubled all that tyme, which (with other miſordour eſpyed amongeſt vs) gaue

occasion to our pteachers to affirme that God could not suffer such contempt of his word and abuses of his grace long to be vnpunished. The Queene had amongest vs her assured espies who did not only signifie vnto her what was our estate: but also what was our counsell purposes and deuises. Some of our owne company were vehementlie suspected to be the verie betrayers of all our secretes: for a boy of the officials of Lowthian *Maister Iames Balfoure* was taken carying a wryting which did opē the most secret thing that was deuised in the counsell, yea those verie thinges which were thought to haue ben knowen but to very few. By such domesticall enemies were not onlie our purposes frustrat, but also our determinations were ofte times ouerthrowen and changed. The Dukes friendes gaue vnto him such terrors, that he was greatly troubled & by his fearewere troubled many others. The mē of warre (for the most part were mē without God or honestie) made a mutinie because the lacked a part of their wages. They had done the same in Linlithquow before wher they made a proclamation that they would serue anie man to suppresse the congregation and set vp the masse again. They made a fray vpon my Lord Argyles Hieland men, and slew one of the principall children of his chamber, who notwithstanding behaued him selfe so moderatly and so studious to pacifie that tumult that manie wondered, aswell of his prudent counsel and stoutenesse, as of the great obedience of his companie. The vngodlie soldiers notwithstanding maligned & continewing in their misordour they mocked the laird of Tullibarne, & other noble men who cohorted them to quietnes. All these troubles were practised by the Queene and put in execution

Treason amongst the counsell.

The Duke and his friendes fearefull.

The vngodlie soldyers.

The queene Regents practises.

on by the traytors among our ſelues. Who albeit then lurked,& yet are not manifeſtly noted, yet we doubt not but God ſhall vtter them to their confuſion,and to the example of others,to pacifie the mé of warre a collection was deuiſed. But becauſe ſome were poore, and ſome were niggardes and auaritious there could no ſufficient ſumme be obtained. It was thought expediét that a coyne ſhould be erected. That euerie noble man ſhould coyne his ſiluer worke to ſupplie the preſent neceſſitie. And therethrough *Dauid Forreſſe*, *Iohn Heart* and others who before had charge of the coining houſe did promiſe their faithfull labours. But when the matter came to the verie point the ſaid *Iohn Heart* & others of his factiō ſtoale away & tooke with thé the inſtrumets apt for that purpoſe, whether this was done by the falſhoode & febleneſſe of the ſaid *Iohn* or the practiſing of others is yet vncertaine. Reſted then no hope amongſt our ſelues that anie monie could be furniſhed. And therefore it was concluded by a few of thoſe whom we iudged moſt ſecret that *Sir Raffe Sadler* and *Sir Iames Croſtes* then hauing charge at Barwicke ſhould be tempted, if they would ſupport vs with anie reaſonable ſumme in that vrgent neceſſitie. And for that purpoſe was the Laird of Ormeſton directed vnto them in ſo ſecret manner as we could deuiſe. But yet our counſell was diſcloſed to the Queene who apointed the Lord *Bothwell* (as himſelfe confeſſed) to waite vppon the returning of the ſaid Laird, as that he did with all diligence,& ſo being aſſuredly informed, by what way he came, the ſaid Earle *Bothwell* foreſet his way, and cōming vpon him at vnaware did take him after that he was euill wounded in the head, for neither could he get his lead horſe, nor yet his ſteele bonnet, with

The fact of the counſell.

The treaſon of Iohn Harte.

him was taken the ſumme of 4. thouſand crownes of the Sunne, which the forenamed *Sir Raffe* and *Sir Iames* moſt louinglye had ſent for our ſupport. The brute hereof comming to our eares our dolour was doubled not ſo much for loſſe of the monie as for the loſſe of the gentlemen whome we ſuſpected to haue bene ſlaine, or at the leaſt that he ſhould be deliuered to the Queenes handes. And ſo vpon the ſuddaine the Earle of Errane the Lord *Iames*, the maiſter of Maxwell with the moſt part of the horſe men tooke purpoſe to purſew the ſaid Erle *Bothwell* if they might apprehēd him in Creyton or Morhan whetherto (as they were informed) he had retyred himſelfe after his treaſonable fact. We call his fact treaſonable, becauſe that three dayes before he had ſent his eſpeciall ſeruant *Maiſter Michael Balfoure* to vs to Edinburgh to purchaſe of the Lordes of the counſell licence to come and ſpeake with vs which we graunted, after that he had promiſed that in the meane tyme he ſhould neither hurt vs nor yet anie to vs apertaining till that he ſhould write his aunſwere againe, whether that he would ioyne with vs or not. He gaue vs farther to vnderſtand that he would diſcharge himſelfe of the Queene, and therafter would aſſiſt vs. And yet in this meane time he cruellie and traiterouſlie hurt and ſpoiled the noble mā aforeſaid. Albeit that the departure & counſell of the Erle of Errane and Lord *Iames* with their companie aforeſaid was verie ſuddaine and ſecret yet was the Earle *Bothwell* then being in Creytton aduertiſed and ſo eſcaped with the monie which he tooke with himſelfe, as the Capitaine of his houſe *Iohn Somerwaile* (which was taken without lōg purſuite) cōfeſſed and affirmed becauſe that the noble men that ſought redreſſe, ſought rather his ſafetie and

The Earle Bothwell falſe in promiſe & his treaſonable fact.

and reconciliation then deſtruction & hatred. They committed his houſe to the cuſtodie of a captaine, to wit Captaine *Forbeſſe*. To whome and to all ſouldiers there lefte, was giuen a ſharpe commaundement, that all things found within the ſaid houſe of Creighton (which were put in inuẽtory in preſence of the Lords) ſhold be kept till that the Erle *Bothwell* ſhold giue anſwer, whether he wold make reſtitutiõ or not, time of aduertiſment was graunted vnto him the hole day ſubſequẽt till going down of the ſunne. In abſence of the ſaid Lords & horſemen (we meane the ſame day that they departed, which was the laſt of October) the Prouoſt & towne of Dũdy, together with ſome ſoldiers, paſſed forth of the town of Edinburgh, & caried with them ſome great ordinance to ſhoot at Leith. The Dukes grace, ỹ Erle of Glẽcarne & the reſt of the noblemẽ wer gon to the preaching where they continued almoſt till noone. The Frẽch being aduertiſed by one named *Clerk* (who after was apprehended) that our horſemen were abſent, and that the whole cõpany were at diner, iſſued, & with great expedition came to the place where our ordinance was laid. The town of Dundie with a fewe other reſiſted a while, aſwel with the ordinãce as hakbuts, but being left of our vngodly & feeeble ſoldiers who fled without ſtroke offred or giuẽ, they were cõpelled to giue back, & ſo to leaue the ordinãce to the enemies, who further purſued the fugitiues, to wit to the midſt of the cãnogate, & to ỹ foot of Leith wind. Their cruelty began then to diſcouer it ſelfe, for the maimed, the aged, the womẽ & children, found no greater fauor in their furie, then did the ſtrõg man, who made reſiſtance. It was very apparaunt that among our ſelues there was ſome treaſon. For when vpon the firſt alarme all men made haſt for relief of

The firſt departing of the congregation.

The cruelty of the frẽch

their brethren, whom in verie deede we might haue ſaued, and at leaſt we might haue ſaued the ordinaunce, and haue kept the Cannogate from daunger. For we were once marched forward with bolde courage, but then (we ſay) was a ſhout raiſed amõgeſt our ſelues (God will diſcloſe the traitours one day) affirming that the whole French companie were entred in at Leith wind vpon our backs. What clamor and miſorder did then ſodenly ariſe, we luſt not to expreſſe with multiplication of wordes. The horſemen and ſome of thoſe that ought to haue put order to others, ouer rode their poore brethren at the entreſſe of the neather bow. The crie of diſcõfort aroſe in the towne, the wicked and malignant blaſphemed. The feeble (amongſt whom the luſtice *Clerk*, *Sir Iohn Bannantine* was) fled without mercie. With great difficultie coulde they be kept in at the waſt port. *M. Gawan Hammilton* cried with a lowde voice: Drinke nowe as ye haue brued. The French perceauing by the clamor of our fray, followed as ſayd is, to the midſt of the Cannogate, to no great number, but a twenty or thirtie of their infants loſſe. For in that meane time the reſt retired them ſelues with our ordinaunce. The Erle of Argile & his men were the firſt that ſtopped the flying of our men: & compelled the port to be opened after that it was ſhut. But in very deede Lord *Robert Stewart* Abbot of Halirudhous was the firſt that iſſued forth, after him followed many vpon the backs of the French. At laſt came my Lorde Duke, and then was no man more buſie, then was *M. Gawan Hammilton* aforeſayd. The French burnt a backhouſe, & toke ſome ſpoile from the poore of the Cannogate. They ſlue a papiſt, & a drunken prieſt named *Sir Thomas Sklaitter*, an aged man, a woman giuing ſuck, & her child, and of our ſoldiers

The Erle of Argile.

Lord Robert Stewart

ſoldiers to the number often. Certaine were taken, amongſt whom captain *Mowat* was one, *M. Charles Geddeſſe* ſeruant to the maiſter of Maxwell. The caſtle that day ſhot a ſhoot at the French, declaring them therby friends to vs,& enemy to them, but he ſuddenly repented of well doing. The Queene glad of victorie ſate vpon the Ramparte to ſalute & welcome her victorious ſoldiers: one brought a kirtle, another a petticote, the third a pot or pan, and of enuie more thē womanly laughter, ſhe asked, where bought ye your ware, *Ie penſe que vous l'aues achete ſans argent.* This was the greate and motherly care which ſhe tooke for the trouble of the pore ſubiects of this realme. The Earle *Bothwell* lifted vp in his owne conceipt, by reaſon of this our repulſe and diſcomfiture, vtterly refuſed any reſtitution,& ſo within two dayes after was his houſe ſpoyled, in which were no things of great importaunce, his euidences and certaine clothing excepted. Frō that day backe the cariage of money was deiected, with great difficultie could men be retained in the town, yea ſome of the greateſt eſtimation, determined with them ſelues to leaue the enterpriſe, manie fled away ſecretly, and thoſe that did abide (a verie fewe excepted) appeared deſtitute of counſell and manhood. The Maiſter of Maxwell, a man ſtout and wittie, foreſeeing the daunger, deſired moſt grauely either to take ſuch order, that they might remaine to the terror of the enemie, or elſe that they ſhould retire them ſelues with their ordinance, and banners diſplayed in order. But the wits of men being daſhed, no counſell could preuaile. Thus we continued frō Wedneſday the laſt of October, till Monday the fift of Nouember, neuer two or three abiding firme in one opinion the ſpace of foure and twentie houres.

The caſtle ſhot one ſhot.

The queene Regents reioyſing and vnwomanly behauiour.

The counſel of the Maiſter of Maxwell.

The peſtilent wits of the Queens practizers did thé exerciſe them ſelues (God ſhall recompence their malitious craft in their owne boſome we doubt not) for they cauſed two godly and forward young men, the Lairds of Pharneherſt and Ceſſurd, who once had gladly ioyned them ſelues with vs, to withdraw them ſelues and their friends. The ſame they did to the Erle *Morto*, who promiſed to be ours, but did not plainely ioyne. They entiſed the captaine of the caſtle to denie vs ſupport in caſe we were purſued. And finallie the counſell of ſome was no leſſe peſtiferous againſt vs, then was the counſell of Achitophell againſt Dauid and his diſcomfited ſouldiers. (render Lord to the wicked according to their malice.) Vpon Munday the fifte of Nouember did the French iſſue out of Leith betimes in the morning, for keeping of the victuals which ſhould haue come to vs, we being troubled among our ſelues, & as ſaid is deuided in opinions, were neither circumſpect when they did iſſue, neither yet did we followe with ſuch expedition as had bin meete for men that wold haue ſought our aduantage. Our ſouldiers coulde ſcarſly be driuen forth of the towne. The Erle of Arrane, Lord *Iames*, and a certaine with them made haſt, manie honeſt men then followed, and made ſuch diligence, that they cauſed the French once to retire ſomewhat affrayedly. The reſt that were in Leith perceauing the daunger of their fellowes, iſſued out for their ſuccour. The Erle of Arrane and Lord *Iames* aforeſayd being more forward then prudent and circumſpect, did compell the captaines, as is alleadged, to bring their men ſo nigh, that either they muſt needes haue hazarded battell with the whole French men (& that vnder the mercy of their cannons alſo) or elſe they muſt needs retire in a ve-

The laſt diſcomfiture vpō Mūday.

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rie narrowe corner. For our men were approched nere to Reſtalrige. The one part of the French were vpon the North toward the ſea, the other part marched from Leith to Edinburgh, & yet they marched ſo that we could haue foughten with neither cõpanie before that they ſhould haue ioyned. We tooke purpoſe therfore to retire towards the towne, & that with expeditiõ, leſt that the former company of the French ſhould either haue inuaded the towne before that we could haue come to the reſcue therof, or elſe haue cut vs of from the entreſſe of the Abbey of Halyrudhouſe, as apparãtly they had done, if that the Laird of Grainge & *Alexander VVhitlaw*, with a few horſemen, had not ſtayed both their horſemen & their footmen. The company which was next vs, perceauing that we retired, with ſpeede ſent forth their skirmiſhers to the nũber of thre or foure hundred, who tooke vs at a diſaduantage, before vs hauing the mire of Reſtalrige betwixt vs & them. And we were encloſed by the parke dich, ſo that in no wiſe we could auoyde their ſhot. The horſemen followed vpon our tailes, and ſlue diuerſe. Our owne horſemen ouer rode our footemen, and ſo by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place there was no reſiſtance made. The Earle of Arrane and Lord *Iames* in great daunger lighted amongeſt the footemen, exhorting them to haue ſome reſpect to order, and to the ſafetie of their brethren, whom by their flying they exponed to murther, and ſo were criminall of their death. Captaine *Alexander Halyburnetoun*, a man that feared God, taried with certaine of his ſouldiers behind and made reſiſtaunce, till that he was firſt ſhot, & taken, but being knowen, thoſe cruel murtherers wounded him in diuerſe partes to the death, & yet as it were by the power of God he was

The death of Alexãder Haliburntõ captaine.

brought in to the towne, where in fewe, but yet moſt plaine words he gaue confeſſion of his faith, teſtifying that he doubted nothing of Gods mercie purchaſed to him by the bloud of Chriſt Ieſus, neither yet that he repeted that it pleaſed God to make him worthie to ſhed his bloud, and ſpend his life in defence of ſo iuſt a cauſe. And thus with the dolour of manie he ended his dolour, and did enter (we doubt not) into that bleſſed immortalitie within two houres after our departure. There were ſlaine to the number of twentie foure or thirtie men; the moſt parte poore. There were taken the Laird of Pitmillie, the Laird of Pharny younger, the Maiſter of Bowchãne *George Lwell* of Dundie, and ſome others of lower eſtate, *Iohn Dumbar* Lieutenant to Captaine *Mont*, Captaine *Dauid Murray* had his horſe ſlaine, & him ſelfe hurt in the legge.

How & why William Maitland left Leith.

Fewe dayes before our firſt departure, which was vpon Alhallow euen, *VVilliam Maitland* of Lethington Younger, ſecretarie to the Queene, perceauing him ſelfe not onely to be ſuſpected as one that fauored our part, but alſo to ſtand in daunger of his life, if he ſhould remaine amongſt ſo vngodly a companie, for whenſoeuer matters came in queſtion, he ſpared not to ſpeake his conſcience. Which libertie of tong, and grauitie of iudgement the French dyd highly diſdaine. Which perceaued by him, he conueyed him ſelfe away in the morning, and rendred him ſelfe to *M. Kirkcaldie* Laird of Grange. Who cõming to vs, did exhort vs to conſtancie, aſſuring vs that in the Queene there was nothing but craft and deceipt. He trauelled exceedingly to haue retained the Lordes together, and moſt prudently layde before their eyes the daungers that might enſue their departing of the towne. But feare and dolour had ſo

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ceazed the harts of all that they could admit no cõ-
ſolation. The Erle of Arrane and Lorde *Iames* offe-
red to abide if anie reaſonable companie woulde a-
bide with them. But men did ſo ſteale away that the
wit of man could not ſtay them. Yea ſome of the
greateſt determined plainely that they would not a-
bide. The captaine of the caſtle then Lorde *Erskin*
would promiſe vnto vs no fauour, but ſayd he muſt
needes declare him ſelfe friende to thoſe that were
able to ſupport and defend him. Which aunſwer gi-
uen to the Lord *Iames* diſcouraged thoſe that before
determined to haue biddē the vttermoſt, rather thē
to haue abādoned the towne, ſo that the caſtle wold
haue ſtood their friend. But the contrarie declared
euery man toke purpoſe for him ſelfe. The cõplaints
of the brethren within the towne of Edinburgh was
lamentable & ſore. The wicked then began to ſpue
forth the venome which then lurked in their can-
kred harts. The godly as well thoſe that were depar-
ted, as the inhabitants of the towne were ſo troubled
that ſome of them wold haue preferred death to life
at Gods pleaſure. For auoiding of danger it was cõ-
cluded ỳ they ſhould depart at midnight. The Duke
made prouiſion for his ordinance, & cauſed it to be
ſent before, but the reſt was lefte to the care of the
captaine of the caſtle, who receaued it, as well that
which appertained to Lord *Iames*, as that of Dundy.
The deſpitefull tongs of the wicked rayled vpon vs,
calling vs traitors and heretikes: euerie one prouo-
ked other to caſt ſtones at vs: one cried, Alas if I
might ſee. An other ſie: giue aduertiſement to the
French men that they may come, & we ſhall helpe
them now to cut the throtes of theſe heretikes. And
thus as the ſword of dolor paſſed through our harts,
ſo were the cogitaiions & former determinations of

The Lorde Erskin declared him ſelfe enemy to the congregation.

The deſpite of the Papiſts of Edinburgh.

many harts then reuealed. For we wold neuer haue
The worst is not yet cõe to our enemies. beleued that our naturall countrey men and womẽ could haue wished our destruction so vnmercifully, & haue so reioiced in our aduersity (God moue their harts to repentãce.) For else we feare that he whose cause we sustaine, shall let them feele the weight of the yoke of cruell straungers, into whose hands they wished vs to haue bene betrayed. We stayed not till that we came to Stirueling, which we did the day after that we departed from Edinburgh, for it was concluded that there consultation should be taken, what was the next remedie in so desperat a matter. The next wednesday which was the 7. of Nouember *Iohn Knox* preached (*Iohn Willock* was departed to England, as before he had appointed) and intreated the 5. 6. 7 and 8. verses of the 80. Psalme, where Dauid in the person of the afflicted people of God
The sermon of Iohn Knox in Stirueling in the greatest of our troubles. speaketh this to the 4. verse. O thou the eternall the God of hostes, howe long shalt thou be angrie against the prayer of thy people. 5. Thou hast fedde vs with the bread of teares, and hast giuen to vs teares to drinke in great measure. 6. Thou hast made vs a strife vnto our neighbours, and our enemies laught vs to scorne amongst them selues. 7. O God of hosts turne vs againe, make thy face to shine, and we shall be saued, &c. This Psalme had the sayd *Iohn* begun in Edinburgh, as it were foreseeing our calamitie, which in very deede he did not obscurely speake, but plainely did admonish vs that he was assured of troubles suddenly to come, and therefore exhorted all men to prayers, he entreated the first three ver-
The argument of the 80. Psalme. ses in Edinburgh to the comfort of manie. He declared of the Psalme, affirming for his iudgement, that it was made by Dauid him selfe who in the spirite of Prophesie foresawe the miserable estate of

Gods

Gods people, especially after the ten tribes were deuided, and departed from the obedience of Iuda, for it was not (sayd he) without cause that Ioseph, Ephraim, Beniamin & Manasse was especially named & not Iuda, to wit because that they came first to calamitie, & were translated from their owne inheritance while that Iuda yet possessed the kingdom. He confessed that iustly they were punished for idolatry committed, but he affirmed that amongst thé there remained some true worshippers of God, for whose comfort were the Prophetes sente, as well to call them to repentaunce, as to assure them of deliuerance, and of the promises of God to be performed vnto them. He deuided the Psalme into three parts, to wit, in a prayer. 2. In the grounde whereuppon their prayer was founded. 3. And in the lamentable complaints, and the vowe which they make to God. The diuisiõ.

Their prayer was, that God should conuerte and turne them, that he should make his face to shine vppon them, and that he should restore them to their former dignitie. The groundes and foundations of their prayers were. 1. That God him selfe had become pastour and gouernour vnto them. 2. That he had taken the protection of them into his owne hand. 3. That he had chosen his habitation amongst them. 4. That he had deliuered them from bondage and thraldome. 5. That he had multiplied and blessed them with many notable benedictions.

Vpon those two parts he gaue these notes. First, that the felicitie of Gods people may not be measured by any externall appearance. For often it is that the same people to whõ God becometh not onely creator but also pastor & protector, is more seuerely entreated, then those nations where very ignorance & contépt of God raigneth. Secondly that God neuer 1. 2.

made his acquaintãce and Liegue with one people by his word: but that there he had ſome of his elect who albeit they ſuffered for a tyme in the middeſt of the wicked, yet in the end they found comfort & felt in verie experience that Gods promiſes are not
3 vaine. Thirdly, that thoſe prayers were dyted vnto the people by the holy Ghoſt before they came to the vttermoſt of trouble to aſſure them that God by whoſe ſpirite the prayer was dyted would not contemne the ſame in the middeſt of their calamities. The third part contayning the lamentable cõplaint he entreated in Stirueling in preſence of my Lord Duke and of the whole counſell. In the expoſition wherof, he declared, wherfore God ſometimes ſuffered his choſen flock to be exponed to mockage & daungers and to appearing deſtruction. To wit, that they may feele the vehemencie of Gods indignation, that they may know, how litle ſtrength is in theſelues: that they may leaue a teſtimony to the generations following aſwell of the malice of the deuill againſt Godes people, as of the maruailous worke of God in preſeruing his litle flock by farre other meanes then man can eſpie. In explayning theſe wordes: how long ſhalt thou be angrie O Lord againſt the prayer of thy people: he declared how dolorous & fearefull it was to fight againſt that tẽptatiõ, that God turned away his face frõ our praiers for that was nothing elſe then to comprehend and conceaue God to be armed to our deſtructiõ: which temptation no fleſh can abyde nor ouercome, vnleſſe the mightie ſpirite of God interpone him ſelfe ſuddainly. The example he gaue the impaciency of Saule, when God would not heare his prayers. The difference betwixt the elect and reprobate in that temptation, he plainly declared to be, that the elect

ſuſtai-

ſuſtained by the ſecret power of Gods ſpirit, did ſtill call vpon God, albeit that he appeared to conténe their prayers: which (ſaid he) is the ſacrifice moſt acceptable to God, and is in a manner euen to fight with God, & to ouercome him, as Iacob did in wraſling with his Angel. But the reprobate (ſaid he) being denyed of their requeſtes, at Godes hand do either ceaſe to pray and altogether contemne God, who ſtraightlie commaundeth vs to cal vpon him in the day of aduerſitie, or elſe they ſecke at the deuill, that which they ſee they can not obtaine by God. In the ſecõd parte he declared how hard it was to this corrupt nature of ours not to reioyce and put confidẽce in our ſelues when God giueth victory. And therefore how neceſſary it was that man by affliction ſhould be brought to the knowledge of his owne infirmitie, leaſt that he be puffed vp with vaine cõfidence, he make an Idoll of his owne ſtrength, as did King Nebuchadnezar. He did grauelie diſpute vpon the nature of the blinde world which in all ages hath inſolently reioyced when God did chaſten his owne children, whoſe glorie and honor becauſe the reprobate can neuer ſee, therefore they deſpiſe them and the wonderous worke of God in thẽ. And yet (ſaid he) the ioy & reioycing of the world, is but meare ſorrow, becauſe the end of it tendeth to ſuddaine deſtruction, as the ryotous bãqueting of Balthaſar declareth, applying theſe heades to the time and perſons (he ſaid) if none of Godes children had ſuffered before vs the ſame iniuries that preſentlie we ſuſtaine, theſe our troubles would appeare intollerable, ſuch is our tender delicacie; & ſelfe loue of our owne fleſh. That theſe thinges which we lightly paſſe ouer in others, we can greatlie complaine of, if they touch our ſelus. I doubt not but that ſome

of vs haue ofter then once read this pſalme, as alſo that we haue read & heard the trauell & troubles of our aũcięt fathers. But which of vs, either in reading or hearing their dolours & temptations did ſo diſcend into our ſelues that we felt the bitterneſſe of their paſſions? I thinke none. And therefore hath God brought vs to ſome experięce in our owne perſos. But yet becauſe the matter may apeare obſcure vnles it be more properly applied. I cā not of cōſcience but vſe ſuch plainneſſe as God ſhal graũt vnto me. Our faces are this day cōfounded, our enemies triũph, our hearts haue quaked for feare, & yet they remaine oppreſſed with ſorrow & ſhame. But what ſhall we think to be ỹ very cauſe that God hath thus deiected vs, if I ſhall ſay our ſinns & former vnthākfulnes vnto God: I ſpeake the truth, but yet I ſpeake more generally thē neceſſity required. For whē the ſinnes of men are rebuked in generall ſeldome it is that man deſcēdeth within himſelf, accuſing & dāning in himſelf that which moſt diſpleaſeth god. But rather he doubteth that to be a cauſe, which before God is no cauſe in deed. For example, the Iſraelits fighting againſt the tribe of Beniamin were twyſe diſcōfited with the loſſe of 40000 mē. They lamēted & bewailed both firſt & laſt, but we finde not that they came to the knowledge of their offēce & ſinne which was the cauſe that they fel in the edge of the ſword. But rather they doubted that to haue bene a cauſe of their miſſortune, which god had cōmaũded for they asked ſhall we go, & fight any more againſt our brethrē the ſōnes of Bēiamin. By which queſtion it is euident, that they ſuppoſed that the cauſe of their ouerthrow & diſcomfit was, becauſe they had lifted the ſword againſt ther brethrē & natural coũtry men. And yet the expreſſe cōmandemēt of God

Specialis applicatio.

that

that was geuen vnto them did deliuer them from al crime in that cauſe. And yet no doubt, but that ther was ſome cauſe in the Iſraelites that God gaue thē ſo ouer into the hāds of theſe wicked men, againſt whō he ſent thē, by his owne expreſſe cōmandemēt to execute his iudgementes. Such as do well marke the hiſtorie, & the eſtate of that people may eaſelie ſee the cauſe why God was offended. All the whole people had declyned from God: idolatry was maintained by the common conſent of the multitude, & as the text ſayeth euerie mā did that, which appeared good in his owne eyes. In this meane time the Leuite complained of the vilany that was done vnto him ſelf, & vnto his wife, which oppreſſed by the Beniamites of Gibead, died vnder ther filthy luſtes, which horible fact inflamed the hearts of the whole people to take vengeance vpon that abominatiō (& therein they offended) but in this they failed, that they go to execute iudgement againſt the wicked without any repentance or remorſe of cōſcience of their owne former offēces & defectiō frō God. And farther becauſe they were a great multitude, & the other were farre inferiour vnto thē. They truſted in their owne ſtrēgth, & thought thēſelus able inough to do their purpoſe without any inuocation of the name of God: but after that they had twyſe proued ȳ vanity of their owne ſtrēgth they faſted & praied, & being hūbled before God, they receaued a more fauorable anſwer & aſſured promiſe of the victory. The like may be amongſt vs, albeit ſuddanlie we do not eſpie it. And to the end that euery man may the better examine him ſelf I will deuide our whole cō-pany into 2 ſorts of mē. The one are thoſe that frō ȳ beginning of this trouble haue ſuſtained the cōmō daūger with their brethrē, the other be theſe which

Let Scotland yet take heede.

be ioyned to our felowſhip. In the one and in the other I feare that iuſt cauſe ſhall be found, that God ſhould thus haue humbled vs. And albeit that this appeare ſtraunge at the firſt hearing, yet if euerie man ſhall examine himſelfe, I ſpeake as that his cõſciẽce dyteth him, I doubt not but he ſhall ſubſcribe to my ſentẽce. Letus beginne at our ſelues who lõgeſt hath continued in this battell. When we were a few number in compariſon of our enemies when we had neither Earle nor Lord (a few excepted) to comfort vs, we called vpõ God, & tooke him for our protectour, defence and onlie refuge. Amongeſt vs was heard no bragging of multitude, of our ſtrẽgth nor policie, we did onely ſobbe to God to haue reſpect to the equitie of our cauſe, & to the cruell purſuite of the tyrannefull enemie. But ſince that our number had ben thus multiplied, and chiefly ſince my Lord Dukes grace with his friendes haue bene ioyned with vs, there was nothing heard, but this Lord will bring theſe manie hundreth ſpeares. This man hath the credite to perſwade this countrey, if this Earle be oures, no man in ſuch boundes will trouble vs. And thus the beſt of vs al, that before felt Gods potent hand to our defence, hath of lait daies put fleſh to be our arme. But wherein yet had my Lord Dukes grace and his friends offended? it may be that as we haue truſted in thẽ, ſo haue they put to much cõfidence in their owne ſtrẽgth. But graũting ſo be not, I ſee a cauſe moſt iuſt, why the Duke and his friends ſhould thus be confounded amõgſt the reſt of their brethren. I haue not yet forgotten what was the dolour and anguiſh of my owne hart, when at Sainct Iohnſtonne, Cooper More & Edinburgh Craigis, thoſe cruell murtherers, that now hath put vs to this diſhonour threatned our preſẽt deſtructi-

deſtruction, My Lord Dukes grace and his friendes at all the three iournies, was to them a great cõfort, and vnto vs a great diſcharge: for his name and authoritie did more affray and aſtoniſh vs, thẽ did the force of the other, yea, without his aſſiſtance they could not haue compelled vs to appoint with the Queene vpon ſo vnequall conditions. I am vncertaine if my Lords grace hath vnfainedly repented, of that his aſſiſtance, to thoſe murtherers vniuſtlie purſuing vs, yea I am vncertaine if he hath repẽted of the innocent bloode of Chriſtes bleſſed martires which was ſhedde in his default. But let it be, that ſo he hath done (as I heare that he hath cõfeſſed his offence before the Lords & brethren of the cõgregation) yet I am aſſured that neither he, neither yet his friendes did feele before this tyme the anguiſh and greefe of heartes which we felt when in their blind furie they purſued vs. And therfore hath God iuſtly permitted both them and vs to fall in this cõfuſion at once, vs for that we put our truſt & confidẽce in man, & them becauſe that they ſhould feele their owne heartes how bitter was the cuppe which they made others to drincke before them. Reſteth that both they and we turn to the eternall our God (who beateth downe to death, to the intent that he may raiſe vp againe to leaue the remembrance of his wõderous deliuerance, to the praiſe of his owne name) which if we do vnfainedly I no more doubt but that this our dolour, confuſion and feare ſhalbe turned into ioy, honour, and boldneſſe: then that I doubt that God gaue victorie to the Iſraelites ouer the Beniameits, after that twyſe with ignominy they were repulſed and dryuẽ back, yea whatſoeuer ſhall become of vs and our mortal carkaſſes, I doubt not but that this cauſe (in deſpite of Sathan) ſhall pre-

Concluſio

Let the Papiſtes and greateſt enemies witneſſe.

uaile in this realme of Scotland. For as it is the eternall trueth of the eternall God, ſo ſhall it once preuaile, howſoeuer for a time it be impugned. It may be that God ſhall plague ſome for that they delight not in the trueth, albeit for worldly reſpects they ſeeme to fauour it. Yea God may take ſome of his deareſt childré away before that their eyes ſee greter troubles. But neither ſhall the one nor the other ſo hinder this action but in the end it ſhall triumph.

This ſermõ ended in the which he did vehemẽtly exhorte all men to amendement of life, to prayers, and to the workes of charitie, the minds of men beganne wonderouſly to be erected and immediatly after dinner the Lordes paſſed to Comiſhal, vnto the which the ſaid *Iohn Knox* was called to make inuocation of the name of God (for other preachers were none with vs at that time) in the end it was concluded that *VVilliam Maitland* aforeſaid ſhould paſſe to London to expone our eſtate and condition to the Queene and counſell and that the noble men ſhould depart to their quiet to the fixtene day of December. Which time was appointed to the next conuention in Stirueling as in this our third booke following ſhalbe more amply declared. Endeth the ſecond booke of the hiſtorie of the progreſſe of religion within Scotland.

Looke vppon vs O Lord in the multitude of thy mercies for we are brought euen to the deepe of the dungeon.

THE

THE THIRDE BOOKE OF THE PROGRESSE OF TRVE RELIGION WITHIN THE realme of Scotland.

AFTER this our dolorous departing from Edinburgh, the fury & rage of the French increased, for thé durst neither man nor woman that professed Christ Iesus within ỳ towne be seene. The houses of the most honest men were giuen by the Queene to French men for a part of their rewarde. The Earle *Bothwell* by sound of trumpet proclamed the Earle of Arrane traitor, with other despitefull wordes, which all was done for the pleasure and by the suggestion of the Queene Regent, who then thought the battell was wonne without further resistance. Great practising she made for obtayning of the castle of Edinburgh. The French made their fagots with other preparations to assault the said castle, either by force or else by treason. But God wrought so mightily with the captaine the Lord *Erskin* at that time, that neither the Queene by flattery, nor the French by treason preuailed. A duertismét with all diligence past to the Duke of Gwise, who then was king of Fraũce (as cõcerning power to cõmaund) requiring him to make

expedition if he desired the full conquest of Scotland. Who delayed no time, but with a newe armie sent away his brother *Marquis Dalbul*, and in his cõpanie the Martickes, promising that he him selfe should followe. But the righteous God who in mercie looketh vpon the affliction of those that vnfaynedly sob vnto him, fought for vs by his owne outstretched arme. For vpon one night vpon the coast of Holande were drowned of them eighteene ensignes, so that only rested the ship in the which were the two principals aforesayd with their Ladies, who violently driuen backe to Deape were compelled to confesse that God fought for the defence of Scotlande.

From England returned *Robert Meluin*, who past in companie to London with the Secretarie a litle before Christmasse, and brought vnto vs certaine articles to be answered, as by the contract that after was made, more plainely shall appeare. Whereupon the Nobility assembled at Stirueling, and returned aunswer with diligence. Wherof the French aduertised, they marched to Linlithquow, spoiled the Duks house, & wasted his landes of Kinneill, & after came to Stirueling, where they remained certaine dayes (the Duke, the Erle of Argile & Glencarn with their friends passed to Glasgow. The Erle of Arrane and Lord *Iames* past to S. Andrewes. For charge was geuen to the whole Nobilitie Protestants, to kepe their owne bodies till that God should send them further support.) The French tooke purpose first to assault Fyfe, for at it was their great indignation. Their purpose was to haue taken and fortified the towne and Abbey, with the castle of S. Andrewes, and so they came to Culrosse, after to Dunfermeling, & then to Brũtealand, where they began to fortifie: but desisted there-

therfrom,& marched to Kinghorn vpon the occaſiō as followeth. When certaine knowledg came to the Erle of Arrane & to Lord *Iames* that the Frēch were departed from Stirueling,they departed alſo from S. Andrews, & began to aſſemble their forces at Cowper, & ſent their men of warre to Kinghorne, vnto whō there reſorted diuerſe of the coaſt ſide, of mind to reſiſt rather at the beginning then when they had deſtroyed a part of their townes. But the Lords had giuen an expreſſe commaundement that they ſhold hazard nothing till that they them ſelues were preſent. And for that purpoſe was ſent vnto them the Lord *Ruthuen* a man of great experience,& inferior to few in ſtoutneſſe.In his company was the Erle of Sudderland, ſent from the Erle of Huntly, as he alledged, to comfort the Lords in their affliction. But others whiſpered that his principal commiſſion was vnto the Queene Regent. Howſoeuer it was he was hurt in the arme by the ſhot of an haquebut, for the men of war & the raſcall multitude perceiuing certaine boats of French men landing,which came frō Leith, purpoſed to ſtop their landing,& ſo not conſidering the enemies that approched frō Bruntealād: vnaduiſedly they ruſhed downe to the pettiture (ſo is that bray by weſt Kinghorne called) & at the ſea coaſt began the skirmiſhing. But neuer tooke heede to the enemie that approched by land, till that the horſemen charged them vpon the back,& the whole bands came directly in their faces, and ſo were they compelled to giue back with the loſſe of ſix or ſeuē of their men, and with the taking of ſome,amongeſt whom were two that profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus,one named *Paul Lambert* a Dutch man,& a French boy feruent in religion,& cleane of life,whō in deſpite they hanged ouer the ſteeple of Kinghorne. Thou ſhalt

The Erle of Sudderland ſhot.

reuenge O Lord in appointed time. The cauſe that in ſo great a daunger there was ſo ſmall a loſſe, next vnto the mercifull prouidence of God was the ſudden comming of my Lord *Ruthuen*, for euen as our men had geuen backe, he and his companie came to the head of the bray, & did not only ſtay the French men, but alſo ſome of ours brake vpon their horſemen, and ſo repulſed them that they did no further hurt to our footmen. In that recounter was the Erle of Sudderland aforeſayd ſhot in the arme, and was caried back to Cowper. The French tooke Kinghorn where they lay, and waſted the countrey about, as well Papiſtes as Proteſtantes: yea euen thoſe that were cõfederat with them, ſuch as Seafield, Weames Balmowto, Balwearie, and others, enemies to God and traytors to their countrey, of thoſe (we ſay) they ſpared not the ſheepe, the oxen, the kine, & horſes, and ſome ſay that their wiues and daughters gat fauour of the French ſoldiers, and ſo did recompence the Papiſts in their owne boſoms, for beſides the defiling of their houſes, as ſayd is, two of them receaued more domage, then did all the gentlemen that profeſſed the Goſpell within Fyfe, the Lairde of Grainge only excepted, whoſe houſe of the Grainge the Frenchmen ouerthrew with gunne powder. The Quene Regent proud of this victory, burſt forth into her blaſphemous railing & ſaid: Where is now *Iohn Knoxis* God? my God is now ſtronger then his, yea euẽ in Fyfe. She poſted to her friends in Fraũce of newes ẏ thouſands of the heretickes were ſlaine, & the reſt were fled, and therefore required that ſome Noble man of her friendes would come & take the glory of that victory. Vpon that information was the Martickes with two ſhips, and ſome captaines and horſes directed to come into Scotland, but litle to their

The caſting down of the houſe of the Grainge.

their owne aduantage, as we ſhall after heare.

The Lordes of the congregation offended at the fooliſhneſſe of the raſcall multitude, called to them ſelues the men of warre,& remained certaine dayes at Cowper, vnto whom repared *Iohn Knox*, & in our greateſt deſperation preached vnto vs a moſt comfortable Sermon, his text was. The daunger wherein the Diſciples of Chriſt Ieſus ſtood when they were in the middeſt of the ſea, and Ieſus was vppon the mountaine. His exhortation was, that we ſhould not faint, but that we ſhould ſtill rowe againſt their contrarious blaſts till that Ieſus Chriſt ſhold come, for ſayd he, I am as aſſuredly perſwaded that God ſhall deliuer vs from this extreame trouble, as that I am aſſured, that this is the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt, which I preach vnto you this day. The fourth watch is not yet come, abide a litle the boate ſhall be ſaued, and Peter which hath lefte the boate ſhall not drowne. I am aſſured that albeit I can not aſſure you by reaſon of this preſent rage, God graunt that ye may acknowledge his hande after that your eyes haue ſeene his deliueraunce. In that Sermon he comforted manie, and yet he offended the Earle of Arrane. For in his diſcourſe vpon the manifold aſſaults that the Church of God ſuſtained, he brought for exãple the multitude of ſtrangers that purſued Iehoſaphat after that he had reformed religion. He intreated the feare of the people, yea and of the king him ſelfe at the firſt. But after he affirmed that Iehoſaphat was ſtoute, and to declare his courage in his God, he comforted his people and his ſouldiers: he came forth in the middeſt of them, he ſpake louingly vnto them. He kept not him ſelfe (ſayd he) encloſed in his chamber, but frequented the multitude, and reioyced them with his preſence Ioan. 6.

and godly comfort. Theſe and the like ſentences tooke the ſayd Erle to be ſpoken in reproch of him, becauſe he kept him ſelf more cloſe & ſolitarie then many men wold haue wiſhed. After theſe things determination was taken, that the Erle of Arrane and Lord *Iames* with the men of warre, and ſome companie of horſemen, ſhould go to deſert & there lye to wait vpon the French, that they deſtroyed not the ſea coaſt, as they intended vtterly to haue done. The ſayd Erle and Lord *Iames* did as they were appointed, albeit their companie was verie ſmall', and yet they did ſo valiantly that it paſſed all credibilitie, for twentie & one dayes they lay in their clothes, their bootes came neuer of: they had skirmiſhing almoſt euerie day, yea ſome dayes from morning to night. The French were foure thouſand ſouldiers, beſides their fauourers and faction of the conntrey. The Lords were neuer together fiue hundred horſemen, with an hundred ſoldiers, & yet they held the Frēch ſo buſie, that for euerie horſe they ſlue to the congregation, they loſt foure French ſoldiers. *VVilliam Kirkcaldie* of Grainge, the day after that his houſe was caſt downe, ſending his defiaunce to *Monſieur Doſell*, and vnto the reſt, declaring that to this houre he had vſed the French fauourably, he had ſaued their liues, when that he might haue ſuffered their throtes to haue bene cut, but ſeeing they had vſed him with that rigor, let them not looke for the like fauour in times to come. And vnto *Monſieur Doſell* he ſayd, he knew that he ſhould not get him in skirmiſhing, becauſe he knew he was but a coward. But it might be that he ſhould quite him a common either in Scotland or elſe in Fraunce. The ſaid *VVillia Kirkcaldie* and the Maiſter of Lindſay eſcaped manie daungers. The maiſter had his horſe ſlaine vnder him,

him, the ſayde *William* was almoſt betrayed in his houſe at Halyards. But yet they neuer ceaſſed, but night and day they waited vpon the French. They layd them ſelues in a ſecret place with ſome gentlemen before the day to waite vpon the French, who vſed commonly to iſſue in companies to ſeeke their pray. And ſo came forth one Captaine *Batu* with his hundred, & began to ſpoile, whom the ſaid Maiſter, now Lord of Lindſay & the ſaid *William* ſuffred without declaration of them ſelues or of their companie, till that they had them more then a mile frō Kinghorne, & then began the horſemen to breake, which perceaued, the French altogether drue to a place called Glenniſh houſe, and made for debate, ſome tooke the houſe, other defended the court & yardes. The hazard appeared verie vnlikely, for our mē had nothing but ſpeares, & were compelled to light vpō their feet. The other were within diches, and euery man had caliuers, the ſhot was fearefull to many, & diuerſe were hurt, amongſt whom was *Robert Hammilton*, and *Dauid Kirkcaldie* brother to the ſayde Laird, who both were ſuppoſed to haue bene ſlaine, the ſayd Laird perceeuing men to faint and begin to recule, ſayd, fie, let vs neuer liue after this day, that we ſhall recule for French ſcybalds. And ſo the Maiſter of Lindſay & he burſt in at the gate, & ſo others followed. The Maiſter ſtroke with his ſpeare at *La Batu*, and glaſing vpon his harneſſe for feare ſtumbled almoſt vpon his knees. But recouering ſodenly he faſhioned his ſpeare, and bare the ſaid captaine backward, who becauſe he would not be taken, was ſlaine & fiftie of his companie with him. Thoſe that were in the houſe with ſome others were ſaued and ſent to Dondie to be kept. This miſchaunce to the French men, made them to be more circumſpect

The ſlaughter of a French captaine with his band.

in ſtraying abroade into the countrey, and ſo the poore creatures gate ſome reliefe. To furniſh them with victualles was appointed captaine *Culane* with two ſhippes, who traueiled betwixt the South ſhore and Kinghorne for that purpoſe. For his wages he ſpoiled Kinghorne, Kirkcaldie, and ſo much of Diſert as he might: for remedie whereof were appointed two ſhippes from Dundie, *Andrewe Sandes* a verie ſtout and feruent man in the cauſe of religion, was the principall. This ſame time arriued the Martickes, who without delay landed him ſelfe, the coffers and the principall gentlemen that were with him at Leith, leauing the reſt in the ſhippes till better oportunitie. But the ſayd *Andrewe* and his companion ſtriking ſayle, and making as they woulde caſt anker harde beſide them, bourded them both, and caried them to Dundie. In them were gotten ſome horſes and much harneſſe, with ſome other trifles, but of money we heard nought. Hereat the French offended, auowed the deſtruction of Sainct Andrewes and Dundie, and ſo vppon a Munday in the morning, the xxiij. of Ianuarie they marched from Diſert, and paſſed the water of Lewin, euer keeping the coaſt by reaſon of their ſhips & victuals, as ſayd is, about noone they eſpied ſhippes (which were ſeene that morning by vs that were vpoon the land, but were not known,) *Monſieur Doſell* affirmed them to be French ſhips, and ſo the ſoldiers triumphed, ſhot theyr Volay for ſalutation, and marched forward to Kingcraig fearing no reſiſtãce. But ſhortly after the Engliſh ſhips met with captaine *Culane* & ceazed him and his ſhips, which made them a litle to muſe. But ſuddenly came *M. Alexander VVoode*, who had bene vppon the Admirall, and aſſured *Monſieur Doſell* that they were Engliſh men, and that

that they were the forwarders of a greater number, that followed, who were ſent for ſupport of the congregation. There might haue bene ſeene the riuing of a bearde, and might haue bene hearde ſuch deſpite as cruell men vſe to ſpue foorth when God bridleth their furie. Wearineſſe and the night conſtrained them to lodge there. They ſupped ſcarſly, becauſe their ſhippes were taken, in the which were their victualles and ordinaunce, which they intended to haue placed in Sainct Andrewes. They themſelues durſt not ſtray abroade to ſeeke, & the Laird of Wemiſſe cariage which likewiſe was comming with furniſhing vnto them were ſtayed. And therefore betimes in the morning they retired towardes Kinghorne, and made more expedition in one day in returning, then they did in two in marching forward. The ſtorme which had continued neare the ſpace of a moneth, brake in the time of their returning: whereby manie thought they ſhould haue bin ſtayed till that reaſonable company might haue bin aſſembled to haue foughten with them. And for that purpoſe did *VVilliam Kirkcaldie* cut the bridge of Tullibody. But the French expert inough in ſuch feates, tooke downe the rouffe of a pariſh Church, and made a bridge ouer the ſame water called Douane and ſo they eſcaped, and came to Stirueling, and ſince to Leith, yet in their returne they loſt diuerſe, amongſt whom there was one whoſe miſerable end we may rehearſe. As the French ſpoyled the countrey in their returning, one captaine or ſoldier we can not tell, but he had a red cloke, & a gilt murriow, entred vpon a poore woman that dwelt in the white ſide, and began to ſpoile. The poore woman offred vnto him ſuch bread as ſhe had readie prepared. But he in no wiſe therwith content wold haue ỹ

meale and a litle ſalt beefe, which the poore woman had to ſuſtaine her owne life and the liues of her poore children, neither could teares nor pitifull wordes mitigate the mercileſſe man but he would haue whatſoeuer he might carie. The poore womã perceauing him ſo bent and that he ſtouped downe in her tubbe, for the taking forth of ſuch ſtuffe as was within it, firſt cowped vp his heeles ſo that his head went downe. And thereafter whether by her ſelfe or if anie other companie come to help her: but there he ended his vnhappie life, God ſo puniſhing his cruel heart, who could not ſpare a miſerable woman in that extremitie. Let all ſuch ſoldyers receaue ſuch reward, O Lord, ſeing that thou onlie art the reuenger of the oppreſſed.

And now becauſe that from this tyme foreward frequent mention wilbe made of the comfortable ſupport that we in our greateſt extremitie receaued by Gods prouidence from our neighboures of England, we thinke it expedient ſimplie to declare by what inſtrumentes that matter was firſt moued and by what meanes it came to paſſe that the Queene & counſell of England ſhewed themſelues ſo fauorable vnto vs.

The firſt letter to Sir VVilliam Cycill from the Lordes of the congregation.

THE contentes of a letter directed by you (right worſhipfull) to *Sir Harrie Percie* was notified vnto vs by *Maiſter Kirkcaldie* of Grange this ſonday the 26 of Iulie. By the which we perceaue that the ſaid Grange of zeale and faithfull hart which he beareth to the furtherance of this our great, & before the world daũgerous enterpriſe, hath trauelled

led with you,as with an vnfained fauorer of Chriſts trew religion and of the liberty of our countrey for knowledge of your mindes towards vs in caſe that we aſſaulted by anie forrayne inuaſion or greater power then we be well able to reſiſt. Your comfortable aunſwere to this queſtion we haue conſidered,to our ioye and comfort,as alſo your motions & what ye demaund. To wit,what the proteſtãts within this realme doe purpoſe,to what end we meane to direct our actions how we will,and how we be able to accompliſh the ſame, what doubtes we haue of anie aduerſarie power,& finallie in caſe that ſupport ſhould be ſent from you,what manner of amitie might enſew betwixt theſe two realmes &c. To the which in breefe we aunſwere,that our whole & onlie purpoſe(as knoweth God)is to aduaunce the glory of Chriſt Ieſus,the trew preaching of his Goſpell within this realme. To remoue ſuperſtition, & all ſort of external Idolatry,to brydle to our powers the furie of thoſe that heretofore haue cruellie ſhed the blood of our brethren, and to our vttermoſt to maintaine the liberty of this our countrey from the tyrannie and thraldome of ſtraungers,as God ſhall aſſiſt vs. How we be able to accompliſh theſe premiſes,is to vs vnknowẽ, only our hope is good,that he that hath begonne this good worke in vs,& hath by his power to this houre confounded the faces of our aduerſaries will performe the ſame to his glorie which chiefly we ſeeke in this our enterpriſe. Becauſe we ſuppoſe that neither our preſent daunger, neither yet the warlike preparation,which Fraunce maketh againſt vs are hidd from you,nor from the counſell,we omit that parte. As touching the aſſurance of a perpetuall amitie to ſtand betwixt theſe two realmes. As no earthlie thing of vs is more deſi-

Let the enemies ſay, if their hope be not fruſtrate.

red,ſo craue we of God to make vs the inſtruments by which this vnnatural debate which lōg hath cō-tinewed betwixt vs may once be compoſed, to the praiſe of Gods name & to the comfort of the faithfull in both realms. And if your wiſedomes cā foreſee and deuiſe the meanes and aſſurances how the ſame may be brought to paſſe,perſwade your ſelues not onlie of our conſent and aſſiſtance, but alſo of our conſtancie, as men may promiſe to our liues end.Yea farther of a charge and commandemēt by vs to be left to our poſterity,that the amitie betwixt vs(in God)contracted and begone may be by them kept inuiolate for euer. As for the reuolting from you to Fraunce which ye ſeeme to feare and ſuſpect at their pleaſure we vtterly abhorre that infidelitie: for now doth the voyce of God continuallie ſound in our eares, that ſuch as prophane the terrible and reuerent name of God ſhall not eſcape vengeance. Our confederacie, amitie and league ſhall not be like the pactions made by worldlie men, for worldlie profite, But as we require it for Godes cauſe, ſo will we incall his name for the obſeruation of the ſame. Moreouer if we ſhould lack anie thing to temporall commoditie,yet ſhold we neuer haue occaſion to returne to them. For we now perceaue and feele the weight of their yoke, and intend (by Goddes grace) to cut away ſuch inſtrumentes as by whome this realme was before abuſed. Trew it is,that as yet we haue made no mention of anie chaunge in authoritie, neither yet were we minded to do anie ſuch thing,till extreame neceſſitie compelleth vs thereto.But ſeing it is now more then euident, that France & the Queene Regent here with her prieſtes pretendeth nothing but the ſuppreſſing of Chriſts Goſpell,the ruine of vs,

and

and the ſubuerſion of this poore realme, cõmitting our innocencie to God, and vnto the iudgement of all godlie and naturall men. We are determined to ſeeke the next remedy: in which we hartely require your counſell and aſſiſtance. And this farre we haue enterpriſed to make you participant of our purpoſe, becauſe in the ſaid letters ye required of the ſaid *Maiſter Kirkcaldie* ſome farther aſſurance then his owne word or writing, which we doubt not but ye ſhal ſhortlie receaue, from moe then from vs. We dare not haſtelie make the aſſembly, neither of Nobles, neither of Barrons priuie in this cauſe, for daungers that may enſew by policie and craft of the aduerſaries. Your wiſedome, we doubt not will communicate theſe onelie with ſuch as ye know fauorers of ſuch a godlie coniunction. It ſhould much help in our opinion if the preachers both in perſwaſion, and in publike prayers (as ours doe here) would commend the ſame vnto the people. And thus after our humble cõmẽdacions to the Queens Maieſtie (whoſe reigne we deſire to be proſperous and long to the glorie of God and comfort of his Church) we hartelie commit you to the protection of the omnipotent. From Edinburgh the ſeuẽtenth of Iulie 1559.

Theſe letters were directed by *Alexander VVhitlaw* a man that oft had hazard him ſelfe, & all that he had for the cauſe of God, and for his friendes being in daũger for the ſame cauſe. Within a day or two after the departing of the ſaid *Alexander*, there came a letter from *Sir Harrie Perſey* to *Iohn Knox*, requiring him to meete him at Annick the 3 day of Auguſt for ſuch affaires as he would not wryte not yet cõmunicat with any, but with the ſaid *Iohn* him ſelf, while he was preparing him ſelf for the iourney

(for Secretarie *Cycill* had appointed to haue met him at Stampfoord) the Frēchmen furiouſlie came forth of Dumbare of purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed the Lordes being in Edinburgh, as in the ſecond booke before is declared, which ſtayed the iourney of the ſaid *Iohn* till that God had deliuered the innocents from that great daunger, and then was he hared of his companie. *Maiſter Robert Hammilton* miniſter of the Goſpell of Ieſus Chriſt directed from the Lords with ful commiſſion & inſtructions to expone their whole caſe and eſtate wherein they ſtoode. Their paſſage was from Pittenweame by ſea, they arriued at Holie Kland, and being aduertiſed that *Sir Harie Percey* was abſent from the North: They addreſſed themſelues to *Sir Iames Croſtes* then Captaine of Barwik, and warden of the Eaſt marches of Englād

Sir Iames Croſtes counſell.

They ſhewed vnto him their credit and commiſſion he receaued them gentilly and comforted them with his faithfull coūſell, which was that they ſhould trauell no farther, neither yet ſhould they be ſeene in publike and that for diuerſe conſiderations. Firſt the Queene Regent had her eſpyalls in England. Secondarilie, the Queene and the counſell that fauored our faction would that all thinges ſhould be ſecret ſo lōg as they might. And laſt ſaid he, I thinke it not expedient that in ſuch rarity of preachers, ye two be anie long time abſent from the Lordes. And therefore (ſaid he) ye ſhall doe beſt to commit to wryting your whole minde and credite, and I ſhall promiſe to you vpon my honour to haue aunſwere at you and at the Lords againe, before that ye your ſelues cā be at London. And where that your letters can not expreſſe al things ſo fullie, as your preſence could, I ſhall ſupplie the ſame, not onely by my pen but alſo by my owne preſēce to ſuch as wil informe the

the counſell ſufficientlie of all thinges. The ſaid *Iohn* and *Maiſter Robert* followed his counſell (for it was faithfull, and proceeded of Ioue at that time) they taryed with him verie ſecretly within the Caſtle of Barwike two dayes. In the which tyme returned *Alexander VVhytlaw* aforeſaid, with aunſwere to the Lordes and vnto *Iohn Knox*. The tenour of whoſe letter was this.

Maiſter Cycills letter to Iohn Knox.

Maiſter Knox. Non eſt maſculus neque fœmina, omnes enim vt ait Paulus, vnum ſumus in Chriſto Ieſu Benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino, & erit Dominus fiducia eius. I haue receaued your lettets at the ſame time that I thought to haue ſeene your ſelfe at Stā-ford. What is now hitherto the cauſe of your lette, I know not. I forbeare to diſcend to the bottome of thinges, vntill I may conferre with ſuch one as ye are. And therefore if your chaunce ſhalbe hereafter to come hither, I wiſh you furniſhed with good credite, and power, to make good reſolution. Although my anſwer to the Lords of the cōgregatiō be ſomewhat obſcure yet vpon farther vnderſtanding ye ſhall finde the matter plaine. I neede to wiſh you no more prudencie then Godes grace, whereof God ſend you plentie. And ſo I end, from Oxford the 28 of Iulie 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Yours as a member of the ſame bodie in Chriſte *M. Cycill.*

Albeit the ſaid *Iohn* receaued this letter at Barwike, yet would he anſwere nothing till that he had ſpoken with the Lordes, whom he found in Stirueling & vnto whome he deliuered the aunſwere ſent

from the counſel of England (for *Alexander VVhytlaw* tooke ſickneſſe betwixt Barwike and Edinburgh, and was troubled by the Lord *Seaton*, as in the former booke is declared) the anſwere ſent by *Maiſter Cyeill* was ſo generall, that many amongſt vs diſpaired of anie cõfort to come frõ that coũtrey. And therfore were determined that they would requeſt no farther. *Iohn Knox* laboured in the contrary, but he could preuaile no farther, but that he ſhould haue licence and libertie to wryte as he thought beſt, and ſo tooke he vpon him to aunſwere for all in forme as followeth.

Aunſwere to Maiſter Cycills writing.

TVVO cauſes impeded me (right worſhipfull) to viſite you in anie part in England. Former no ſignification of your minde and pleaſure was made vnto me, for onelie did *Sir Harrie Percie* will me to come and ſpeake with him, which conuenientlie at that time I could not doe, by reaſon that the Frẽch men (which was the ſecond cauſe of my ſtay) did then moſt furiouſlie purſue vs, while our companie was diſperſed, and then durſt I not be abſent for diuerſe inconueniences, neither did I thinke my preſence with you greatlie neceſſarie conſidering that the matter (which I moſt deſired) was opened and proponed. To the which I would haue wiſhed that a more plaine and eſpeciall aunſwere ſhould haue bene made. For albeit *Maiſter VVhytlaw* by his credite *Maiſter Kirkcaldy* by his lettre and I both by lettres & by that which I had receaued from *Sir Iames Croſtes* did perſwade your good mindes, yet could not the counſell be otherwayes perſwaded: but that this alteration in Fraunce had altered your former

purpoſe

purpoſe. It is not vnknowen what fauor we three do beare to England. And therefore I wiſh that rather your pen, then our credit or any thing written to anie of vs, ſhould aſſure the Lordes, and others of your good minds (who are now in number but fiue hundreth.) Vnleſſe that money be furniſhed without delay to pay the ſouldiers for their ſeruice paſt, & to retaine another thouſand footmen, with three hundred horſemen till ſome ſtay be had in this danger, theſe gentlemen wil be compelled to leaue the fieldes. I am aſſured as fleſh may be of fleſh, that ſome of them will take a verie harde life before that euer they compone, either with the Queene Regent, either yet with Fraunce. But this I dare not promiſe of all, vnleſſe in you they ſee greater forwardneſſe. To ſupporte vs will appeare exceſſiue, and to breake promiſe with Fraunce will appeare daungerous. But the loſſe of expences in mine opinion ought not to be eſteemed from the firſt payment, neither yet the daunger from the firſt appearance. Fraunce is moſt feruent to conquere vs, and auoweth that againſt vs they will ſpende their crowne. (So did mine owne eares heare *Butteau Conts* bragge) but moſt aſſuredly I knowe, that vnleſſe by vs they thought to make an entreſſe to you, that they woulde not buy our pouertie at that price. They labour to corrupt ſome of our greate men by money (and ſome of our number are poore, as before I wrote, and can not ſerue without ſupporte) ſome they threattened, and againſt others they haue rayſed vp one partie in their owne countrey. In this meane time, if ye lye by as neutralles what will be the ende you may eaſilie conjecture. And therefore Sir, in the bowelles of Chriſt Ieſus, I require you to make plaine aunſwere, what

the gentlemen here may truſt to, and what the Queenes Maieſtie will do, may without long delay be put in execution. Reſt in Chriſt Ieſus. Of Sainct Iohnſton the day of &c.

Aunſwer with great expedition was returned to this letter, deſiring ſome men of credit to be ſente from the Lordes to Barwicke for the receauinge of the money for the firſt ſupport, with promiſe that if the Lordes of the Congregation, meant no otherwiſe then before they had written, and if they would enter into league with honeſt conditions, they ſhold neither lacke men nor money to their iuſt cauſes. Vppon this aunſwere was directed from the Lordes to Barwicke *Maiſter Henrie Balnaues* a man of good credit in both the realmes. Who ſuddenly returned with ſuch a ſumme of money as ſerued all the publike affayres til Nouember next when *Iohn Cokburne* of Ormeſton, ſent for the ſeconde ſupport, and receauing the ſame, vnhappily fell into the handes of the Earle *Bothwell*, was wounded, taken, and ſpoyled of a great ſumme, vpon which miſchaunce followed all the reſt of our troubles before rehearſed. In the ſeconde booke preceading we haue declared howe Secretarie *Lethington* was directed to England. But one thing before we haue paſſed by, in that our greateſt deiection this order was taken. That the Dukes grace, the Erle of Glencarne, Lord *Boyd*, Lord *Vchiltrie*, and their friendes ſhould remaine together at Glaſgow for comfort of the coũtrey, and for giuing of aunſwers, as occaſion ſhould require, & that the Erle of Arrane the Lord *Iames*, the Erle of Rotheſſe, the Maiſter of Lindſay & their adherentes ſhould continue together within Fyfe for the ſame cauſes. That aduertiſements might go, from the one to the other as neede required. In the negotia-

negotiation of the Secretarie *Lethington*, with the Queene and Counſell of England (in which he trauelled with no leſſe wiſedome and faithfulneſſe, thé happie ſucceſſe) many things occurred that required the reſolution of the whole Lords. Amõg which this was one, whereof before no mention is made. After that the Queene & Counſell of England had concluded to ſent their armie to Scotland for expelling of the French. The Duke of Norfolke was ſent to Barwicke with full inſtructions, power and commiſſion to do in all thinges concerning the preſent affaires of Scotland, as might the Queene & counſell in their owne perſons do. Hereupon the ſayde Duke required ſuch a part of the Lords of Scotland as had power and commiſſion from the whole, to meete him at ſuch day and place as pleaſed them to appoint. This aduertiſment came firſt to Glaſgow by the meanes of the Maiſter of Maxwell, which read and conſidered by the Lords, concluſion was taken that they would meet at Carleil, and that was the procurement of the ſayd Maiſter of Maxwell for his eaſe. Herupon were letters directed from the Lords being in Glaſgow, to Lord *Iames* requiring him with all poſſible expedition to repaire towardes them for the purpoſe aforeſayd. Which letters read and aduiſed vpon, commaundemẽt was giuen to *Iohn Knox* to make the aunſwer. For ſo it was appointed at the diuiſion of the Lords, that he ſhould aunſwer for the part of thoſe that were in Fyfe, & *M. Henry Balnaues* for the part of them that abode at Glaſgow. The ſaid *Iohn* aunſwered as followeth.

To the Lord Dukes grace and the Lords at Glaſgow.

AFTER humble commendation of my ſeruice, albeit I haue written ofter then once to *Maiſter*

Henrie Balnaues what thinges haue miſliked me in your ſlowe proceedinges, as well in ſupporting your brethren, who manie dayes haue ſuſtained extreme daunger in theſe partes, as in making prouiſion howe the enemie might haue bene annoyed, who lay in fewe number nigh to your quarters in Stirueling. And in making likewiſe prouiſion howe the expectation of our friendes, who long haue awayted for your aunſwer might haue bene ſatisfied. Albeit (I ſay) that of theſe thinges I haue before complained, yet of verie conſcience I am compelled to ſignifie vnto your Honours, that vnleſſe of theſe and other enormities I ſhall eſpie ſome redreſſe, I am aſſured, that the end ſhall be ſuch, as godly men ſhall mourne, that a good cauſe ſhall periſh for lacke of wiſedome and diligence. In my laſt letters to *Maiſter Henrie Balnaues*, I declared that your eſpeciall friends in England wonder that no greater expedition is made, the weight of the matter being conſidered. If the faulte be in my Lorde Duke and his friendes, I wrote alſo that the greateſt loſſe ſhould be his and theirs in the ende. And nowe I can not ceaſſe both to wonder and lament that your whole counſell was ſo deſtitute of wiſdome and diſcretion, as to charge this poore man the Priour to come to you to Glaſgow, and thereafter to go to Carleill for ſuch affaires as are to be intreated. Was there none amongſt you who did foreſee what inconueniences might enſue his abſence from theſe partes? I ceaſſe to ſpeake of the dangers in the enemy. Your friends haue lyen in your hauen nowe fifteene dayes paſt, (what was their former trauell it is not vnknowen) they haue neuer receaued comfort of any man (him onely excepted) more then if they had lyen vppon the coaſt of their mortall enemie. Do ye not conſi-

der

der that such a companie shall neede comforte and prouision from time to time? Remoue him and who abideth there ẏ carefully will trauell in that or anie other weightie matter in these parts? Did ye not further cõsider that he ẏ had begun to meddle with the gentlemen, who haue declared them selues backefriends heretofore, and also that order would haue bin taken for such as haue bin neutrale, now by reason of his absence the one shall escape without admonition, and the other shall be at their former liberty. I am assured that the enemie shall not sleepe, neither in that nor other affaires to vndermine you & your whole cause, & especially to hunt this part of the countrey, to reuenge their former folly. If none of these former causes should haue moued you to haue considered that such a iourney (at such a time) was not meete for him, neither yet for them that most accompanie him: yet discret men would haue considered that the mẽ that haue lyen in their iacks and trauelled their horses continually the space of a moneth, required some longer rest, both to them selues, but especially to their horses (before they had bene charged to such a iourney) then yet they haue had. The Priour may for satisfaction of your vnreasonable mindes enterprise the purpose, but I am assured he shall not be able to haue sixe honest men in all Fyfe to accompany him, and howe that either standeth with your Honoures, or with his safetie iudge ye your selues. But yet wonder it is, that ye did not consider, to what paine and griefe shall ye put our friends of England, especially the Duke of Norfolke and his counsell, whom ye shall cause to trauell the most wearisome and troublesome way that is in England. In mine opinion whosoeur gaue you that counsell either lacked right iudgement in things to

be done or elſe had too much reſpect to his owne eaſe, and too ſmall regard to the trauaile and daunger of their bretheren. A common cauſe requireth a common concurrance, and that euerie man beare his burden proportionablie. But prudent and indifferent men eſpie the contrarie in this cauſe, eſpecially of late dayes, for the weakeſt are moſt grieuouſlie charged, and they to whom the matter moſt belongeth, and to whom iuſtly greateſt burthen is due are exempted in a manner, both from trauaile and expences. To ſpeake the matter plainely, wiſe men doe wonder, what my Lorde Dukes friendes doe meane that they are ſo ſlacke and backewarde in this cauſe. In other actions they haue bin iudged ſtout and forwarde, and in this which is the greateſt, that euer he or they had in hand, they appeare deſtitute both of grace and of courage. I am not ignoraunt that they that are moſt inward of his counſell, are enemies to God, and therefore can not, but be enemies to this cauſe. But wonder it is, that he and his other friendes ſhould not conſider, that the loſſe of this godly enterpriſe, ſhall be the rootinge out of them and their poſteritie from this realme. Conſidering my Lordes, that by Gods prouidence, ye are ioyned with the Dukes grace, in this common cauſe, admoniſh him plainely of the daunger to come, will him to beware of the counſell of thoſe that are plainely infected with ſuperſtition, with pride, and with the venome of particular profite. Which if he doe not at your admonition, he ſhall ſmart before he be ware: and if ye ceaſſe to put him in minde of his duety, it may be that for your ſcilence ye ſhall drink ſome portion of the plague with him. Take my plaine ſpeaking as proceeding from him, that is not your enemie, being alſo vncer-

taine

taine, when I ſhall haue occaſion to write hereafter. God the Father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt aſſiſt you with the ſpirite of wiſedome and fortitude, that to his glorie, and to your Lordſhippes common comfort ye may perfourme that thing which godly was once begun. Amen. From Sainct Andrewes the vj. of Februarie in haſt. 1559.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Your Lordſhips to commaund
in godlineſſe *I. K.*

Vpon the receipt of this letter, and conſultation had thereupon, new concluſion was taken. To wit, that they would viſite the ſayde Duke of Norffolke at Barwicke where he was. Thus farre haue we digreſſed from the ſtile of the hiſtorie, to let the poſteritie that ſhall followe vnderſtand by what inſtrumentes God wrought the familiarity and friendſhip that after we found in England. Now we returne to our former hiſtorie.

The partes of Fyfe ſet at freedome from the bondage of theſe bloudie wormes, ſolemne thankes were giuen in Sainct Andrewes vnto God for his mightie deliuerance. Shortly after the Earle of Arrane and Lord *Iames* apprehended, the Lairdes of Weames, Seafield, Bawgony, Durie & others that aſſiſted the French, but they were ſet ſhortly at freedome vpon ſuch conditions, as they minded neuer to keepe, for ſuch men haue neither faith nor honeſtie. Maiſter *Iames Balfour* who was the greateſt practizer and had drawen the bande of the *Balfoures*, eſcaped. The Engliſh ſhips dayly multiplied till that they were able to keepe the whole fyrth, wherat the French and Queene Regent enraged, began to execute their tyranny vpon the partes of Lowthiane that lay nigh to Edinburgh. Let *M. Dauid Borthwicke*

witneſſe what fauour his wife and place of Adeſton found of the French for all the ſeruice that he made to the Queene Regent.

In the middeſt of Februarie were directed to Englande, from the Dukes grace and the congregation, the Lorde *Iames*, Lorde *Ruthuen*, the Maiſter of Maxwell, the Maiſter of Lindſay, *Maiſter Henrie Balnaues*, & the Laird of Pittarrow. Who with their honeſt companies and commiſſion departed by ſea all except the Maiſter of Maxwell to Barwicke. Where there mette them the Duke of Norffolke, Lieutetenant to the Queenes Maieſtie of Englande, and with him a great companie of the gentlemen of the North, with ſome alſo of the South, hauing full power to contract with the Nobility of Scotland as they did vpon ſuch conditions, as are in the ſame contract ſpecified, and becauſe we haue hearde the malicious tongs of wicked men make falſe report of that our fact, we haue faithfully and truly inſerted in this our hiſtorie the ſaid contract, as well that which was made at Leith during the ſiege, as that which was firſt made at Barwicke, that the memory therof may abide to our poſteritie, to the ende that they may iudge with indifferencie, whether that we haue done anie thing preiudicial to our common wealth, or yet cõtrarious vnto the dutifull obedience which true ſubiects owe to their ſuperiours. Whoſe authoritie ought to defend and maintaine the liberty & freedom of the realmes committed to their charge: and not to oppreſſe and betray the ſame to ſtraungers. The tenor of our contract followeth.

The Contract at Barwicke.

IAMES Duke of Chattellarault, Erle of Arrane, Lorde *Hammilton*, ſeconde perſon of the realme of Scotland, and apparant to the crowne, the counſell,

ſell, Nobilitie, and principall eſtates of the ſame. To all and ſundrie whoſe knowledge theſe preſentes ſhall come greeting. We haue well conſidered and be fully perſwaded, in what daunger, deſolation, and miſerie the long enimitie with the kingdome of Englande hath brought our countrey heretofore: how wealthie and flouriſhing it ſhall become, if thoſe two kingdomes, as they be ioyned in one yland by creation of the worlde, ſo may be knitte in a conſtant and aſſured friendſhip. The conſiderations grounded vppon a moſt infallible trueth, ought no leſſe to haue moued our progenitours and forefathers then vs. But the preſent daunger hanging ouer our heades by the iniuſt dealing of thoſe, of whome we haue alwayes beſt deſerued, hath cauſed vs to weigh them more earneſtly then they did. The misbehauiour of the French monſters here, hath of late yeares bene ſo great. The oppreſſions and cruelkie of the ſouldiers, the tyrannie and ambition of their ſuperiours and rulers ſo grieuouſe to the people, the violent ſubuerſion of our libertie, and conqueſt of the lande, whereat they haue by moſt craftie and ſubtill meanes continually preſſed ſo intollerable to vs all, that at laſt when we coulde not obtaine redreſſe by humble ſutes and earneſt ſupplications preſented to the Queene *Dowager*, who both for dueties ſake, and place ſhe doth occupie, ought to haue bene moſt carefull of our eſtate, we haue bene by verie neceſſitie conſtrained not only to aſſay our owne forces, but alſo to implore the Queenes maieſtie of Englands aide and ſupport, which her maieſtie hath moſt gently graunted, vpon certaine couenauntes ſpecified in a treaty paſt at Barwick betwixt the Duke of Norfolks good grace, Lieuetenaunt to her Maieſtie, on that

one part, & certaine our cõmiſſionars on the other part whereof the tenour followeth. At Barwike the 27 day of February the yeare of our Lord God 1559 yeares: it is appointed and finallie contracted betwixt the noble and mightie prince *Thomas* Duke of Northfolk, Erle Marſhall of England, and Lieuetenant to the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie of the ſaid Realme, in the North, in the name and behalfe of her highnes on the one parte, and the right honorable *Lord Iames* ſteward. *Patrike Lord Ruthvē*, *Sir Iohn Maxwell* of Terregles knight, *VVilliã Maitland* of Lethington younger, *Iohn VViſchart* of Pittarrow, & *Maiſter Henrie Balnaues* of Halhill, in name and behalfe of the noble and mightie Prince *Iames* Duke of Chattellarault ſecõd perſon of the realme of Scotland, and the Remanent Lordes of his parte ioyned with him in this cauſe, for maintenance and defence of the auncient rightes and liberties of their countrey on the other parte in forme as after followeth. That is to ſay, that the Queenes Maieſtie hauing ſufficientlie vnderſtood, aſwell by information ſent from the Nobilitie of Scotland as by the proceedinges of the French, that they intend to conquere the Realme of Scotland, ſuppreſſe the libertie thereof, and vnite the ſame vnto the crowne of Fraunce perpetuallie, cõtrarie to the lawes of the ſame realme, and the pactes, othes and promiſes of Fraunce. And being thereto moſt humblie, and earneſtlie required by the ſaid Nobilitie: for, and in the name of the whole realme ſhall accept the ſaid realme of Scotland the ſaid Duke of Chattellarault being declared by act of Parliament in Scotland to be heyre apparant to the crowne thereof, and the nobilitie and ſubiectes thereof into her Maieſties protection and maintenance, onlie for preſeruation

of

of the ſame, in their owne freedomes & liberties, & from cõqueſt during the time that the mariage ſhal continew, betwixt the Queene of Scottes and the Frẽch King, and a yeare after. And for expelling out of the ſame realme of ſuch as preſently & appearãtly, goeth about to practiſe the ſaid conqueſt, her Maieſtie ſhal with all ſpeed ſend into Scotland a cõuenient aide of men of warre on horſe and foote to ioyne with the powre of Scottiſh men with artillerie munition and all other inſtruments of warre mete for that purpoſe, as well by ſea as by land not onlie to expell the preſent power of French within that realme oppreſſing the ſame, but alſo to ſtoppe as farre as conuenientlie may be all greater forces of French to enter therein, for the like purpoſe, and ſhall continew her Maieſties aide to the ſaid realme Nobilitie and ſubiectes of the ſame vnto the tyme the French (being enemies to the ſaid realme) be vtterlie expelled hence, & ſhall neuer tranſact cõpone nor agrie with the French, nor conclude anie league with them, except the Scottes and the Frẽch ſhalbe agreed, that the realme of Scotland may be left in a dew freedome by the Frẽch, nor ſhall leaue the maintenance of the ſaid Nobilitie, and ſubiectes whereby they might fall as a pray into their enemies hands, as long as they ſhall acknowledge their Soueraigne Ladie and Queene, and ſhall endeuor their ſelues to maintaine the libertie of their countrey and the eſtate of the crowne of Scotland. And if in caſe anie forts or ſtrengthes within the realme be wonne out of the handes of the French at this preſent, or at anie time hereafter by her Maieſtie aide, the ſame ſhalbe immediatlie demoliſhed by the Scottiſhmen or deliuered to the ſaid Duke and his partie aforeſaid at their option and choyſe, nei-

ther ſhall the power of England fortifie within the ground of Scotland being out of the bounds of England but by the aduiſe of the ſaid Duke nobilitie & eſtates of Scotland. For the which cauſes and in reſpect of her Maieſties moſt gentle clemencie and liberall ſupport, the ſaid Duke and all the nobilitie, aſwell ſuch as be now ioyned, as ſuch as ſhall hereafter ioyne with him for defence of the liberty of that realme ſhall to the vttermoſt of their power aide and ſupporte her Maieſties armie againſt the French and their partakers with horſemen & footmen and with victualls by land and by ſea & with all manner of other aide to the beſt of their power, and ſo ſhall continew during the time that her Maieſties armie ſhall remaine in Scotland.

Item they ſhalbe enemies to al ſuch Scotiſh mé and French as ſhall in anie wyſe ſhew themſelues enemies to the realme of England, for the ayding and ſupporting of the ſaid Duke & Nobilitie to the deliuerie of the realme of Scotland from conqueſt. Item they ſhall neuer aſſent nor permitte that the realme of Scotlād ſhalbe cōquered, or otherwayes knit to the crowne of France, then it is at this preſent: onelie by mariage of the Queene their Soueraigne to the Frēch king, & by the lawes and liberties of the realme as it ought to be. Item in caſe the French men ſhall at anie time hereafter inuade or cauſe to be inuaded the realme of England, they ſhall furniſh the number of two thouſand horſemen and one thouſand footmen at the leaſt or ſuch part of either of thé at the charge of the Queenes Maieſtie of England, & ſhall conduct the ſame to paſſe from the bordors of Scotland, next England, vpon her Maieſties charges, to anie part of the realme of Englād for defence of the ſame. And in caſe the inuaſion

uaſion be on the North partes of England on the North parte of the water of Tyne towards Scotland or againſt Barwike on the North ſide of the water of Tweid. They ſhall conuent & gather their whole forces vpon their owne charges, & ſhall ioyne with the Engliſh power, & ſhall continew in good & earneſt purſuite of the quarrell of England during the ſpace of thirtie dayes or ſo much longer as they were accuſtomed to tarie in the fieldes for defence of Scotland. At the commandement of their Soueraignes at anie time bypaſt: & alſo the Earle of Argyle: Lord Iuſtice of Scotlād being preſently ioyned with the ſaid Duke ſhall employ his force & goodwill where he ſhalbe required by the Queenes Maieſtie to reduce the North partes of Ireland to the perfit obedience of England conforme to a mutuall & reciproque contract to be made betwixt her Maieſties Lieuetenant or Deputie of Ireland being for the time, and the ſaid Earle: wherein ſhalbe contained what he ſhall doe for his parte & what the ſaid Lieuetenant or Deputie ſhall do for his ſupport, in caſe he ſhall haue to do with *Iames Mackconneill* or any others of the yles of Scotlād or realme of Irelād For performance & ſure keeping wherof, they ſhall for their part come to the ſaid Duke of Northfolk, the pledges preſently named by him, before the entrie of her Maieſties Armie in Scottiſh groūd to remaine in Englād for the ſpace of ſix moneths & to be ther exchanged vpon deliuerance of new hoſtages of like or as good cōdition as the former or being the lawfull ſonnes, brethren or heyres of any of the Earles or Barrones of Parliament, that haue or hereafter ſhall ſhew themſelues & perſiſt open enemies to the French in this quarrell, and ſo forth from ſix moneths to ſix moneths, or foure moneths

to foure moneths, as ſhall beſt pleaſe the partie of Scotland. And the time of cõtinuance of the hoſtages ſhalbe during the mariage of the Queene of Scottes to the French king and a yeare after the diſſolution of the ſaid mariage vntill farther order may be had betwixt both the realmes for peace and concord. And furthermore the ſaid Duke and all the Nobilitie being Earles and Barrons of Parliament ioyned with him ſhall ſubſcribe and ſeale theſe Articles and comptes within the ſpace of 10 or thirtie dayes at the vttermoſt next following the day of the deliuering of the ſaid hoſtages, and ſhall alſo procure and perſwade all others of the Nobilitie that ſhall ioyne themſelues hereafter with the ſaid Duke for the cauſe aboue ſpecified, likewiſe to ſubſcribe and ſeale thoſe Articles, at anie time after the ſpace of twentie dayes after their coniunction vppon requiſition made by them on the partie of the Queenes Maieſtie of England. And finally the ſaid Duke and the Nobilitie ioyned with him certainly perceauing that the Queenes Maieſty of England is thereunto moued onelie vpon reſpect of princelie honour and neighbourhead, for defence of the freedome of Scotland from conqueſt, and not of anie other finiſter intent, doth by theſe preſentes teſtifie and declare that they nor anie of thé meane by this compt to withdraw anie dew obedience to the Soueraigne Lady the Queene nor in anie lawfull thing to withſtand the French king her huſband & head, that during the mariage ſhall not tend to the ſubuerſion and oppreſſion of the iuſt & auncié̋t liberties of the ſaid kingdome of Scotland. For preſeruation wherof both for their Soueraigns honor and for the continuance of the kingdome in auncient eſtate they acknowledge themſelues bound

bound to ſpend their goodes, landes, and liues. And for performance of this preſent cõtract for the part of England, the Queenes Maieſtie ſhall confirme the ſame, and all clauſes therein contained by her letters patentes vnder the great zeale of England to be deliuered to the Nobilitie of Scotland vppon the entereſſe of the pledges aforeſaid, within the groũd of England. In witnes wherof the ſaid Dukes grace of Northfolk hath ſubſcribed theſe pointes & thereunto affixed his ſeale the day yeare and place aforeſaid. Which contract we find honeſt reaſonable and that our ſaid commiſſionars therin had cõſideratly reſpected the cõmon wealth of this realme of vs, and our poſteritie. And therefore doe ratifie allowe, confirme & approue the ſame with all clauſes and Articles therein contained by theſe preſẽts. In witnes hereof to the ſame ſubſcribed with our hands our ſeales of Armes in ſuch cauſes accuſtomed are appended. At the campe before Lieth the 10 day of May the yeare of God 1560 yeares.

Follow the ſubſcriptions.

The ſubſcriptions.

The Duke of Chaſtellarault.
Earle of Arrane.
Earle of Glencarne.
Earle of Rotheſſe.
Earle of Argyle.
Earle of Huntlie.
Earle of Morton.
Earle of Menteth.

Lord Ogilbye.
Lord Iames ſteward.
Alexander Gordon.
Lord Boyd.
Lord Vchiltrie.
Gawin Hammilton of Kilwinning.
Abbot of Cultroſſe.
Lord Borthwike.
Lord of Sainct Iohn.
Lord Iohn Abirbrothok.
Lord Simmerwaile.
Lord Roberts ſteward.
Abbot of Kynloſſe.
Iames Steward of Sainct Colmes Inche.

The inſtructions giuen, ſubſcribed, to the ſaid Commiſſioners following.

1 AND for the firſt, if it ſhalbe asked of you, by the ſaid Dukes grace, and others the Queenes maieſties appointed Commiſſioners, if our pledges be in readineſſe, ye ſhall anſweare that they are. And in S. Andrewes the 24 of this inſtant, & ſhalbe readie to deliuer in hoſtage for ſecuritie of our promiſes and part of contract, they offering and making ſecuritie for their part by the Queenes Maieſties ſubſcription & great ſeale, and deliuering the ſame vnto you. Prouiding that they chooſe & make their election of the pledges as is commoned.

2 Secondlie, if the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall demaunde of you, what enterpriſe the armie of England ſhall take in hand at their firſt incomming: Ye ſhall anſwere in general, the expulſion of the french ſouldiers foorth of this realme. And firſt and in eſpeciall foorth of the towne of Leight, ſeeing their great forces are there.

3 Item, if it ſhalbe asked of you, at what place our friends and brethren of England ſhalbe met, and at what day, what number, and what noble men in cõpanie, ye ſhall referre all theſe things to their election and choiſe.

4 Item, if it ſhall be asked of you, how the armies ſhalbe furniſhed with victuals, and eſpeciallie the horſemen: Ye ſhall anſweare, that with their aduiſe ſufficient order ſhalbe taken therein.

5 Item, if it be required how the munition ſhall be carried, and oxen furniſhed to that effect: You ſhal anſweare, as we haue giuen in commiſſion to Lethington which we ratifie.

Item,

Item, if it ſhalbe asked, who ſhalbe Lieuetenant to the army of Scotland? ye ſhall aunſwere my Lorde Dukes grace. 6.

Itē if it ſhalbe enquired, what number our whole armie extendes to? ye ſhall aunſwere, they will be God willing fiue thouſand men. 7.

Item if it ſhall be asked, what maner of way Leith ſhall be aſſaulted? ye ſhall deſire all preparations to be in readineſſe, and the aduiſe to be taken after the placing of the armies, and viewe of the ſtrength ſhortly. 8.

Item if it ſhall be asked of the Caſtle of Edinburgh, if they will ſtande friendes or not? ye ſhall declare our diligence made, and to be made ſhortly herein, but for the preſent can aſſure them of nothing. 9.

Item if it be asked, in caſe the Caſtle be enemie, where the armie ſhall be placed? ye ſhall aunſwer, for the firſt in Muſchilbrough and Tranent & thoſe partes, till the batterie and all preparations be in readineſſe. 10.

Item in caſe it be enquired of all by lyers, and in eſpeciall of my Lorde of Huntlie and the North? ye ſhall aunſwere in generall. A good hope is had of the moſt parte thereof, and touching my Lorde of Huntlie in eſpeciall; ye ſhall ſhewe howe he hath ſente writinges to my Lorde of Arrane, with a ſeruant of credite, to aſſure him of his aſſiſtance. And for that cauſe hath deſired letters of ſuſpenſion of the Queene *Dowagers* commiſſion to be ſente to him to be vſed in thoſe partes, and other letters to arreſt the Clergies rentes and hires, both in thoſe partes, with proclamations to cauſe all men to be in readineſſe to paſſe forwards for maintayning of the religion, and expulſing of ſtraun- 11.

gers. My Lorde hath written to him, that he may come to him in proper perſon: wherof the aunſwer is not returned as yet.

12 Item if it ſhall be asked the place and manner of meeting of our folks, or of vs and them, in caſe Stirueling be kept, we refer the aunſwer hereof to your diſcretions.

13 Item if it ſhall be asked, that their leaden money ſhall haue paſſage for their neceſſities? ye ſhall reaſon the commoditie & diſcommoditie thereof with the Comiſhall.

14 Item if it ſhalbe asked what pioners ſhall be had? ye ſhall aunſwer, the number being expreſſed, and money in readineſſe to ſell them, they ſhall haue ſufficiencie.

15 Item if they ſhall deſire that we declare our cauſes vnto the Princes of Almaigne and the king of Denmarke deſiring their aſſiſtance: ye ſhall aunſwer that we thinke the ſame good and ſhall ſpeedily take order therewith.

16 Item if it ſhall be deſired of you to confirme for vs and in our name the thinges paſt and graunted by our former commiſſioner, the young Lairde of Lethington? ye ſhall in all pointes for vs, and in our name confirme the ſame, ſo farre as it ſhall make either for the weale and coniunction of the two realmes, or this preſent cauſe, or yet for the ſecuritie of our parte for fulfilling of the ſame. And as ye ſhall accept their offers tending to the ſame ende: and ſuch ſecuritie on that parte as ye may purchaſe, and eſpecially ſuch as we haue heretofore exprimed. Giuen at Glaſgow the tenth of Februarie 1559.

17 Item we giue and graunt you full power to augment or diminiſh their ſayd heads and articles, as ye thinke

thinke the weale of the cauſe ſhall require in all points. *Sic ſubſcribitur.*

Iames Hammilton.
Iohn of Menteth. *Alexander Gordon.*
Andrewe of Rotheſſe. *Alexander Argile.*
R. Boyd. *Glencarne.*
VVillia Murray of Tulibarn. *Vchiltrie.*
Iohn Erskin of Dun. *Iames Haliburntoun.*

Shortly after this contract were our pledges deliuered to *Maiſter VVinter* Admirall of the nauie, that came to Scotland, a man of great honeſtie, ſo farre as euer we could eſpie in him: who were ſafely conueighed to Newcaſtell, and ſo the Engliſh armie by land began to aſſemble towardes the border. Whereof the French and Queene Regent aſſured, they begā to deſtroy what they could in the townes and countrey about: for the whole victualles they caried to Leith, the milles they brake, the ſheepe, oxen and kine, yea the horſes of poore labourers all made they to ſerue their tyrannie. And finally they left nothing, which the verie enemies coulde haue deuiſed, except that they demoliſhed not gentlemens houſes, & burnt not the towne of Edinburgh. In which point God bridled their furie, to let his afflicted vnderſtand that he tooke care for them. Before the comming of the lande armie, the French paſt to Glaſgow and deſtroyed the countrey thereabout. What tyrannie the Martickes vſed vppon a poore Scottiſh ſouldier it is fearefull to heare, and yet his fact may not be omitted. Siluer woulde they geue none to the poore men, and ſo were they ſlowe to depart out of the towne. For albeit the drumme ſtroke, the enſeigne could not be gotten. There was a poore crafts man, who had bought for his victualles a browne loafe, and was eating

a morſell of it, and was putting the reſt of it into his boſome. The tyrant came to him, and with the poore caitifes owne dagger firſt ſtroke him in the breaſt, and after caſt it at him, and ſo the poore man ſtaggering and falling, the mercileſſe tyrant ranne him through with his rapier, and thereafter commaunded him to be hãged ouer the ſtayre. Lord thou wilt looke and recompence ſuch tyrannie, how contemptible ſo euer the perſon was.

The ſecond of Aprill the yeare of our Lord, 1560 the armie of the land entred into Scotland, the cõducting whereof was committed to the Lord *Grey*, who had in his companie the Lorde *Scrope*, *Sir Iames Croſtes*, *Sir Henrie Percie*, *Sir Frauncis Lake*, with manie other captaines and gentlemen, hauinge charge ſome of footmen, & ſome of horſemen. The armie by land was eſteemed ten thouſand men. The Queene Regent paſt to the caſtle of Edinburgh, & ſome others of her faction. At Preſton met them the Dukes grace, the Erle of Argile (Huntly came not till that the ſiege was confirmed) Lorde *Iames* the Erle of Glencarne, and Menteth, Lords *Ruthuē*, *Boyd*, *Vchiltrie*, with all the Proteſtantes, gentlemen of the Waſt, Fyfe, Anguſt, and Mearnes, ſo that for fewe dayes the armie was great. After the deliberation of two dayes had at Eureske, the whole camp marched forwarde with ordinaunce, and all preparations neceſſarie for the ſeige, and came to Reſtalrige vppon the Palme Sunday euen. The French had put them ſelues in battell array vppon the Linkes without Leith, and ſente foorth theyr skirmiſhers, who beginning before ten of the clock, continued skirmiſhing till after foure of the clocke at after noone, when there was giuen vppon them a charge by ſome horſemen of Scotlande, and ſome of

of England. But becauſe the principall captaine of the horſemen of England was not preſent, the hole troupes durſt not charge, and ſo was not the ouerthrowe and ſlaughter of the French, ſo greate as it once appeared to haue bene. For the great battell was once at the trote, but when it perceaued that the great force of horſemen ſtoode ſtill, and charged not: they returned and gaue ſome reſcue to their fellowes that fledde: and ſo there fell onely in that defaulte about three hundreth Frenche men. God would not geue the victorie ſo ſuddenly, leſt that man ſhould glorie in his owne ſtrength. The ſmall victorie that was gotten, put both the Engliſh and Scottiſh in ouer greate ſecuritie, as the iſſue declared. The French encloſed within the towne, the Engliſh armie beganne to plante their pauillions betwixt Leith and Reſtalrige. The ordinaunce of the towne, and eſpecially that which laye vppon Sainct Anthonies ſteeple, dyd them greate annoyaunce, againſt which place were bent eyght cannons, which ſhot ſo continuallie and ſo iuſt, that within fewe dayes that ſteeple was condemned, and all the ordinaunce that was on it diſmounted, which made the Engliſh men ſomewhat more negligent, then it became good men of warre to haue bene. For perceauing that the French made no purſute without their walles, they tooke an opinion that they would neuer iſſue more, and that made ſome of the captaines for paſtime to go to the towne. The ſoldiers for their eaſe layd their armoure beſide them, and as men without daunger fell to the diſe and cardes, and ſo vpon the Eaſter Munday at the verie houre of noone, the French iſſued both vppon horſe and foot, and with greate violence entred within the Engliſh trenches,

ſlue and put to flight all that was founde therein. The watch was negligently kept, and ſo were the ſuccours ſlowe and longe in comming. For the French before that anie reſiſtaunce was made vnto them, approched hard to the great ordinaunce, but then the horſemen trouped together, and the footemen gat them ſelues in arraye, and ſo repulſed the French backe againe to the towne, but the ſlaughter was greate, ſome ſay it double exceeded that which the French receaued the firſt day. And this was the frute of their ſecuritie and ours, which after was remeadied. For the Engliſh men moſt wiſely conſidering them ſelues not able to beſiege the towne round about, deuiſed to make mounts at diuerſe quarters of it, in the which they & their ordinaunce lay in as good ſtrength, as they did within the towne. The common ſouldiers kept the trenches, and had the ſayd mountaines for their ſauegard and refuge in caſe of any greater purſute then they were able to ſuſtaine. The pacience and ſtout courage of the Engliſhmen, but principallie of the horſmen is worthie of all praiſe. For where was it euer hard that eight thouſand (they neuer exceeded that number that laye in campe) ſhould beſiege foure thouſande of the moſt deſperate throte cutters that were to be founde in Europe, and lye ſo nigh vnto them in dayly skirmishing the ſpace of three moneths and more? The horſemen night and day kept watch, and did ſo valiauntly behaue them ſelues, that the French gate no aduauntage from that day backe to the day of the aſſault, whereof we ſhall ſhortly heare. In this meanetime was this other band made of all the Nobilitie, Barrons and gentlemen profeſſinge Chriſt Ieſus in Scotlande, and of diuerſe others that ioyned with vs, for

expelling

expelling of the French, amongeſt whome the Earle of Huntley was the principall. The bande followeth.

The laſt bande at Leith.

AT Edinburgh the ſeuen and twentie of Aprill, the yeare of our Lord 1560. yeares, we whoſe names are vnderwritten, haue promitted and obliſt our ſelues faithfully in preſence of God, and by theſe preſentes doe promiſe that we altogether in generall, and euerie one of vs in ſpeciall by him ſelfe, with our bodies, goodes, friendes, and all that we may doe, ſhall ſet forwarde the reformation of religion, according to Gods worde, and procure by all meanes poſſible, that the trueth of Gods worde may haue free paſſage within this realme with due adminiſtration of the Sacramentes, and all thinges depending vpon the ſayd word, and ſuch like, deeply weying with our ſelues the misbehauiour of the French miniſters here, the intollerable oppreſſion committed by the French men of warre vppon the poore ſubiectes of this realme, by maintenaunce of the Queene *Dowager*, vnder colour and pretence of authoritie. The tyrannie of their captaines and leaders, and manifeſt daunger of conqueſt, in which this countrey preſently ſtandeth, by reaſon of diuerſe fortifications vpon the ſea coaſt, and other nouelties of late attempted by them. Promiſing that we ſhall euerie one, with other as well as all together with the Queene of Englandes armie, preſently come in for our deliueraunce effectually concurre, ioyne together take and holde one playne parte for expulſion of the ſayd ſtraungers, oppreſſours of our libertie foorth of this realme, and

recouerie of our auncient freedomes and liberties, to the ende, that in time comminge, we may vnder the obedience of the Kinge and Queene our Soueraignes be onely ruled, by the lawes and customes of the countrey, and borne men of the lande, and that neuer one of vs shall haue priuie intelligence, by writinge, message or communication with anie of our sayde enemies or aduersaries in this cause, but by the aduise of the rest. (at least of fiue) of the counsell. Againe, that we shall tender the common cause, as if it were the cause of euerie one of vs in particular. And that the causes of euerie one of vs nowe ioyned together, beinge lawfull and honest, shall be all our causes in generall, and that he that is enemie to the causes aforesayde, shall be enemie to vs all, in so farre that what so euer person will plainely resist these our godly enterprises, and will not concurre as a good & true member of this common wealth, we shall fortifie the said authoritie of the Comishall to reduce them to theyr duetie, like as we shall fortifie the sayd authoritie of the Counsell, in all things tendinge to the furtheraunce of the sayde causes. And if anie particular debate, quarrell, or controuersie shall arise for what so euer cause that is past, present or to come, betwixt anie of vs (as God forbid) in that case, we shall submitte our selues and our sayde questions, to the decision of the counsell, or to arbitratoures, to be named by them &c. Prouidinge alwayes that this be not preiudiciall to the ordinarie iurisdiction of Iudges, but that menne maye pursue theyr actions, by order of Lawe ciuillie or criminallie as it pleaseth them.

Now hereupon came the pursute.

This Contract and bande came not onelie

to

to the eares, but also to the sight of the Queene *Dowager*, whereat she stormed not a little, and saied, The malediction of God I giue vnto them that counsailed me to persecute the Preachers, and to refuse the petitions of the best part of the true subiects of this realme: It was said to me, that the english armie could not lie in Scotland ten daies, but now they haue line neare a moneth, and are more like to remaine, then they were at the first day that they came. They that gaue information to the Q. spake as worldlie wise men, and as things appeared to haue been: for the countrie being almost in all the partes thereof wasted, the victuals next adiacent to Leith, either brought into their prouision or els destroied: the milles and other places as before is said, being cast downe, it appeared that the camp could not haue been furnished (except it had been by their owne shippes, and as that coulde not haue beene of anie long continuance, so shoulde it haue been nothing comfortable.) But God confounded all worldlie wisedome, and made his owne benediction as euidentlie to appeare, as if in a manner he had fed the armie from aboue. For all kinde of victual there was more aboundant, and more easie prices in the camp all the time that it lay, after that eight daies were past, then either they haue beene in Edinburgh anie of two yeeres before, or it hath been in that towne to this day the 20. of May, Anno 1566.

The daughter will not take example by the mother.

The people of Scotlande so muche abhorred the tyrannie of the Frenche, that they woulde haue giuen the substaunce that they had to haue been rydde of that chargeable burthen, which our sinnes had prouoked GOD to lay vppon vs, in deliuering and giuing into the handes of a

woman, whom our nobilitie in their fooliſhnes ſold vnto ſtraungers, and with her the libertie of this realme. God for his great mercies ſake, preſerue vs yet from farder bondage, in which we are like to fal if he prouide not remedie. For our nobilitie will yet remaine blinde ſtill, and will follow their affection, come after what ſo may. But to returne to our hiſtorie. The camp abounding in all neceſſarie prouiſion, order was taken for confirmatiõ of the ſiege: and ſo the trenches were drawen as neer the towne as poſſiblie they might. The great camp remoued from Reſtalrige to the Weſt ſide of the water of Leith, And ſo were the Cannons planted for the batterie, and did ſhoote at the South Weſt wall. But by reaſon all was earth, the breache was not made ſo great vpon the day, but that it was ſufficientlie repaired vpon the night, wherof the Engliſh mẽ beginning to be weary, determined to giue the breach an aſſault, as that they did vpon the ſeuenth day of May, beginning before the day light, and continued till it was nigh 7. a clock. And albeit that the Engliſh and ſcottiſh with great ſlaughter of the ſouldiers of both were repulſed, yet was there neuer a ſharper aſſault giuen of ſo few handes. For they exceeded not a thouſand mẽ, that aſſaulted the whole two quarters of the towne, and yet they dampned the whole blockehouſe, yea they once put the French cleane of their walles, and were vpon both the Eaſt and Weſt blockhouſe, but they lacked backing, for their ſcales lacked ſixe quarters of the iuſt height. And ſo while the former were compelled to fight vpõ the top of the wall, their fellowes could not ioyn to ſupport them, & ſo were they by multitude driuẽ back again, whẽ it was once thought that the towne was woon. *Sir Iames Croſis* was blamed of many

The aſſault of Leith the 7. of May 1560.

many for not doing his dutie that day, for hee was appointed with a ſufficient number of the moſt able men, to haue aſſaulted the North Weſt quarter vpon the Sea ſide, where at a low water (as at the time of the aſſault it was) the paſſage was eaſie. But neither he nor his approched to their quarter appointed. He had before at their firſt comming in ſpoken with the Queene Regent, at the faire blockhouſe of the caſtell of Edinburgh. Whether ſhe had inchanted him or not, we know not but by ſuſpition of that day, in which he deceaued the expectation of manie, and ſo farre as man could iudge, was the cauſe of that great repulſe: for ſome aſcribed the ſhortnes of the ladders to him. But that omitted which might haue proceeded of negligẽce, his abſence from the purſuit of this quarter, was the cauſe that ſuche French as were appointed there to defend, ſeeing no purſuer came to the releefe of their fellowes, & ſo they two ioyning togeather, with great ſlaughter gaue the repulſe to our companie. The Frenche mens harlots, of whom the moſt part were Scottiſh whores, did no leſſe crueltie, than did the ſouldiers: For beſides that they charged their peeces, and miniſtred vnto them other weapons, ſome continuallie caſt ſtones, ſome carried chimnayis of burning fire, ſome brought timber and other impedimentes of weight, which with great violence they threw ouer the wall vpon our men, but eſpeciallie whẽ they began to turn backe. Now albeit in all this wee acknowledge the ſecret worke of God, who by ſuche meanes would beat downe aſwell the pride of England, as of Scotland, yet neither ought the feeblenes nor falſhood of man be excuſed, nether yet the crueltie of the aduerſaries concealed. The Queene Regent ſate all the time of the aſſault (which was

both terrible and long) vpō the fore wall of the caſtel of Edinburgh, and when ſhee perceiued the ouerthrow of vs and that the enſignes of the French were againe diſplaied vppon the walles, ſhe gaue a gawfe of laughter, and ſaid: Now will I goe to the Maſſe, and praiſe God for that which my eies haue ſeen. And ſo was Frier *Black* ready for that purpoſe whom ſhe herſelfe a litle before had deprehended with his harlot in the chappel. But whoredome & idolatrie agree wel together, & that our court can witneſſe this day, the 16. of May, 1566. The French proude of the victorie, ſtripped naked all the ſlaine, and laid their dead carkaſſes before the hot Sunne along their wall, where they ſuffered thē to lie more daies then one: vnto the which when the Queene Regent looked for mirth, ſhe hopped, and ſaid: yonder are the faireſt rapeſtrie that euer I ſaw. I would that the whole fields that is betwixt this place and you were ſtrowed with the ſame ſtuffe: this fact was ſeen of all, and her words were hard of ſome, & miſliked of many. Againſt the which *Ioh. Knox* ſpake opēlie in pulpit, & boldlie affirmed that God ſhould reuenge that contumelie done to his image, which onlie in the furious and godleſſe ſouldiers, but euen in ſuch as reioyced thereat. And the verie experience declared that hee was not deceaued. For within few daies after (yea, ſome ſay, that ſame day) began her bellie and lothſome legs to ſwell, and ſo continued till that God did execute his iudgement vpon her, as after we ſhall heare.

The inhumanitie of the mercileſs French.

The Queen Regents cruel heart.

The default reuealed, it was fullie perſwaded to the Queene Regent & her faction, that the ſiege would riſe, and that the Engliſhe armie woulde depart. And ſo beganne the Papiſts wonderouſlie to brag: and yet God did fruſtrate their expectation: for

for the armie concluded to remaine, till new aduertiſement came from the Queene and Counſaile.

The Duke of Norfolke, who then lay at Barwike, commaunded the Lord *Gray* to continue the ſiege, and promiſed that he ſhould not lacke men ſo long as anie were to bee had betwixt Trent and Twead, for ſo farre was he Lieuetenant: he farther promiſed his owne preſence in caſe hee ſhould be required, and for aſſurance thereof, hee ſent his owne Pallions, ſuch as ſeldome before had been ſeene in Scotland, with his officers and prouiſion. And with expedition were ſent two thouſande freſhe men, whereby the campe greatlie comforted, began to forget the former diſcomfiture, and to ſuſtaine the dailie skirmiſhing as the did before: in the which the French after the day of the aſſault did euer receaue the hurt, and the repulſe, as the ſlaughter of manie that came to the Cockill raik did witneſſe. The greateſt damage that either Engliſhe or Scottiſh receaued, after that day was the ſlaughter of two Gentlemen, the one maſter of houſhold to my Lord *Iames Robert Colwin* of Clief, a man ſtowt, modeſt, and wiſe, who was ſhotte in the thigh with a Falcon, or Harquebute of Croke and ſo departed the miſerie of this life within two houres after. The other was *Alexander Lockars* brother to the Laird of Barr, who raſhlie diſcouering himſelf in the trenches was ſhot in the head, and immediatelie thereafter departed this life. While the ſiege thus continued a ſodaine fire chaunced in Leith which deuoured manie houſes, and muche victuall, and ſo beganne God to fight for vs, as the Lorde *Erſkin* in plaine wordes ſaied to the Queene Regent. Madame (quoth hee) I can ſee no more, but ſeeing that men may not expell iniuſt poſſeſſors foorth of

The cõfortable letter of the Duke of Norfolk.

this land, God himselfe would doe it. For your fire is not kindeled by man: which wordes offended the Queene Regent not a little (whose sickneſſe daylie increasing) great craft she vſed, that *Monſieur Doſell* might haue beene permitted to haue ſpoken with her, belike she would haue bidden him farewel (for their old familiaritie was great) but that denied, she writ as it had been to her ſurgeon and Apothecarie, ſhewing her ſicknes, and requiring ſome dregs: The letter being preſented to the Lord *Gray*, he eſpied the craft, for few lines being written aboue, & ſo much white paper left, he ſaid, drugs are aboundaunt and freſher in Edinburgh, then they can be in Leith. There lurketh heere ſome other miſterie, and ſo he beganne to trie, and beholding the paper to the fire, hee perceiueth ſome writing appeare, and ſo began he to reade, but what it was no other man can tell, for immediatlie hee burnt the bill, and ſaid to the meſſenger: albeit I haue beene her ſecretarie, yet tell her I ſhall keep her counſaile, but ſay to her ſuch wares wil not ſell till a new market. The anſweare receaued, ſhe was nothing content, and then trauelled ſhee earneſtlie that ſhee might ſpeak with the Earles *Argile*, *Glencarne*, *Merſhall*, and with the Lord *Iames*. After deliberation it was thought expedient, that they ſhould ſpeak with her, but not all togeather, leaſt that ſome part of the *Guiſianes* practiſe had lurked vnder the colour of ſuch friendſhip. Her regrate was vnto them all, that ſhe had behaued her ſelfe ſo fooliſhlie, as that ſhee had compelled them to ſeeke the ſupport of others, then of their owne ſoueraigne, & ſaid that ſhe ſore repented that euer it came to that extremitie: but ſhe was not the wight, but the wicked couſail of her friends on the one part, and the Earle of *Hunley* on the

the other: for if hee had not been, ſhee woulde haue fully agreed with them at their commoning at Preaſton: They gaue vnto her both the counſaile and the comfort which they could in that extremitie, and willed her to ſende for ſome godlie learned man, of whom ſhee might receaue inſtruction, for theſe ignorant Papiſts that were about her vnderſtoode nothing of the miſterie of our redemption. Vpon their motion was *Iohn VVillock* ſent for, with whō ſhe talked a reaſonable ſpace, & who did plainly ſhew vnto her as well the vertue & ſtrēgth of the death of Ieſus Chriſt, as the vanitie and abhomination of that idol the Maſſe: She did openlie confes that there was no ſaluation but in and by the death of Ieſus Chriſt, but of the Maſſe we heard not her confeſſion. Some ſay ſhe was annointed of the Papiſticall maner, which was a ſigne of ſmall knoweledge of the truth, and of leſſe repentaunce of her former ſuperſtition: yet howſoeuer it was, Chriſte Ieſus gate no ſmall victorie ouer ſuche an enemie. For albeit before ſhe had avowed, that in deſpite of all Scotland, the Preachers of Ieſus Chriſte ſhould either die or be baniſhed the realme: yet was ſhee compelled not onlie to heare that Chriſt Ieſus was preached, and all idolatrie openlie rebuked, and in manie places ſuppreſſed: but alſo ſhe was conſtrained to heare, one of the principall miniſters within the realme, and to approue the chiefe head of our religion wherein we diſſent from all Papiſts and papiſtrie. Shortlie thereafter ſhe finiſhed her vnhappy life, vnhappie we ſay to Scotland frō the firſt day ſhe entered into it, vnto the day that ſhe departed this life, which was the nienth day of Iune, in the yere of God 1560. yeeres. God for his great mercies ſake rid vs from the reſt of the Guiſiane blood. Amen

The death of the Q. Regent.

Amen. For of the tyrannie of the Guiſiane blood In her, that for our vnthankfulneſſe now reigneth aboue vs, we haue had ſufficient experience. But of anie vertue that euer was eſpied in king Iames the fift (whoſe daughter ſhe is called) to this houre wee haue neuer ſeen anie ſparkle to appeare.

Vpon the ſixteenth day of Iune, after the death of the Queene Regent, came in Scotland *Monſieur Randam*, and with him the Biſhop of *Valance* in commiſſion from Fraunce, to intreate of peace: from England there came, *Sir VVilliam Cicil* chiefe ſecretarie, & *Doctor VVitton*. Their negotiatiõ was longſome: for both England & we fearing deceit, ſought by all meanes that the contract ſhould be ſure. And they on the other part, meaning to gratifie ſuch as had ſent them (who meant nothing but meere falſhood) protracted time to the vttermoſt: yea while that thoſe of Leith were verie ſcarce of victual, and thoſe of the Inch had periſhed, had not beene that by pollicie they gate a ſhip with victuals, and ſome munition, which was vpon midſommer euen, whereof they made no ſmall triumph, which alſo for a ſeaſon ſtaied the appointment, yet in the end peace was concluded in forme as followeth.

The Articles tranſlated and agreed by the reuerent father in God, Iohn Biſhop of VVallance, and Monſieur Randam deputies to the King and Queen of Scotland, vpõ the matters preſented to them, by way of petition, for the part of Nobilitie and people of Scotland.

IN the firſt, vpon the complaint and petition of the ſaid Nobilitie, and the people of this countrie and the number of men of warre ſuſtained by their Maieſties in their parties in the time of peace. It is humblie

humblie requeſted to the ſaid Deputies, that they would prouide conuenient remedie thereupon to the comfort and reliefe of the countrie. The ſaide Deputies conſidering the ſaide deſires to be iuſt,& conformable to reaſon,conduced concord, and affirmed that the king and queen ſhould procure no Frenchmen of warre,nor no other nation to come to their partes in time comming. But if ſtraungers woulde pretend, to enter into this realme with an Nauie or armie to occupie the ſame: In the which cauſe prouiſion ſhalbe made by their Maieſties,the iudgement & counſaile of the eſtates of the realme being had thereto,and that the Frenchmen of war beeing nowe in the towne of Leith, ſhall be ſent to France the ſame time,that the Nauie and Army of Engliſhmen and Scottiſh men bee ſcattered & departed both by ſea and land,the which ſhalbe done in the beſt maner may be,as at more large conſideration ſhalbe had thereupon, & as to the bands of Scottiſh men of warre,beeing at the ſaid place,they ſhalbe broken,& the men of war licenſed to depart. Moreouer,as to the forts of Dumbar,& in ſuch that there ſhall remaine in them,an 120. Frenchmen of warre onlie,which ſhalbe parted and diſtributed in their two places, and there ſhall remaine no more in Dumbar,but threeſcore men of warre, ſo it be not affirmed by the captaines chooſing to that effect by both the parties,that for the keeping of the ſame, any greater number is not needfull: alſo to depart when the eſtates of the realme can finde anie good and ſure remedie vppon the expenſes made in the ſaide places to keepe the ſame from peryll of inuaſion or depriuation thereof from them that woulde pretende to occupie the ſame,they ſhall immediatelie ſhew the ſame vnto

their maieſties as haſtilie as may be doone: and in the meane time the number of the ſaid men of warr ſhall not be augmented. And in like maner, it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaid men of warre, to doe anie iniuries to any perſons, nor yet to maintaine and defend any Scottiſhe men of what qualitie ſoeuer they be of, againſt the will & authoritie of the Magiſtrates of the realme, nor to receaue them in the ſaid places that the miniſter of iuſtice may not put hands on them, nor yet ſhall intromit with them anie maner of way, with the quarrels and diſcorder of the Lords, or other particular men of this realm. But they themſelues ſhalbe bounde in caſes of anie quarrell to be puniſhed after the lawes & cõſtitutions of this realme, & to anſwere for thẽſelues afore the iudges ordinaries of the ſame. Laſt of all that from hence forth they be not compelled to take on credite, they ſhalbe euerie moneth ſatisfied of their wages ſo that two Scottiſhe Lordes choſen by the counſaile may preſent it, at Waponſhawing & muſters of the ſaid men of warre, and alſo to viſite the ſaid forts to ſee if the number of them be liked, and it ſhall not be lawfull to the ſaid men of war to take anie victuals for their ſuſtentation, for munition of the ſaid places, but by paiment of readie money numerate, and with the pleaſures of them that deliuereth the ſame vnto them: And therefore the ſaide Lordes oblißhe them to giue them ſo muche as is needefull vnto them, they hauing to pay therefore.

Item vpon the petition preſented vnto the ſaide Lords deputies, anenſt the demolitiõ of the fortifications, the ſaid deputies conſent, concord, and affirme, that the fortification of Leith ſhalbe demoliſhed, and that two, three, or foure captaines ſhall be

be choſen by both the parties to view the caſtell of Dunbar, and if it be found by them that the reparation, amplification, and fortifiyng made thereof now after the peace, greater number of men to the keeping thereof is required, the reparation & fortification thereof ſhall be demoliſhed, ſo ſoone as may be done, and ſhall remaine onely vntouched that thing while we may make the ſaid caſtell more ſure, and in leſſe daunger from inuaſion. Prouiding not the leſſe that no greater number of men therein be required for keeping of the ſame. Moreouer in times cumming the King and Queene ſhal make no moe new forts within this realme: and ſhall not augment them, that are els made, nor ſhall repaire them that are demoliſhed without counſaile and conſent of the eſtates: nor yet ſhall tranſport to their parts, any artillerie, munition of warre, powder, or victuals, but ſo muche as may ſerue for keepingof the ſaid places by the ſpace of ſix moneths, or a yeare.

Item anenſt the petition made about the debtes contracted to the French men of warre in this cõtrie, the ſame concordeth that the king and Queen ſhall cauſe to be reſtored, all that which happeneth to be found, giuen and graunted to the kings Lieuetenant and his captaines and other officers for the nourriſhment, ſuſtentation and maintenance of the ſaid French mẽ: for that which is found ought to be the Lieuetenauntes for ſeruice of his Maieſtie that may appeare by writing or confeſſion of parties.

Itẽ, vpon the petition made anenſt the cõuentiõ of eſtates of this realm. The ſaid deputies cõſented concorded &c. that the eſtates of the realme may conueane and hold parliament the 20. day of the moneth of Iuly next to come, vppon the which day

the parliament ſhalbe continued as the vſe is, vnto the firſt day of the month of Auguſt folowing. Prouiding alwaies that before they begin to entreat of any thing in the ſaid parliament, al tumult of warre be diſcharged, and ceaſe, that they that are preſent may be free without feare of men of war or others and that in this meanetime a meſſenger bee ſent by the ſaid Deputies to the king and queen, to certifie them of the things agreed, treated, & concorded, requeſting their Maieſties humblie to be contented with the ſame. And the ſaid conuentiõ ſhall be as lawful in all reſpects as the ſame had byn ordained & don by expreſſe commandement of their maieſties. Prouiding that no matter bee treated therein before the ſaid firſt day of Auguſt.

Item, vpon the article preſented concerning war & peace, the ſaid deputies conſented, cõcorded, & that the king & queen neither make peace nor war in their parts, but by the counſail, iudgement, & conſent of the eſtates, according to the ordinãce of the countrie, & as was obſerued by their predeceſſors.

Item, vpõ the petitiõ preſented to the ſaid deputies concerning the gouernment & regimẽt of the pollicie, they haue conſented, &c. that 24. worthie mẽ of this realm be choſen by the three eſtates of the which the king & the Q. ſhall chooſe 7. & the eſtates 5. which in their Maieſties abſence ſhall take order, & make one ordinarie councell for the adminiſtration foreſaid, So that no man of whatſoeuer qualitie hee bee, ſhall haue the power to order any thing to be done touching the ſaid buſineſſe without the mediation, authoritie, & conſent of thẽ ſo that the ſaid councellors ſhall conuene together as oft as they may, but they ſhal cõuene no leſſe nor ſix together. And whẽ any matter of importãce occur-

curreth, they ſhall al be called to conſult, or take order by thé, or the moſt part of thé if need be, & if it happen any of the ſaid 7. choſen by the king & Q. to deceaſe, their Maieſties ſhall chooſe an other foorth of the ſaid nũber of 24. in the place of him ỹ deceaſed. And if any of the ſaid 5. choſen by the eſtates dieth, the rẽnant forechoſẽ by thé ſhal name another of the number of 24. Moreouer, if it bee thought expedient to the ſaid eſtates that other 2. be augméted to the ſaid nũber of 12. Then and in that cauſe, the K. and Q. ſhall chooſe one, & the eſtates an other, & ſo was this article agreed vnder conditiõ: that is to ſay, that the ſame be no prejudice in times comming to the king & queene, and rites of the crowne. And the ſaid deputies offered their labors to make mediation to the king and Q. for mainetaining penſions & expenſes of the ſaide counſailors & ordinarie officers of the ſaid coũcel to be prouided of the rẽts & reuenewes of ỹ crown.

Item, vpon the petition made to the ſaid Deputies anenſt the officers of this realm, they conſented and concorded, &c. that in time to come the king and queene ſhall not depute any ſtraunger in the adminiſtration of the ciuil and common iuſtice and likewiſe in the office of Chauncerie, keeper of the ſeal the Treaſurer. Cõtrouler, & euery like offices, & ſhall not vſe them, but ſhall be content with their own ſubiects born in the realm. Moreouer, it ſhall not be lawfull to put the office of Treaſurie, Controuler, in the hands of any church man, or other which are not able to exercile, the ſaide offices, the which Treaſurer and Controuler, ſhall be prouided of ſufficiẽt cõmiſſiõ to vſe the ſaid offices. But it ſhall not be lawfull to them to diſpone or ſell wards of mariages, or other caſualties, or any other

things whatſoeuer they be pertaining to their offices without counſaile or conſent of the ſaid councell: to that effect that the councell may know that all thinges be doone to the profite of the King and Queene, and yet they will not bind or aſtrict the K. or Queene to this article, that they may not giue when they think expedient.

Item, they concorded, that in the firſt conuention & parliament of the eſtates of this realme, there ſhalbe cõſtituted, ordeined & eſtabliſhed a lawe obliuiõ which afterward ſhalbe cõfirmed by the kings & Queenes Maieſties, by the which all remẽbrãce of bearing of armour, and other thinges whiche haue been done ſhalbe buried and forgotten from the ſixt day of the moneth of March, in the yere of our Lord God 1558. yeres: and by the ſame lawe they which haue gainſaid the lawes of the realme, ſhal be excuſed and free of all paines contained therin, ſuch like as though it neuer had been gainſaied. Prouiding that the priuiledge of the ſaid law be not extended to them which the eſtates of the realme ſhall iudge vnworthie thereof.

Item it is agreed and concluded, that in the ſaid conuention or Parliament, the eſtates of the realm, as the vſe is, and of the maner is required, ſhall bee called, in the which all they that haue vſed to conueane and be preſent, may come without all feare or force done, or to be done to them by any perſon ſo that the ſaid eſtates ſhall obliſh them, that where in time comming anie ſedition or conuention of menne of warre ſhall happen to bee without commaunde of the councell, beeing of the number of twelue, the realme and countrie ſhall repute the cauſers thereof, and they that conuene as rebelles, and ſhall purſue them as ſuch like, that they may be

puniſhed

punished by the lawes of the realme, so that the K. and Queene shall not be compelled in time comming to send any men of warre straungers in their parts, for obteining of due obedience of their subiects.

Item, they offered, concorded and agreed, that there shall be generall peace and reconciliation amongst all Lordes and subiectes of this realme, so that they that are called of the congregation, and they which are not of the same shall put no reproch to others for the things which are done frō the said 6. day of March. 1558.

Item, they offered, concorded and affirmed, that the king and queene shall not pursue, reuenge, nor make anie persecution of the things that haue byn doone, nor yet shall they suffer the same to be done by their subiectes Frenchmen, but shall haue all thinges in obliuion, as the same had neuer beene done. And suche like the Lordes of this realme of Scotland shall do of all businesse betwixt them and the Frenchmen on their partes: and if by siniſter information, or any other occasion, their Maiesties haue conceaued euill opiniō against their subiects, they shall vtterlie forget and change the same: nor they shall not depriue anie of them, nor deuide any of them, or of their subiects, of the offices, benefices or estates which they haue brooked in the said realme before: by reason any thinges they haue medled with, frō the said 6. day of March 1558. And further shall make no occasion of depriuation, nor deponing of thē by any other colour without cause but rather they shall esteem and treat them in time comming, as good and obediēt subiects. Prouiding that the said Lords and other subiects on their part make to their Maiesties all obedience such like, as

other faithfull and naturall ſubiects owe to their ſoueraignes.

Item, it is concorded and agreed, that it ſhall be lawful to none of the Lords of the nobilitie of Scotland or anie other to make conuocation of men of warre, but in the ordinarie cauſe approued by the lawes and cuſtome of the realme, and yet none of them ſhal cauſe anie men of war ſtrangers to come to their partes: and much leſſe ſhall attempt to doe anie thing againſt the king and Queene, or againſt the authoritie of the councell, & other Magiſtrates of the realme: and they which haue preſented the petitiō ſhalbe bound therunto. And in cauſe any of them, or others find occaſion to inuade or take armour againſt anie man as he pretendeth, after that he hath cōmunicated the matter with the councell of the realme, he ſhall preſent his cōplaint to their Maieſties, & generallie they ſhall obliſh thē vnder the ſaid paines, to doe the things which pertaineth to good and faithfull ſubiects, for the quietnes and tranquilitie of the realme, and rights of their ſoueraigne.

Item, it is agreed, &c, that if any Biſhops, Abbots, or other church men, ſhall find or alledge them to haue receaued any iniuries, either in their perſons or goods, the plaint ſhalbe ſeen, and conſidered by the eſtates of the ſaid conuention and parliament: and there ſhalbe made redreſſe, as they ſhall finde according to reaſon, and in the meane time no mā ſhall ſtop them, but they ſhall bring their goods, nor ſhall doe anie hurt, iniurie or violence to them, and if any doth contrauene to this article, he ſhall be purſued by the Lords as a perturber of a good cō-mon weale.

Item, it is concorded, &c. that the ſaide Lordes

ſhall

ſhall binde them to obſerue, and cauſe to bee obſerued, all and ſundrie pointes and articles agreed in this treatiſe, and if it happen that any of them or any other woulde gainesay the ſame, the remanent Lords and reſidue of the whole people ſhall be enemies to him, & ſhall purſue him till he be chaſtized, and puniſhed according to his demerits.

Ité it is concluded &c. That all the whole realme may know that the King and Queene are not willing to keepe any remembrance of the troubles and differences paſt, and ſo farre as concernes the Nobilitie and other ſubiectes of this realme. That their Maieſties deſire to treate them humanely and to be fauourable vnto them. The ſaid deputies haue promiſed and concorded that the Duke Chattellarault and all other noble men of Scotland ſhall be remitted and put againe in all their goods and benefices, which they had and enioyed in Fraunce, that they may brooke and enioy the ſame, in the ſame maner as they did before thoſe debates the ſayd ſixt day of March, and yeare aforeſaid, euen as the ſaid controuerſies had neuer chaunced. And alſo that all capitulations and articles agreed vpon in times paſt, & ſpecially thoſe that were appointed in the King and Queenes contract ſhall be obſerued and kept, aſwell for the part of their Maieſties, as for the part of the Nobilitie and people of Scotlande. And as concerning *Dauid* ſonne to the ſaid Duke of Chattellarault nowe being in Bryſſe de Vincent, libertie ſhall be graunted vnto him to returne to Scotland and to do as he pleaſeth. Moreouer when the ſayd deputies exponed that ſome time it might chaunce, that the King might miſſe of his great gunnes and artillerie in France, the ſayd Lords hauing conſideratiõ therof, concorded that no other artillerie be tranſlated

out of this realme, but thoſe which were ſente and brought in from the ſaid day of the deceaſe of Francis king of Fraunce of good memorie to theſe parts. And that all other artillerie and munition be reponed into the places where they were taken forth, & in ſpeciall that hath the armes of Scotland ſhall be put into the places where they were taken foorth of. And there ſhall be Noble men of Scotland therfore, and two for the part of the kings Maieſtie, as to the deputies to acknowledge the ſame afore the ſhipping thereof.

And moreouer, that where for the parte of the Nobilitie and people of Scotlande certaine articles concerning the religion and other points were preſented, which the ſayde deputies would not touch, but conſidering the weight and importance of them remitted the ſame to be acknowledged and decided by their Maieſties. The ſayd Lords and Nobility do promiſe, that a certaine number of Noblemen ſhold be choſen in the next conuention and Parliament to be ſent to their Maieſties, which ſhall expone to their Highneſſe thoſe thinges that ſhall be thought needfull for the eſtate of their buſineſſe, and for the fore mentioned, and other articles and points vndecided by the ſayde deputies, to the effect that they may know their Maieſties intention & beneuolence vpon thoſe thinges which ſhall be exponed for the part of the countrey, the which alſo ſhall haue with them a confirmation and ratification by the eſtates of the realme, of thoſe articles which are concorded and agreed by the ſayd deputies, to whome alſo the ſame time or before ſhall be giuen and deliuered, & like confirmation & ratification made by their Maieſties, ſo being that the ſayd eſtates ſend their ratification aforeſayd.

The

The proclamation of the thinges abone written, made the viij. day of Iuly the yeare of God 1560.

TO the louing and moſt puiſſant Lord and comfort of all Chriſtians, the moſt puiſſant Prince and Princeſſe, and moſt Chriſtian King & Queene *Frances* and *Marie*, by the grace of God King and Queene of Fraunce and Scotland, and by the moſt puiſſaunt Princeſſe *Elizabeth* by the ſame grace, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland &c. It is concorded, and reconciliation of peace and amitie made, which is to be obſerued inuiolablie amongeſt them their ſubiectes, realmes and ccuntreyes. For as much as in name of the ſayd Prince & Princeſſe it is commaunded and ſtraightly charged to all maner of perſons vnder their obedience, or being in their ſeruice, from henceforth to deſiſt from all hoſtilitie both by ſea and land, and to keepe a good peace the one with the other, & with charge to the breakers vnder their great perill.

Theſe things tranſacted, and the peace proclaimed, as ſayd is, ſuddaine prouiſion was made, for tranſporting of the French to Fraunce, of whome the moſt part were put in the Engliſh ſhips, who alſo caried with them the whole ſpoyle of Leith: & that was the ſeconde benefite which they receaued of their late promiſed liberty, the end wherof is not yet come. The Engliſh army departed by lād the 16. day of Iuly, the yeare of God 1560. years. The moſt part of our Nobilitie Proteſtants honorably conueighed them (as in verie deede they had well deſerued) But Lord *Iames* would not leaue the Lord *Gray* with the other Noble men of England, till that they entred into Barwicke. After whoſe returning the Coūſell began to looke as well vpon the affaires of the

The profite that Leith got of their promiſed libertie.

common wealth, as vpō the matters that might cō-cerne the ſtability of religion. As before we haue heard the Parliament was concluded to begin the tenth of Iuly, and to be continued till the firſt of Auguſt next, and therefore the Lordes made the greater expedition that all thinges might be put in conuenient order. But before all things the preachers exhorted thē (for then in Edinburgh were the moſt part of the chief Miniſters of the realme) to be thākfull vnto God, and next to prouide that the Miniſters might be diſtributed, as the neceſſitie of the countrie required. A day was appointed when that the whole Nobilitie, and the greateſt part of the cōgregatiō aſſembled in S. Giles church in Edinburgh where after the Sermon made for that purpoſe, publike thankes were giuen vnto God for his merciſull deliuerance, in forme as followeth.

Thankes geuing for our deliuerance with prayers.

O Eternall and euerlaſting God, Father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt, who hath not onely commaunded vs to pray, and promiſed to heare vs: but alſo willeſt vs to magnifie thy mercies, and to glorifie thy name, when thou ſheweſt thy ſelfe pitifull, and fauourable vnto vs, eſpecially when thou deliuereſt vs from deſperate daungers: for ſo dyd thy ſeruauntes, Abraham, Dauid, Iehoſaphat and Ezechias, yea the whole people of Iſraell omitted not the ſame, when thou by thy mightie hande diddeſt confound their enemies, and did deſt deliuer them from feare and daunger of death intended. We ought not nor can not forget O Lord, in how miſerable eſtate ſtood this poore country, & we the iuſt inhabi-

inhabitants of the ſame not many dayes paſt when idolatrie was maintained, when cruell ſtrangers did beare rule, when virgins were defloured, matrones corrupted mens wiues violently and villanouſly oppreſſed, the bloud of innocents ſhed without mercy. And finally when the vniuſt commaundementes of proud tyrants were obeyed as law. Out of theſe miſeries (O Lord) could neither our wit, pollicie nor ſtrength deliuer vs, yea thou didſt ſhew to vs howe vain was the help of man, where thy bleſſing giueth not victorie. In theſe our anguiſhes O Lord, we ſobbed vnto thee, we cried for thy help, & we reclamed thy name, as thy troubled flocke perſecuted for thy truthes ſake. Mercifully haſt thou heard vs (O Lord) mercifully we ſay, becauſe that neither in vs, neither yet in our confederats was there any cauſe why that thou ſhouldſt haue giuen vnto vs ſo ioyful & ſudden a deliuerance. For neither of vs both ceaſſed to doe wickedly, euen in the midſt of our greateſt troubles, & yet haſt thou looked vpon vs ſo pitifully, as that we had giuen vnto thee moſt perfect obedience. For thou haſt diſappointed the counſels of the craftie, thou haſt bridled the rage of the cruell, & thou haſt of thy mercy ſet this our periſhing realm at a reaſonable liberty. Oh giue vs harts (thou Lord that only giueſt all good gifts) with reuerence & feare to meditate thy wondrous works late wrought in our eyes. Let not the remẽbrance of the ſame vnthankfullie to ſlip from our wauering minds. We graunt and acknowledge O Lord, that whatſoeuer we haue receaued ſhall fall into oblition with vs, & ſo turne to our condemnation, vnleſſe thou by the power of thy ſpirit kepe & retaine vs in recent & perpetuall memorie of the ſame. We beſeech thee therfore O father of mercies, that as of thy vndeſerued grace, thou haſt

partly remoued our darkneſſe, ſuppreſſed idolatrie, & taken frō aboue our heads the deuouring ſword of mercileſſe ſtrāgers, that ſo it would pleaſe thee to proceede with vs in this thy grace begun. And albeit that in vs there is nothing that may moue thy Maieſtie, to ſhewe vs this fauour, yet for Chriſt Ieſus thy only welbeloued Sonnes ſake, whoſe name we beare, and whoſe doctrine we profeſſe, we beſeech thee neuer to ſuffer vs to forſake or denie this verity which now we profeſſe. But ſeeinge that thou haſt mercifully heard vs, and haſt cauſed thy veritie to triumph in vs, ſo we craue of thee continuaunce to the ende, that thy godly name may be glorified in vs thy creatures. And ſeeing that nothing is more odiouſe in thy preſence (O Lord) then is ingratitude and violation of an othe and couenant made in thy name. And ſeeing thou haſt made our confederates of England the inſtrument by whome we are nowe ſet at this libertie, to whome we in thy name haue promiſed mutuall faith againe. Let vs neuer fall to that vnkindneſſe (O Lord) that either we declare our ſelues vnthankfull vnto them, or prophaners of thy holy name. Confound thou the coūſell of thoſe, that go about to breake that moſt godly league contracted in thy name, and retaine thou vs ſo firmely together by the power of thy holy ſpirite: that Sathan haue neuer power to ſet vs againe at variance nor diſcord. Giue vs thy grace to liue in that Chriſtian charitie, which thy Sonne our Lord Ieſus hath ſo earneſtly commended to all the members of his bodie, that other nations prouoked by our example may ſet aſide all vngodly warre, contention & ſtrife, and ſtudie to liue in tranquillitie and peace, as it becommeth the ſheepe of thy paſture, and the people that dayly looke for our finall deliuerance by the comming

comming againe of our Lord Ieſus. To whom with the and the holy Spirit be all honour, glorie & praiſe nowe and euer. Amen.

Hereafter were the commiſſioners of Boroughes with ſome of the Nobility and Barons appointed to ſee the equall diſtribution of Miniſters to chaunge and tranſport, as the moſt part ſhould thinke expediét. And ſo was *Iohn Knox* appointed to Edinburgh. *Chriſtopher Goodman* (who the moſt part of the troubles had remained in Ayre) was appointed to Saint Andrewes: *Adam Heriot* to Abirdeane, *Maiſter Iohn Row* to Sainct Iohnſton, *Paul Meaffen* (to whó was no infamie then knowen) to Iedburgh *VVilliã Chriſtſone* to Dundie, *Dauid Fargeſone* to Dunfermeling and *Maiſter Dauid Lindſay* to Leith. There were nominated for Superintendents *M. Iohn Spottiſwood*, for Lowthiane, *M. Iohn VVyrame* for Fyfe, *Maiſter Iohn VVillock* for Glaſgow, the Laird of Dun for Anguſſ and Mearnes, *M. Iohn Carſwell* for Argile & the yles. Theſe to be elected at the dayes appointed, vnleſſe that the countreyes whereto they were to be appointed, could in the meane time find out mé more able and ſufficient, or elſe ſhew ſuch cauſes as might diſable them from that dignitie.

The Parliament approching, due aduertiſement was made by the counſell, to all ſuch as by lawe and ancient cuſtome had, or might claime to haue title therein. The aſſemblie was great, notwithſtanding ſome as well of thoſe that be called ſpirituall as téporall Lords contemptuouſlie did abſent thé ſelues. And yet the chiefe pillers of the Papiſticall Church gaue their preſence, ſuch as the Biſhop of Saint Andrewes, Dumblane, and Dunkell with others of the inferiour ſort, beſide thoſe that had renounced Papiſtrie, and openly profeſſed Ieſus Chriſt with vs,

such as the Bishop of Galloway, the Abbots of Lindorse, Culrosse, Sainct Colmes Inch, Newbattell, Halirudhouse, the Priour of Sainct Andrewes, Coldinghame, Sainct Marie yle, the Suppriour of Sainct Andrewes, and diuerse others, whome we obserued not. At the same time of Parliament *Iohn Knox* publikely taught the prophet Haggeus, the doctrine was proper for the time. In application whereof he was so speciall and so vehement, that some (hauing greater respect to the world then to Gods glorie) feeling thē selues pricked, said in mockage, we may now forget our selues, and beare the barrowe to builde the house of God. God be mercifull to the speaker, for we feare yet he shall haue experience, that the building of his owne house (the house of God being despised) shall not be so prosperouse, & of such firmitie as we desire it were. And albeit some mocked, yet others were godly moued, who did assemble them selues together to consult what thinges were to be proponed to that present Parliament, and after deliberation was this subsequent supplication offred.

Williā Mairlādes, mockage of God

The Barrons, Gentlemen, Burgesses & other true subiectes of this realme professing the Lord Iesus within the same. To the Nobilitie and estates of Parliament presently assembled within the sayde realme, desire grace, mercie and peace frō God the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the increase of his holie spirite.

PLEASE your honours to reduce to remēbrance howe diuerse and sundrie times we (with some of your selues) most humbly desired at the feete of the late Queene Regent, freedome and libertie of conscience, with a godly reformatiō of abuses which by

by the malice of Sathan and negligence of men are crept into the religion of God, and are mainetained by ſuch as take vppon them the name of Clergie. And albeit that our godly and moſt reaſonable ſute was then diſdainefully reiected, whereof no ſmall tronbles haue enſued, as your Honoures well know, yet ſeeing that the ſame neceſſitie yet remaineth, that then moued vs, and moreouer that God of his mercy hath nowe put into your handes, to take ſuch order, as God thereby may be glorified, this cō-mon wealth quieted, & the policy therof eſtabliſhed, We can not ceaſſe to craue of your honours the re-dreſſe of ſuch enormities, as manifeſtly are (& of lōg time haue bene) committed by the place holders of the miniſterie, and others of the clergie within this realme. And firſt ſeing that God of his great mercie hath by the light of his word manifeſted to no ſmall number of this realme, that the doctrine of the Ro-mane Church receaued by the ſaid clergie, & main-tained through their tyrannie by fire & ſword, con-tained in it ſelf many peſtiferous errours, which can not but bring damnation to the ſouls of ſuch as ther-with ſhalbe infected, ſuch as are the doctrine of tran-ſubſtantiation: of the adoration of Chriſts body vn-der the forme of bread as they terme it: of the me-rites of works, & iuſtification that they alleadge cō-meth thereby: together with the doctrine of the pa-piſticall indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimage, & pray-ing to Sainctes departed, which all either repugne to the plaine Scriptures or elſe haue no ground of the doctrine of our maiſter Ieſus Chriſt, his Prophetes, nor Apoſtles. We humbly therefore craue of your Honours that ſuch doctrine & idolatrie, as by Gods word are both cōdēned, ſo may they be aboliſhed by act of this preſent parliamēt, & puniſhmēt apointed

for the transgressours. Secondarily seeing that the Sacraments of Iesus Christ are most shamefully abused and prophaned by that Romane harlot and her sworn vassals, & also because that the true discipline of the auncient Church is vtterly now amongest that sect extinguished. For who within the realme are more corrupt in life and manners, then are they that are called the clergie, liuing in whordome, adulterie, deflouring virgins, corrupting matrons, and doing all abhomination, without feare of punishment. We humblie therefore desire your honours to find remedie against the one & the other. Thirdly because that man of sinne most falsly claimeth to him selfe the titles of the Vicar of Christ: the successor of Peter: the head of the Church: that he can not erre: that all power is graunted vnto him &c. By the which vsurped authoritie he taketh vpon him the distribution & possession of the whole patrimonie of the Church, whereby the true ministerie of the word of God long time hath bene altogether neglected, the godly learning despised, the scholes not prouided, & the poore not only defrauded of their portiõ, but also most tyrãnously oppressed. We likewise herof desire remedy. And least that your honours should doubt in anie of these premisses, we offer our selues euidently to proue that in all the rabble of the clergy there is not one lawfull minister, if Gods word, the practises of the Apostles, the sinceritie of the primitiue Church, & their owne auncient lawes shall iudge of lawfull election. We further offer our selues to proue them all theeues & murtherers, yea rebells and traytors to the lawfull authoritie of Emperoures, Kings and Princes, and therefore vnworthie to be suffred in any reformed common wealth. How maliciously they haue murthered

thered our brethren, for no other cauſe, but for that they haue offred to vs the light of Gods word, your honours can not be ignorant, & into what hazarde their tyrannie hath brought this whole realme, the ages after will conſider. If ye looke for anie other frute of them in times to come, then ye haue ſene in them whom we accuſe, we are aſſured ye ſhal be deceaued. Now hath God beyond all expectatiõ of mã made your ſelues who ſomtimes were ſuppliãts with vs for reformation, iudges as it were in the cauſe of God. At leaſt he hath ſo ſubdued your enemies vnto you, that by violẽce they are not able to ſuppreſſe the veritie, as heretofore they haue done. We therfore in the bowells of Ieſus Chriſt craue of your honours that either they may be compelled to anſwer to our former accuſations, and vnto ſuch others as iuſtly we haue to lay to their charges, or elſe that all affection layd aſide ye pronounce them ſuch by cenſure of this Parliament, & cauſe them to be ſo repuꝛed, as by vs moſt iuſtly they are accuſed. Eſpeciallie that they may be diſcerned vnworthie of honor, authoritie, charge or cure within the Church of God, and ſo from henceforth neuer to enioy voice in Parliament: which if ye do not, then in the feare of God and by the aſſurance of his word we forewarne you that as ye leaue a grieuous yoke, & a burthen intollerable vpon the church of God within this realme: So ſhall they be thornes in your eyes, and prickes in your ſides, whom after when ye would ye ſhall haue no power to remoue. God the Father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt giue you vpright harts ſeeking his glorie, and true vnderſtanding, what this day he who hath deliuered you from bondage both ſpirituall & temporall craueth of you by his ſeruaunts, and your honours aunſwer moſt humbly we require.

This our ſupplication being reade in audience of the whole aſſemblie, diuerſe men were of diuerſe iudgementes, for as ſome there were that vprightly fauoured the cauſe of God, ſo were there many that for worldly reſpects abhorred a perfect reformation (for how many within Scotland, that haue the name of Nobility, are not vniuſt poſſeſſors of the patrimonie of the Church) & yet were the Barons & Miniſters called, & commaundement geuē vnto them, to draw into plaine & ſeuerall heads the ſumme of that doctrine which they wold maintaine, & would deſire that preſent Parliament, to eſtabliſh as wholeſome, true & only neceſſarie to be beleeued, & to be receiued within ỹ realme, which they willingly accepted & within foure dayes preſented this confeſſion as it followeth without alteration of any one ſentence.

The confeſſion of faith profeſſed and beleeued by the proteſtants within the realme of Scotlād, publiſhed by them in Parliament, and by the eſtates therof ratified and approued, as wholeſome and ſounde doctrine, grounded vpon the infallible truth of Gods worde. *Matth. 24.*

And this glad tidinges of the kingdome ſhall be preached throughout the whole world for a witnes vnto all nations, and then ſhall the end come.

The Preface.

The eſtates of Scotlād with the inhabitants of the ſame profeſſing Chriſt Ieſus his holy Goſpel to their naturall countrey men, & vnto all other realmes & nations profeſſing the ſame Lord Ieſus with thē, wiſh grace mercy & peace from God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt with the ſpirit of righteous iudgement for ſalutation,

LONG haue we thirſted (deare brethrē) to haue notified vnto the worlde the ſumme of that doctrine

ctrine which we profeſſe, & for the which we haue ſuſtained infamie and daunger. But ſuch hath bene the rage of Sathan againſt vs, and againſt Chriſt Ieſus his eternall veritie lately borne amongſt vs, that to this day no time hath bene graunted vnto vs, to cleare our conſciences, as moſt gladly we wold haue done. For howe we haue bene toſſed a whole yeare paſt, the moſt part of Europe (as we doe ſuppoſe) doeth vnderſtand. But ſeing that of the infinit goodneſſe of our God (who neuer ſuffereth his afflicted vtterly to be confounded) aboue expectation haue we obtained ſome reſt and libertie: we could not but ſet forth this brief & plaine confeſſiō of ſuch doctrine as is proponed vnto vs, & as we beleeue and profeſſe: partlie for ſatisfaction of our brethren, whoſe hearts we doubt not, haue bene and yet are, wounded by the deſpitefull rayling of ſuch as yet haue not learned to ſpeake well. And partly for ſtoppinge of the mouthes of impudent blaſphemers, who boldly condemne, that which they neither hearde nor vnderſtood, nor that we iudge that the cankered malice of ſuch is able to be cured by this ſimple confeſſion. No, we knowe that the ſweet ſauour of the Goſpell is and ſhall be death to the ſonnes of perdition. But we haue chiefe reſpect to our weake & infirme brethren, to whom we would contract the bottome of our hearts, leſt that they be troubled or caried away by diuerſitie of rumours which Sathan ſparſeth againſt vs, to the defeating of this our moſt godly interpriſe. Proteſting that if any mā wil note in this our confeſſiō, any articles or ſentēce repugning to gods holy word, that it wold pleaſe him of his gētlenes, & for Chriſtian charities ſake to admoniſh vs of ȳ ſame in writing, and we of our honours & fidelitie do promiſe vnto him ſatisfactiō frō the mouth of God (that

is from his holy Scriptures) or elſe reformation of that which he ſhall proue to be amiſſe. For God we take to recorde in our conſciences, that from our harts we abhorre all ſects of hereſie, and all teachers of erronious doctrine, and that with all humilitie we embrace the puritie of Chriſtes Goſpell, which is the only food of our ſoules, & therfore ſo precious vnto vs, that we are determined to ſuffer the extremitie of worldly daunger, rather then that we will ſuffer our ſelues to be defrauded of the ſame. For hereof we are moſt certainly perſwaded, that who ſoeuer denieth Chriſt Ieſus, or is aſhamed of him in preſence of men, ſhall be denied before the Father, and before his holy Angelles. And therefore by the aſſiſtance of the mightie ſpirit of the ſame our Lord Ieſus we firmely purpoſe to abide to the end in the confeſſion of this our faith.

Of God,

WE confeſſe and acknowledge one only God to whom onely we muſt cleaue, whom only we muſt worſhip, and in whome onely we put our truſt, who is eternall, infinite, vnmeaſurable, incomprehenſible, omnipotent, inuiſible, one in ſubſtance and yet diſtinct into three perſons, the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghoſt: by whom we confeſſe & beleeue all things in heauen and earth as well viſible as inuiſible to haue bene created, to be retained in their being, and to be ruled and guided by his inſcrutable prouidence, to ſuch ende as his eternall wiſdome, goodneſſe & iuſtice hath appointed them to the manifeſtation of his owne glorie.

Of the Creation of man.

WE confeſſe & acknowledge this our God to haue created man (to wit, our firſt father Adam)

dam) of whom also God formed the woman, to his owne image & similitude, to whom he gaue wisdom, Lordship, iustice, free will and cleare knowledge of him selfe: so that in the whole nature of man there could be noted no imperfection, from which honor & perfection man and woman did both fall, the woman being deceaued by the serpent, & man obeying to the voice of the woman, both conspiring against the soueraigne Maiestie of God, who in expresse words had before threatned death if they presumed to eate of the forbidden tree.

Of originall sinne.

BY which transgressiō commonly called originall sinne was the image of God vtterly defaced in man, and he & his posteritie of nature became enemies to God, slaues to Sathan, & seruants to sinne, in so much that death euerlasting hath had and shall haue power & dominion ouer all that hath not ben, are not or shal not be regenerate from aboue, which regeneration is wrought by the power of the holie Ghost, working in the hearts of the elect of God an assured faith in the promises of God reuealed to vs in his word, by which faith they apprehende Christ Iesus, with the graces and benefits promised in him.

Of the reuelation of the promises.

FOr this we constantly beleeue that God after the fearfull and horrible defection of man frō his obedience did seeke Adam againe, call vppon him, reboke his sinne, conuict him of the same, and in the ende made vnto him a most ioyfull promise: to wit, that the seede of the woman should breake downe

the serpentes head, that is, he should destroye the works of the deuill, which promise as it was repeated and made more cleare from time to time, so was it embraced with ioy, and most constantly retained of all the faithfull from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, & from Abraham to Dauid, & so forth to the incarnation of Iesus Christ, who all (we mean the faithful fathers) vnder the Lawe did see the ioyfull dayes of Christ Iesus and did reioyce.

The continuance, increase and preseruation of the Church.

WE most constantly beleeue, that God preserueth, instructeth, multiplieth, honoreth, decoreth, and from death called to life his Church in all ages from Adam til the comming of Christ Iesus in the flesh. For Abraham he called from his fathers countrey, him he instructed, his seede he multiplied, the same he maruellously preserued, & more maruellously deliuered frō the bondage of Pharao: to whom he gaue his lawes, constitutions & ceremonies. Them he possessed in the land of Canaan, to them after iudges, and after Saull, he gaue Dauid to be king: to whō he made promise that of the frute of his loynes should one sit for euer vpon his regall seate. To this same people from time to time he sent Prophetes to reduce them to the right way of their God, from the which oftentimes they declined by idolatrie. And albeit for their stubburne contempte of iustice, he was compelled to geue them into the handes of their enemies, as before he threatened by the mouth of Moyses. In so much that the holie Citie was destroyed, the Temple burnt

burnt with fire, & the whole lande left desolate the space of seuentie yeres, yet of mercie did he reduce them againe to Ierusalem, where the citie and tempie were reedified, and they against all temptations all assaultes of Sathan did abide till the Messias come according to the promise.

Of the incarnation of Christ Iesus.

WHEN the fulnesse of time came, God sent his sonne, his eternall wisedome, the substance of his owne glorie into this world, who tooke the nature of manhood, of the substaunce of a woman: to wit, of a virgine, and that by the operation of the holie ghost, and so was borne the iust seed of Dauid, the angell of the great counsaile of God, the verie Messias promised, whom we acknowledge, & confesse *Emanuel* very God and very man, two perfect natures vnited and ioyned in one person. By which our confession, we damne the damnable & pestilét heresies of *Arrius, Marcion, Eutiches, Nestorius*, and such others, as either denie the eternitie of his Godhead, either the veritie of his humane nature, either confounde them, either yet deuide them.

Why it behoueth the Mediatour to be verie God and verie man?

WE acknowledge and confesse, that this most wonderous coniunction betwixt the Godhead and manhood of Christe Iesus did proceede from the eternall and immutable decree of God, whence also our saluation springeth and dependeth,

FOR that ſame eternall God, who of meere grace elected vs in Chriſt Ieſus his ſonne before the foundation of the worlde was laid, appointed him to be our head, our brother, our paſtour, and great biſhop of our ſoules: but becauſe that the enmitie betwixt the iuſtice of God, and our ſinnes, was ſuch that no fleſh by it ſelf could or might haue attained vnto God: it behooued that the ſon of God ſhould deſcende vnto vs, & take himſelf a bodie of our bodie, fleſh of our fleſh, & bones of our bones, & ſo become the perfect Mediator betwixt God & man: giuing power to ſo manie as beleeue in him, to be the ſonnes of God, as he himſelf doth witnes. I paſſe vp to my father, & your father, to my God, & vnto your God: By which moſt holie fraternitie, whatſoeuer we haue loſt in Adam, is reſtored to vs againe. And for this cauſe are we nothing afraid to cal God our father, not ſo muche in that hee hath created vs (which we haue common with the reprobate) as for that, that he hath giuen to vs his onelie ſonne to be our brother, and giuen vnto vs grace to imbrace him for our onlie mediatour, as before is ſaid. It behoued further the Meſſias and Redeemer to be verie God and verie man, becauſe he was to ſuffer the puniſhments due for our tranſgreſſions, and to preſent himſelf in the preſence of his fathers iudgement, as in our perſon to ſuffer for our tranſgreſſion & inobedience, by death to ouercome him that was authour of death. But becauſe the onlie Godhead could not ſuffer death, neither could the only manhood ouercome the ſame, he ioyned both togeather in one perſon, that the imbecilitie of the one ſhould ſuffer and be ſubiect to death (whiche

we had deſerued) and the infinite and inuincible power of the other: to wit, of the Godhead ſhoulde triumph & purchaſe vnto vs life, libertie, & perpetuall victorie, and ſo we confeſſe, and moſt vndoubtedlie beleeue.

Chriſtes death, paſſion, buriall, &c.

THAT our Lorde Ieſus offered himſelfe a voluntarie ſacrifice vnto his father for vs, that hee ſuffred contradiction of ſinners, that he was wounded and plagued for our tranſgreſſions, that he being the cleane and innocent lambe of GOD was damned in the preſence of an earthlie Iudge, that we might be abſolued before the tribunall ſeate of our God: that he ſuffered not onlie the cruell death of the croſſe (which was accurſed by the ſentence of God) but alſo that hee ſuffered for a ſeaſon the wrath of his father, which ſinners hadde deſerued. But yet we auow that he remained the only welbeloued and bleſſed ſonne of his father, euen in the midſt of his anguiſh and torment, which he ſuffered in bodie and ſoule, to make the full ſatisfaction for the ſinnes of his people. After the which we confes and auowe, that there remaines no other ſacrifice for ſinnes, which if any affirme, wee nothing doubt to auow that they are blaſphemous againſt Chriſtes death, and the euerlaſting purgation and ſatisfaction, purchaſed vnto vs by the ſame.

Reſurrection.

WE vndoubtedly beleeue that in ſo much as it was impoſſible that the paines of death ſhould retaine in bondage the authour of life, that

our Lord Ieſus crucified, dead, and buried, who deſcended into hell, did riſe againe for our iuſtification, and deſtroying him who was the authour of death, brought life againe to vs that were ſubiect to death, and to the bondage of the ſame: we knowe that his reſurrection was confirmed by the teſtimonie of his verie enemies. By the reſurrection of the dead, whoſe ſepulchres did open, and they did ariſe and appeared to manie within the citie of Ieruſalem. It was alſo confirmed by the teſtimonie of Angels, and by the ſenſes and iudgements of his Apoſtles and others, who had conuerſation and did eate and drinke with him after his reſurrection.

Aſcenſion.

WE nothing doubt, but that ſelfe ſame bodie, which was borne of the virgin, was crucified, dead and buried, and which did riſe againe, did aſcend into the heauens, for accompliſhment of all thinges: where, in our names, and for our comfort, he hath receaued all power in heauen and in earth: where he ſitteth at the right hand of the father, enthronized in his kingdome, aduocate & onlie mediatour for vs, which glorie, honour, and prerogatiue he alone amongeſt the brethren ſhall poſſeſſe, till that all his enemies be made his footeſtoole, as that we vndoubtedlie beleeue they ſhalbe in the finall iudgement, to the execution whereof wee certainlie beleeue that the ſame our Lorde Ieſus ſhall viſiblie & apparantly returne as that he was ſeen to aſcende. And there we firmelie beleeue that the time of refreſhing and reſtitution of all thinges ſhall come, inſomuch that thoſe that from the beginning haue ſuffered violence, iniurie and wrong

for

for righteouſneſſe ſake, ſhall inherite the bleſſed immortalitie promiſed from the beginning. But contrarie waies the ſtubborne, cruell, inobedient, oppreſſors, filthie perſons, adulterers, and all ſortes of vnthankful men, ſhalbe caſt into the dungeon of vtter darkneſſe, where their worme ſhall not die, neither yet their fire be extinguiſhed: the remembrance of the which day, and of the iudgement to be executed in the ſame, it is not only to vs a bridle whereby our carnal luſts are reſerued, but alſo ſuch ineſtimable comfort, that neither may the threatening of worldlie princes, neither yet the feare of temporall death and preſent danger moue vs to renounce and forſake that bleſſed ſocietie: which we the members haue with our head and onlie mediatour Chriſt Ieſus whom we confeſſe and auow to be the Meſſias promiſed, the onlie head of the church, our iuſt lawgiuer, our onlie high prieſt, aduocate and mediatour. In whoſe honors and offices, if a man or Angell preſume to intrude themſelues, we vtterlie deteſt and abhorre them as blaſphemous to our ſoueraigne gouernor Chriſt Ieſus.

Faith in the holie Ghoſt.

THIS our faith, and the aſſurance of the ſame proceedeth not frō the fleſh & blood: that is to ſay, frō no natural powers within vs, but is the inſpiration of the holie ghoſt, whom we confeſſe, God equall with the father and with the ſonne, who ſanctified vs, and bringeth vs into al veritie by his own operation, without whom wee ſhould remaine for euer enemies to GOD, and ignoraunt of his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus. For of nature we are ſo dead, ſo peruers and blinde, that neither we can feele when

we are pricked, see the light when it shineth, nor assent to the wil of god whē it is reueled, onlie the spirit of the Lord Iesus quickneth that which is dead, remoueth the darknesse from our minds, and boweth our stubborne heartes to the obedience of his blessed will, and so as we confesse that God the father created vs when we were not, as his sonne our Lord Iesus redeemed vs, when we were enemies to him: So also we confesse that the holie Ghost doeth sanctifie, and regenerate vs without all respect of anie merite proceeding from vs, be it before, or be it after our regeneration. To speake this one thing yet in more plaine wordes, as we willinglie spoile our selues of all honor and glorie of our own creation and redemption, so doe wee also of our regeneratiō and sanctification: for of our selues we are not sufficient to thinke one good thought, but he who hath begunne the good worke in vs, is only he that continueth vs in the same to the praise and glorie of his vndeserued grace.

The cause of good workes.

SO that the cause of good workes we confesse to be not of free will, but the spirite of the Lord Iesus, who dwelling in our hearts by true faith bringeth foorth such good workes as God hath prepared for vs to walke in, for this we most boldly affirm that blasphemie it is to say that Christe Iesus abideth in the heart of such, as in whom there is no spirite of sanctification: and therefore we feare not to affirme, that murtherers, oppressors, cruell persecutors, adulterers, whoremongers, filthie persons, idolaters, drunkardes, theeues, and all workers of iniquitie, haue neither true faith, neither anye por

portion of the ſpirite of ſanctification, which proceedeth from the Lorde Ieſus, ſo long as they obſtinatelie continue in their wickednesse. For howe ſoone ſoeuer the ſpirite of the Lorde Ieſus (which Gods elect children receaue by true faith) taketh poſſeſſion in the heart of anie man, ſo ſoone doth he regenerate and renew the ſame man, ſo that he begins to hate that which before he loued, and beginneth to loue that which before hee hated: and from thence commeth to that continuall battaile, which is betwixt the fleſhe and the ſpirite in Gods children, while the fleſh and naturall man (according to their owne corruption) luſteth for thinges pleaſing and delectable to it ſelfe, grudgeth in aduerſitie, is lifted vp in proſperitie, and at euerie moment is prone and readie to offend the maieſtie of God: But the ſpirit of God which giueth witneſſing vnto our ſpirite that we are the ſonnes of God, maketh vs to reſiſt the Diuell to abhorre filthie pleaſures, to grone in Gods preſence for deliueraunce from this bondage of corruption, & finallie to triumph ouer ſinne, that it reigne not in our mortall bodies. This battaile haue not the carnal men, being deſtitute of Gods ſpirite, but doe followe and obey ſinne with greedineſſe, and without repentance, euen as the diuell and their corrupt luſtes do pricke them. But the ſonnes of God (as before is ſaid) doe fight againſt ſinne, doe ſob and mourne when they perceiue them ſelues tempted to iniquitie, and if they fall, they riſe againe with earneſt and vnfeined repentance: and theſe thinges they doe not by their owne power, but the power of our Lord Ieſus (without whome they were able to doe nothing) worketh in them all that is good.

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What workes are reputed good before God.

WE confesse & acknowledge that God hath giuen to man his holy law, in which not onlie are forbidden, all such workes as displease and offend his godly maiestie: but also are commanded all such as please him, and as he hath promised to reward. And these workes be of two sortes, the one are done to the honour of God, the other to the profite of our neighbors: and both haue the reuealed will of God for their assuraunce, to haue one God, to worship and honour him, to call vpon him in all our troubles, to reuerence his holie name, to heare his word, to beleeue the same, to cõmunicate with his holy sacraments, are the works of the first table. To honour father and mother, princes, rulers, & superiour powers, to loue them, to support them, yea to obey their charges (not repugning to the commaundement of God) to saue the life of innocents, to represse tyrannie, to defend the oppressed, to keepe our bodies cleane and holie, to liue in sobrietie & temperance, to deale iustlie with all men, both in word and in deed: and finallie to represse appetite of our neighbors hurt, are the good works of the second table, which are most pleasing and acceptable vnto God, as those works are commaunded by himselfe. The contrarie whereof is sin most odious, which alwaies displeaseth him, & prouoke him to anger, as not to call vppon him alone when we haue need, not to heare his word with reuerence, to contemne and despise it, to haue or to worship Idols, to maintaine and defende Idolatrie, lightlie to esteeme the reuerent name of God, to prophane, abuse, or contemne the sacramentes of Christ Iesus: to disobey or resist any that God hath placed

placed in authoritie (while they passe not ouer the bounds of their office) to murther or consent therto, to beare hatred, or to suffer innocent blood to be shed, if we may gainstand it. And finallie the transgressing of any other commandement in the first or second table, we confesse and affirme to be sinne, by the which gods hot displesure is kindled against the proude and vnthankefull worlde, so that good works we affirme to be those onlie that are done in faith and at Gods commaundement, who in his law hath expressed, what be the things that please him: And euill works we affirme, not onlie those that are expressly done against Gods commandement, but those also that in matters of religion, and worshipping of God haue no assurance, but the inuention and opiniō of man, which God from the beginning hath euer reiected, as by the Prophet Esaias, and by our master Christe Iesus, wee are taught in these wordes: In vaine doe they worship me teaching the doctrine being the precepts of men.

The perfection of the law, & imperfection of man.

THE law of God we confesse and acknowledge most iust, most equall, most holy and most perfect, commaunding those thinges, which being wrought in perfection were able to giue life, and to bring man to eternall felicitie: but our nature is so corrupt, so weake, and imperfect, that wee are neuer able to fulfill the workes of the Lawe in perfection, yea if wee say, wee haue no sinne (euen after wee are regenerate,) wee deceaue our selues, and the veritie of GOD is not in vs: and therefore it behoueth vs to apprehende Christ

Ieſus with his iuſtice and ſatisfaction, who is the end and accompliſhment of the law to all that beleeue, by whom wee are ſet at this libertie, that the curſe and malediction of the law fall not vppon vs, albeit we fulfill not the ſame in all points. For God the father beholding vs in the bodie of his ſonne Chriſt Ieſus, accepteth our vnperfect obedience, as it were perfect, & couered our works which are defiled with many ſpots, with the iuſtice of his ſonne. We do not meane that we are ſet ſo at libertie, that we owe no obedience to the law (for that before we haue plainelie confeſſed) but this we affirme, that no man in earth (Chriſt Ieſus onlie excepted) hath giuen, giueth or ſhall giue in worke, that obedience to the law, which the law requireth. But when we haue done all things, we muſt fall downe and vnfeinedlie confeſſe that we are vnprofitable ſeruantes. And therefore whoſoeuer boaſt themſelues of the merites of their own works, or put their truſt in the workes of ſupererogation, they boaſt themſelues of that which is not, and put their truſt in damnable idolatrie.

Of the Church.

AS we beleeue in God the father, ſonne, & holie Ghoſt, ſo do we moſt earneſtly beleeue, that from the beginning there hath been, now is, and to the end of the world ſhall be a church: that is to ſay, a cõpanie & multitude of men choſen of God, who rightlie worſhip and imbrace him by true faith in Chriſte Ieſus, who is the onlie head of the ſame church, which alſo is the bodie and ſpouſe of Chriſt Ieſus, which church is Catholike, that is, vniuerſall, becauſe it conteyneth the elect of all ages, all realmes,

realmes, nations, and toungs, be they of the Iewes, or be they of the Gentiles, who haue communion or societie with God the father, and with his sonne, Christ Iesus, through the sanctification of his holie spirit, and therefore it is called communion (not of prophane persons) but of saincts, who are citizens of the heauenlie Ierusalem, haue the fruition of the most inestimable benefites: to wit, of one God, one Lord Iesus, one faith, and one baptisme, without the which church there is neither life nor eternall felicitie. And therefore wee vtterlie abhorre the blasphemie of those that affirme that men that liue according to equite and iustice shalbe saued, what religion soeuer they haue professed. For as without Christ Iesus there is neither life nor saluation: so shall there none be participant thereof, but such as the father hath giuen vnto his sonne Christ Iesus, and those in time come to him, auowe his doctrine, and beleeue in him (we comprehend the children, with the faithfull parents) This church is inuisibly knowen onelie to God, who alone knoweth it, who he hath chosen, and comprehendeth as well (as is said) the elect that be departed (commonly called the church triumphant) as those that yet liue and fight against sin and Sathan, as shall liue hereafter.

The immortalitie of the soules.

THE elect departed are in peace, and rest from their labours, not that they sleeep, and come to a certaine obliuion (as some fantastike heads do affirme) but that they are deliuared frō al fear, al torment, and all temptation, the which we and al Gods elect are subiect vnto in this life, and therefore do beare the name of the church militant. As contra-

alwaies the reprobate & vnfaithfull departed, haue anguish, torment and paine, that cannot be expressed, so that neither are the one nor the other in such sleepe, that they feele not ioy or torment, as the parable of Christ Iesus in the 16. of Luke his words to the theefe, and these wordes of the soules crying vnder the altar: O Lord thou ỳ art righteous & iust, how long shalt thou not reuenge our blood vppon thẽ that dwell vpon the earth doth plainlie testifie.

Of the notes by the which the true church is deemed from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine.

BECAVSE that Satan from the beginning hath laboured to deck his pestilent Synagogue with the title of the church of God, & hath inflamed the hearts of cruell murtherers to persecute, trouble, & molest the true church & members therof, as Cain did Abel, Ismael, Isaac, Esau, Iacob, and the whole priesthood of the Iewes, Iesus Christ himselfe & his Apostles after him. It is a thing most requisit, that ỳ true church be discerned frõ the filthie Synagogue, by cleere & perfect notes: least we being deceaued, receiue & imbrace to our own condẽnation the one for the other. The notes, signes, and assured tokens whereby the immaculate spouse of Christe Iesus is knowen from the horrible harlot the Church malignant, we affirme, are neither antiquity, title vsurped, lineall discentes, place appointed, nor multitude of men approuing any error. For Cain in age & title was preferred to Abell & Seth. Ierusalẽ had prerogatiue aboue all places of the earth, where also were the priests lineallie discended from Aaron, and greater multitude followed the Scribes, Phari-

sees,

ſees, and Prieſtes, then vnfainedlie beleeued and approued Chriſt Ieſus and his doctrine: and yet (as we ſuppoſe) no mā of whole iudgement, will graunt that any of the forenamed were the church of god: The notes therefore of the true church of god, we beleeue, confes, and auow, to be firſt the true preaching of the worde of God: in which God hath reueiled himſelf to vs, as the writings of the Prophets & Apoſtles do declare. Secondlie the right adminiſtratiō of the ſacraments of Chriſt Ieſus, which may be annexed to the word & promiſe of God, to ſeale & confirme the ſame in our harts. Laſtly, eccleſiaſticall diſcipline vprightlie miniſtred as Gods worde preſcribeth, whereby vice is repreſſed and vertue nouriſhed, wherſoeuer then theſe former notes are ſeene, and of anie time continuall (be the number neuer ſo fewe aboue two or three) there without all doubt is the true church of Chriſt, who according to his promiſe is in the midſt of them: not of that vniuerſall (of which we haue before ſpoken) but particular, ſuch as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Epheſus, & other places in which the miniſterie was planted by Paul, & were of himſelfe named the churches of God: and ſuch churches we the inhabitaunts of the realme of Scotlande, profeſſors of Chriſte Ieſus, confeſſe vs to haue in our Cities, Townes, and places reformed: for the doctrine taught in our churches, is contained in the written worde of God: to wit, in the books of the new and olde teſtaments: in thoſe bookes we mean, which of the auncient haue beene reputed canonicall, in the which we affirme that all thinges neceſſarie to be beleeued for the ſaluation of mankinde is ſufficientlie expreſſed. The interpretation whereof, wee confeſſe neither appertaineth vnto anie priuate nor publike perſon

neither yet to anie church for anie preheminence or prerogatiue personalll or locall, which one hath aboue another: but appertaineth to the spirit of god, by the which also the scripture was written. When controuersie then hapneth for the right vnderstanding of any place or sentéce of scripture, or for the reformation of any abuse within the church of god, we ought not so much to looke what men before vs haue said and done, as vnto that which the holie Ghost vniformely speaketh within the bodie of the scriptures, and vnto that which Christ Iesus himself did and cõmanded to be done. For this is a thing vniuersallie graunted, that the spirite of God which is the spirit of vnitie, is in nothing contrarie to him selfe. If then the interpretation, determination or sentence of any doctor, church or coũcel, repugne to the plaine worde of God, written in any other place of scripture, it is a thing most certaine that there is not the true vnderstanding and meaning of the holie ghost: supposing that councels, realms, and nations haue approued and receiued the same. For we dare not receaue and admit any interpretation, which directlie repugneth to any principall point of our faith, to any other plaine text of scripture, or yet to the rule of charitie.

The authoritie of scriptures.

AS we beleeue & confesse the scriptures of God sufficient to instruct, & make the man of God perfect, so doe we affirme and auowe the authoritie of the same to be of God, and neither to depend on men nor angels: we affirme therefore that such as alleadge the scriptures to haue no authoritie, but that which is receaued from the church, to be blas-

phemous

phemous against God and iniurious to the true church, which alwaies heareth & obeieth the voice of her owne ſpouſe and paſtor, but taketh not vpon her to be miſtres ouer the ſame.

Of the generall counſailes of their power, authoritie, and cauſe of their conuention.

AS wee not raſhly condemne that which godlie men aſſembled together in generall councels, lawfullie gathered haue approued vnto vs: ſo without iuſt examination dare we not receaue whatſoeuer is obtruded vnto men vnder the name of generall councels, for plain it is that as they were mẽ, ſo haue ſome of them manifeſtlie erred, and that in matters of great weight & importance. So far then as the councel proueth the determination & commandemẽt, that it giueth by the plain word of god, ſo far do we reuerẽce & imbrace the ſame. But if mẽ vnder the name of a councell pretend to forge vnto vs new articles of our faith, or to make conſtitutions repugning to the word of God, then vtterlie we may refuſe the ſame, as the doctrine of Diuels, which draweth our ſoules frõ the voice of our onlie God, to follow the doctrines & conſtitutions of mẽ. The cauſe thẽ why generall councels conuened was neither to make any perpetual law (which god before had not made) neither yet to forge new articles of our belief, neither to giue the word of god authoritie, much leſſe to make that to be his worde, or yet the true interpretatiõ of the ſame, which was not before by his holy will expreſſed in his worde. But the cauſe of coũcels (we mean of ſuch as merited the name of councels) was partly for cõfutation of hereſies, & for giuing publike confeſſion of their faith to the poſteritie following, which both they

did by the authoritie of Gods writtē word,& not by any opiniō or prerogatiue that they could not erre, by reaſon of their generall aſſemblie. And this we iudge to haue been the chief cauſe of generall coū-cels. The other was for good pollicie and order to be conſtituted and obſerued in the church,in which (as in the houſe of God)it becommeth all things to be done decentlie, and in order : not that we thinke that one pollicie, and one order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages,times, & places, for as ceremonies (ſuch as men haue deuiſed) are but temporall,ſo may, and ought they to be changed when they rather foſter ſuperſtition, then that they edifie the church vſing the ſame.

Of the Sacraments.

AS the fathers vnder the law beſides the verite of the ſacrifices had two chiefe ſacraments to wit, Circumciſion & the paſſeouer, the deſpiſers & conteners wherof were not reputed for gods people: ſo we acknowledge & confeſſe that we now in time of the Goſpell,haue two ſacramēts onlie,inſtituted by the Lord Ieſus, and commaunded to be vſed by all thoſe that will be reputed to be members of his bodie: to wit,Baptiſme,and the Supper or table of the Lord Ieſus, called the communion of his body and blood. And theſe ſacraments (aſwell of the old as of the new Teſtament)were inſtituted of God, not only to make a viſible difference betwixt his people & thoſe that were without his league:but alſo to exerciſe the faith of his children, & by participation of the ſame ſacramentes,to ſeale in their hearts the aſſurance of his promiſe, & of that moſt bleſſed coniunction, vnion and ſocietie which the elect

elect haue with their head Christ Iesus. And thus we vtterly damne the vanitie of those that affirme Sacramentes to be nothing else but naked and bare signes. No, we assuredly beleeue that by baptisme we are ingrafted into Iesus Christ, to be made partakers of his iustice, by the which our sinnes are coue-ed & remitted. And also that in the Supper rightly v-ed, Christ Iesus is so ioyned with vs, that he becommeth the verie nourishment and food of our soules. Not that we imagine anie transubstantiation of breade into Christes natural bodie, and of wine into his natural bloud (as the Papists haue perniciously taught and damnably beleeued) but this vnion and communion which we haue with the bodie and bloud of Christ Iesus in the right vse of the Sacramentes, is wrought by operatiõ of the holy Ghost, who by true faith carieth vs aboue all things that are visible, carnall and earthly, and maketh vs to feede vppon the bodie & bloud of Christ Iesus, which was once broken and shed for vs, which now is in the heauen, and appeareth in the presence of his Father for vs. And yet notwithstanding the far distance of place which is betwixt his body now glorified in the heauen, and vs nowe mortall in this earth: yet we most assuredly beleeue that the bread that we breake is the cõmunion of Christes bodie, & the cup which we blesse is the communion of his bloud. So that we confesse & vndoubtedly beleeue ẏ the faithfull in the right vse of the Lords table, so do eate the body & drinke the bloud of the Lord Iesus, that he remaineth in thẽ, & they in him: yea, that they are so made flesh of his flesh, & bones of his bones, that as the eternall Godhead hath geuen to the flesh of Christ Iesus (which of the owne condition and nature was mortall, and corruptible) life and immortalitie, so doeth

Christ Iesus flesh & bloud eaten and drunken by vs, geue to vs the same prerogatiues, which albeit we confesse are neither giuen vnto vs at that only time neither yet by the proper power and vertue of the Sacraments onely, yet we affirme that the faithfull in the right vse of the Lords table hath such coniunction with Christ Iesus, as the naturall man can not comprehend, yea and further we affirme that albeit the faithfull oppressed by negligence, and manly infirmitie, doth not profite so much as they would at the verie instant action of the Supper, yet shall it after bring forth frute, as liuely seede sowen in good ground, for the holy Spirite which can neuer be diuided from the right institution of the Lorde Iesus, will not frustrate the faithfull, of the frute of that misticall action, but all this we say commeth by true faith, which apprehendeth Christ Iesus, who onely maketh his Sacraments effectual vnto vs, and therfore whosoeuer sclaundereth vs, as though we affirmed or beleeued Sacramentes to be onely naked & bare signes, do iniurie vnto vs, and speake against a manifest truth. But this liberallie and frankely we must confesse, that we make a distinction betwixte Christ Iesus in his naturall substance, & betwixt the elementes in the Sacramentall signes. So that we will neither worshippe the signes in place of that which is signified by thē, neither yet do we despise and interpret them as vnprofitable and vaine, but do vse thē with all reuetence, examining our selues diligently before that so we do, because we are assured by the mouth of the Apostle, that such as eat of that breade, and drinke of that cuppe vnworthely, are guiltie of the bodie and bloude of the Lorde Iesus.

Of

Of the right adminiſtration of the Sacramentes.

THAT Sacraméts be rightly miniſtred we iudge two things requiſite: the one that they be miſtred by lawfull miniſters, whom we affirm to be only they that are appointed to the preachinge of the worde, or vnto whoſe mouthes God hath put ſome ſermon of exhortation, they being men of lawfull chooſing thereto by ſome church. The other, that they be miniſtred in ſuch elements & in ſuch ſort as God hath appointed. Elſe we affirm that they ceaſſe to be right Sacramentes of Chriſt Ieſus. And therefore it is, that we flee the ſocietie with the Papiſticall Church in participation of their Sacramentes, firſt becauſe their miniſters are no miniſters of Ieſus Chriſt (yea which is more horrible) they ſuffer womé, whom the holy Ghoſt will not ſuffer to teach in the congregation, to baptiſe. And ſecondlie, becauſe they haue ſo adulterate, both the one Sacrament and the other with their own inuentions, that no part of Chriſtes action abideth in the originall puritie, for oyle, ſalt, ſpittle and ſuch like in baptiſme are but mens inuentions, adoration, veneratió, bearing through ſtreetes and townes, and keepinge of bread in boxes, are prophanation of Chriſts Sacramentes and no vſe of the ſame: for Chriſt Ieſus ſaid take and eate &c. do ye this in remembrance of me. By which words and charge he ſanctified bread and wine to be the Sacrament of his body and bloud, to the end, that the one ſhould be eaten, and that all ſhould drinke of the other, and not that they ſhould be kept to be worſhipped and honoured as God, as the blind Papiſtes haue done heretofore, who alſo haue committed ſacriledge, ſtealing from the peo-

ple the one part of the Sacrament, to wit, the bleſſed cup. Moreouer that the Sacramentes be rightly vſed, it is required that the ende and cauſe why the Sacramentes were inſtituted be vnderſtood and obſerued, as well of the miniſter as the receauers: for if the opinion be changed in the receauer the right vſe ceaſſeth: which is moſt euident by the reiection of the ſacrifices (as alſo if the teacher teach falſe doctrine) which were odiouſe and abhominable vnto God (albeit they were his owne ordinaunces) becauſe that wicked men vſed them to another ende then God hath ordeined. The ſame affirme we of the Sacramentes in the Papiſtical Church, in which we affirme the whole action of the Lord Ieſus to be adulterate, as well in the externall forme, as in the ende and opinion, what Chriſt Ieſus did and commaunded to be done is euident by the three Euangeliſtes, and by Sainct Paule, what the prieſt doeth at his Altare we neede not to rehearſe. The ende and cauſe of Chriſtes inſtitution, and why the ſelfe ſame ſhould be vſed, is expreſſed in theſe wordes, do ye this in remembraunce of me, as ofte as ye ſhall eate of this bread, and drinke of this cuppe, ye ſhall ſhewe forth (that is extoll, preach and magnifie) the Lordes death till he come. But to what ende, & in what opinion the prieſtes ſaye their Maſſes, let the wordes of the ſame their owne doctors and writinges witneſſe. To wit, that they are mediatours betwixt Chriſt and his Church to offer vnto God the Father, a ſacrifice propitiatorie for the ſinnes of the quicke & the dead: which doctrine as blaſphemous to Chriſt Ieſus, and making derogation to the ſufficiencie of his onely ſacrifice once offred for purgation of all thoſe that ſhall be ſanctified we vtterly abhorre, deteſt and renounce.

To whom Sacramentis appertaine.

WE confeſſe and acknowledge that Baptiſme appertaineth as well to the infantes of the faithfull, as vnto thoſe that be of age and diſcretion, & ſo we damne the error of the Anabaptiſts who denie Baptiſme to appertaine to children, before that they haue faith and vnderſtanding. But the Supper of the Lord we confeſſe to appertaine only to ſuch as haue bene of the houſhold of faith, can trie and examine thé ſelues, as well in their faith, as in their dueties towardes their neighbours. Such as eate at that holy table without faith, or being at diſſention and diuiſion with their brethren do eat vnworthely. And therefore it is that in our churches Miniſters take publike & particular examination of the knowledge and conuerſation of ſuch as are to be admitted to the table of the Lord Ieſus.

Of the ciuill Magiſtrate.

WE confeſſe and acknowledge Empires, kingdomes, dominions & titles to be diſtincted and ordained by God, the powers and authorities in the ſame (be it of Emperoures in their Empires, of Kings in their realmes, Dukes & Princes in their dominions, or of other Magiſtrates in free cities) to be Gods holy ordinaunce, ordained for manifeſtation of his owne glorie & for the ſingular profite & commodity of mankind. So that whoſoeuer goeth about to take away or to confound the holy ſtate of ciuill pollicies nowe long eſtabliſhed, we affirme the ſame men not onely to be enemies to mankind, but alſo wickedly to fight againſt Gods expreſſe will. We further confeſſe and acknowledge that ſuch perſons

as are placed in authoritie, are to be loued, honored feared and holden in moſt reuerent eſtimation, becauſe they are the Lieuetenantes of God, in whoſe ſeſſion God him ſelfe doth ſit and iudge (yea euen the Iudges and Princes them ſelues) to whome by God is giuen the ſword to the praiſe and defence of good men, and to reuenge and puniſh all open malefactors. To Kings moreouer Princes, Rulers, and Magiſtrates, we affirme that chieflie and moſt principally the reformation and purgation of the religiō appertaineth: ſo that not onely they are appointed for ciuill pollicie, but alſo for mainetainance of the true religion, and for ſuppreſſing of idolatry and ſuperſtition whatſoeuer, as in Dauid, Ioſaphat, Ezechias, Ioſias and others highlie commēded for their zeale in the cauſe may be eſpied. And therefore we confeſſe and auowe that ſuch as reſiſt the ſupreame powers (doing that thing which appertaineth to his charge) do reſiſt Gods ordinaunce, and therefore can not be guiltleſſe: and further we affirme, that who ſoeuer denie vnto them their aide, counſell, & comfort, while the Princes and rulers vigilantly trauell in the executing of their office, that the ſame men denie their helpe, ſupport and counſell to God, who by the preſence of his Lieuetenaunt craueth it of them.

The gifies freely giuen to the Church.

ALBEIT that the worde of God truly preached the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, & diſcipline executed according to the word of God be the certaine and infallible ſignes of the true Church, yet do we not ſo meane, that euerie particular perſon ioyned with ſuch a companie be an elect member of Chriſt

Christ Iesus, for we acknowledge and confesse that darnell, cockle and chaffe may be sowen, growe in great abundance, lye in the middest of the wheate, that is, the reprobate may be ioyned in the societie of the elect, & may externally vse with thē the benefites of the word and Sacraments. But such being but temporall professors in mouth but not in heart, do fall backe and continue not to the ende. And therefore haue they no frute of Christes death, resurrection nor ascention. But such as with hart vnfained beleeue, and with mouth boldly confesse the Lord Iesus (as before we haue sayd) shall most assuredly receaue these giftes, first in this life remission of sinnes, and that by faith onely in Christes bloud, in so much that albeit sinne remaine and continually abide in these our mortall bodies, yet it is not imputed vnto vs, but is remitted and couered with Christes iustice. Secondly in the generall iudgemēt ther shall be giuen to euerie man and woman resurrection of the flesh. For the sea shall giue her dead, the earth those that therein be enclosed: yea the eternall our God shall stretch out his hand vpon the dust, and the dead shall arise incorruptible, and that in the substaunce of the same flesh that euerie man now beares, to receaue according to their workes glorie or punishment, for such as nowe delighte in vanitie, crueltie, filthinesse, superstition or idolatrie shall be adiudged to the fire inextinguible, in the which they shalbe tormēted for euer, as wel in their bodies as in their soules: which nowe they geue to serue the deuill in all abhomination. But such as continue in well doing to the end boldly professing the Lord Iesus, to whose glorified bodie all his elect shall be like, when he shall appeare againe to iudgement, and shall render vp the kingdome to God his

Father, who then shalbe & euer shall remaine all in all things God blessed for euer, to whome with the Sonne and with the holie Ghost be all honor & glorie nowe and euer. Amen.

Arise O Lord and let thine enemies be confounded, let them flie from thy presence that hate thy godly name: geue thy seruaunts strength to speake thy word in boldnesse, and let all nations attaine to thy true knowledge.

These actes and articles were read in face of Parliament & ratified by the three estates of this realm at Edinburgh the xvij day of Iuly in the yeare of our Lord 1560.

This our confession was publikely read first in audience of the Lordes of articles, and after in the audience of the whole Parliament, where were present not onely such as professed Christ Iesus, but also a great number of the aduersaries of our religion such as the forenamed Bishoppes and some other of the temporall estate, who were commaunded in Goddes name to obiect if they could anie thing against that doctrine. Some of our Ministers were present standing vpon their feete, ready to haue answered in case any wold haue defended the Papistrie, and impugned our affirmatiues. But while that no obiectiō was made, there was a day appointed for conference in that & other heads Our confession was read euery article by it selfe ouer againe, as they were written in order, & the voyces of euery man was required accordingly. Of the temporall estate onelye gaue there voyces in the contrarie the Erle of Atholl, the Lordes *Simmerwaill* & *Barthwicke*. And yet for their disassenting they produced no better reason, but we will beleeue as our fathers beleeued. The bishops (papisticall we meane) spake

nothing

nothing. The reſt of the whole three eſtates by their publike votes affirmed the doctrine. And many the rather becauſe that the Biſhoppes would, nor durſt ſay nothing in the contrarie, for this was the vote of the Earle Marſhall. It is long ſince I haue had ſome fauour vnto the trueth and ſince that I haue had a ſuſpition of the papiſticall religion. But I praiſe my God this day hath fully reſolued me in the one and the other. For ſeing that my Lord Biſhopps who for their learning can & for their zeale that they ſhould beare to the veritie would as I ſuppoſe, gainesay any thing that directly repugneth to the veritie of God: Seing, I ſay, my Lordes Biſhopps here preſent ſpeake nothinge in the contrarye of the doctrine propo-ned, I can not but hold it for the verie trueth of God and the contrarie to be deceauable doctrine. And therefore ſo farre as in me lieth, I approue the one, and damne the other. And do farther aſke of God, that not onlie I, but alſo all my poſteritie may enioy the comfort of the doctrine that this day our eares haue hard. And yet more I may know, as it were by way of proteſtation, that if anie perſon eccleſiaſticall ſhall after this oppone themſelues to this our con-feſſion, that they haue no place nor credite. Conſi-dering that they hauing long aduiſement, and full knowledge of this our confeſſion, none is now found in lawful, free and quiet Parliament to oppone them ſelues to that which we profeſſe. And therefore if a-ny of this generation pretend to doe it after this I proteſt he be reputed rather on that loueth his own commoditie and the glorie of the world then the trueth of God and the ſaluation of mens ſoules.

The Earle Marſhelles voyce in Parliament.

After the voting and ratification of this our con-feſſion by the whole bodie of the Parliament, there were alſo pronounced two actes, the one againſt the

masse and the abuse of the Sacramentes, and the other against the supremacie of the Pope. The tenour whereof followeth.

The act against the Masse.

IN the Parliament holden at Edinburgh the tenth of Iulie the yeare of God 1560 yeares. The said Parliament being continewed to the first of August next therafter following with continuation of daies vpon the twēty fowre day of the said moneth of August the three estates then being present: The which day forsomuch as almightie God by his most trew and blessed word hath declared the reuerence and honour which should be geuen to him. And by his sonne Iesus Christ hath declared the true vse of the Sacramentes willing the same to be vsed according to his will and worde. By the which it is notour and perfectly knowen, that the Sacramentes of Baptisme and of the bodie and blood of Iesus Christ hath bin in all times past corrupted by the papisticall Church and by their Ministers. And presentlie notwithstanding the reformation alreadie made according to Goddes worde. Yet neuertheless there is some of the same Popes Church that stubburnelie persevereth in their wicked Idolatrie saying Masse and baptizing conforme to the Popes Church prophaning therethrough the Sacramentes foresaide in quiet and secret places, regarding therethrough neither God nor his word. Therefore it is statute and ordayned in this present Parliament that no manner of person nor persons in anie time cumming, administrate anie of the Sacraments secretlie, or any other manner of way. But they that are admitted and hauing power to that effect: nor say masse, nor yet heare

masse

Maſſe, nor be preſent therat vnder the paine of confiſcation of all their goodes, and puniſhing of their bodies at the diſcretion of the Magiſtrates within whoſe iuriſdiction ſuch perſons happeneth to be apprehended for the firſt fact, baniſhing of the realme for the ſecond fact, and iuſtifying to the dead for the third fact. And ordaineth all Shreeues, Stewardes Ballies, and their deputies, Prouoſtes, and Baleſs of Barroughs and others Iudges whatſoeuer within this Realme, to take diligent ſuite and inquiſition within their boundes where anie ſuch vſurped miniſtrie is vſed, maſſe ſaying, or they that be preſent at the doing thereof ratifying & approuing the ſame and take and apprehend them to the effect that the paines aboue written may be executed vpon them.

Extractum de Libro Parliamenti. Per me. &c.

Sic ſubſcribitur.

Iacobus Magill.

The act for aboliſhing the Iuriſdiction of the Pope.

In the parliamẽt holden at Edẽburgh the tẽth day of Iulie the yeare of God 1560 yeares, and thereafter continued to the firſt day of Auguſt next thereafter folowing with continuation of daies vpon the 24 of the ſayde moneth of Auguſt the three eſtates then being preſent, vnderſtanding that the Iuriſdiction and authoritie of the Biſhope of Rome called the Pope vſed in this realme in times bypaſt hath bin very hurtſome & preiudiciall to our Soueraigns authoritie and common weale of this realme Therfore hath decreed and ordeined that the Biſhop of Rome haue no Iuriſdiction nor authoritie in this Realme in tymes comming. And that none of our

ſaide Soueraignes ſubiects clame or deſyre in any time hereafter titell or right by the ſaid Biſhope of Rome or his ſect, to anie thing within this Realme, vnder the paines of Baratrie, that is to ſay proſcription, baniſhment and neuer to broke honour, office, nor dignitie within this Realme and the contrauenars hereof to be caled before the iuſtice or his deputies or before the Lordes of the ſeſſion, and puniſhed therefore conforme to the lawes of this Realme and the furneſſares of them with fynance of monie and purchaſers of their title of right or maintayners and defenders of them, ſhal incurre the ſame paines And that no Biſhop nor other prelate of this Realme vſe anie iuriſdiction in times to come by the ſaid Biſhop of Romes authoritie vnder the paine foreſaid. *Extractum.*

Theſe and other thinges orderlie done in lawfull & free Parliament we directed to Fraunce to our Soueraignes *Sir Iames Sandelandes* Lord of Sainct Ihon with the actes of the ſaid Parliament that by them they might be ratified according to the promiſes of their highnes commiſſionars made to vs, as by the contract of peace moſt euidentlie may appeare. But how the ſaid Lord of Sainct Ihon was entreated we liſt not rehearſe. But alwaies no ratification brought he vnto vs, but that we litle regarded or yet doe regard, for all that we did was rather to ſhew our debtfull obedience then to begge of them anie ſtrength to our religion, which from God hath ful power and needed not the ſuffrage of man, but in ſo farre as mi had need to beleeue it, if that euer he ſhall haue participation of the life euerlaſting. But ſomewhat muſt we aunſwere to ſuch as ſince hath whiſpered that it was but a pretended Parliament, and a priuie conuention and no lawfull Parliament. Their reaſons

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are,the King and Queene were in Fraunce,ther was neither ſeptour,ſworde nor crowne borne &c. And ſome principall Lordes were abſent, We aunſwere, that we rather wiſh the Papiſts to be quiet then too curiouſly to trauell in that head: for it may be while they thinke to hurt vs they take the Queene and her authoritie a great blow, and yet amend themſelues nothing. For in whoſe default we pray you was the Queene abſent from this realme? we thinke they will not be ſo ſhameleſſe as that they will blame the proteſtantes thereof. Her perſon was abſent,and that to no ſmall greefe of our harts:but were not the eſtates of her Realme aſſembled in her name? yea had they not her full power & commiſſion, yea the commiſſion & commandemẽt of her head the King of Fraũce to conuocate that Parliament and to doe all things that may be done in lawfull Parliament, euen as if our Soueraignes had bene their in proper perſons, if theye will limite the power of Princes to the places onelie where there bodilie preſence is,it will be thought ſtraunge: for ſo not onlie ſhall Kinges be compelled to content them with one Realme,but alſo with one citie:For the bodelie preſence of Kinges can no more be in diuerſe cities at one inſtant then that they can be in diuers Realms.Hitherto we haue vnderſtood that whereſoeuer the councellors of the King with his power and commiſſion are aſſembled to doe anie thing at his commandement,that ther is the Kinges ſufficient preſence and authoritie wherſoeuer his owne bodie be lyuing at freedome and libertie:which if the Papiſtes denie,we will find falts with them and with the Princes whome they haue abuſed,that more will annoye them,then anie thiag that we can looſe by the inſufficiency of that Parliament,Which neuertheleſſe we are bold to affirme to

haue bin more lawfull and more free then anie Parliament, that they are able to produce this hundereth yeare before it or yet anie that hath enſued ſince it was: for in it the voyces of men were free and geuen of conſcience, in others they were bought, or geuen at the deuotion of the Prince. All thinges in it concluded, are able to abide the tryall, and not to be conſumed at the proofe of the fyre: of others the godlie may iuſtlie cal in doubt thinges determined. To the ſword and ſceptor nor yet to the abſence of ſome Lordes., we aunſwere nothing. For our aduerſaries know well inough that the one is rather a pep and glorious vaine ceremonie, then a ſubſtantiall point of neceſſitie required to a lawfull Parliament And the abſence of ſome preiudges not the powers of the preſent. Prouiding that dew aduertiſement be made vnto them. But now we returne to our hiſtorie.

The Parliament diſſolued, conſultation was had, how the Church might be eſtabliſhed in a good and godlie policie, which by the Papiſtes was altogether defaced. Commiſſion and charge was geuē to *Maiſter Ihon VVinram* ſuppriour of Sainct Andrewes *Maiſter Ihon Spottiſwood*, *Ihon VVillock*, *Maiſter Ihon Douglaſſe* rectour of Sainct Andrewes, *Maiſter Ihon Row*, and *Ihon Knox*, to draw in a volume the pollicie and diſcipline of the Church aſwell as they had done the doctrine, which they did and preſented it to the Nobilitie who did peruſe it many daies. Some approued it, & willed the ſame to haue bene ſet forth by a Law, others perceyuing their carnall libertie and wordlie commoditie ſomwhat to be empared thereby grudged, in ſo much that the name of the booke of diſcipline became odious vnto them. Euerie thing that repugned to their corrupt imaginations was termed

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in their mockage deuote imaginationes. The cauſe we haue before declared, ſome was licentious, ſome had greedely griped to the poſſeſſiõs of the Church and others thought that they would not lacke their part of Chriſtes coate, yea and that before that euer he was hanged as by the preachers they were oft rebuked. The chiefe great man that had profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus and refuſed to ſubſcribe the booke of diſcipline was the Lord *Erskin*. And no wonder, for beſides that, he had a verie euill womã to his wife, if the poore, the ſchools, and the miniſterie of the Church had their owne, his kitchin would lack two parts and more of that which he iniuſtlie now poſſeſſeth. Aſſuredlie ſome of vs hath wondered how mẽ that profeſſe godlines could of ſo long continewance heare the threatninges of God againſt theeues and againſt their howſes and knowing themſelues giltie, in ſuch things as were openly rebuked and that they neuer had remorſe of conſcience, neither yet intended to reſtore anie thing of that which long they had ſtollen and reft. There were none within the Realme more vnmercifull to the poore miniſters then were they which had greateſt rentes of the Churches. But in that we haue perceued the old prouerb to be trew Nothing can ſuffice a wretch. And againe, the bellie hath no eares. Yet the ſame booke of diſcipline was ſubſcribed by a great parre of the Nobilitie, To witte, the Dukes grace, the Earle of Arrane, the Erles Argyle, Glẽcarn Merſhell, Menteth, Morton, Rotheſſe Lord *Iames* now Earle of Murray, Lords *Yeaſter Boyd Yehilrie* Maiſter of Maxwel, Lord *Lindſay* elder, and the Maiſter now Lord, Barrõs, Drũlaurige, Lothingwar, Garleiſſe, Bargany, Maiſter *Alexander Gordone*, Biſhop of Gallowaye, *Alexander Campbell* Deane of Murray with a great number moe ſubſcrybed & ap-

proued the ſaid booke of Diſcipline in the townbuth of Edinburgh, the 27 daie of Ianuarie the yeare of our God 1560 yeares by their approbation in theſe wordes.

We which haue ſubſcribed theſe preſentes hauing aduiſed with the Articles herein ſpecified and as it aboue mentioned from the beginning of this booke thinkes the ſame good and conforme to Gods word in all pointes conforme to the notes and additions thereto, asked, and promiſe to ſet the ſame forewarde at the vttermoſt of our powers. Prouiding that the Biſhoppes, Abbotes Priors, and other Prelates, and beneficed men which elſe haue adioyned themſelues to vs, brooke the reuenues of their benefices duryng their lyfe times they ſuſtaininge and vpholdinge the Miniſterie and Miniſters as is herein ſpecified for preaching of the worde and miniſtring of the Sacramentes. What be the contentes of the whole booke and how that this promiſe was illuded from time to time we will after heare.

Shortly after the ſaid Parliament were ſent frō the councell Embaſſadours to England, the Earles *Morton*, and *Glencarne*, together with *William Maitland* of Lethington yonger. The chiefe point of their cōmiſſion was earneſtlie to craue the conſtāt aſſiſtāce of the Queenes Maieſtie of England againſt all forrane inuaſion. And to propone the Erle of Arrane (who then was in no ſmall eſtimation with vs) to the Queene of England in mariage.

That ſame time was the caſtell of Semple beſieged and taken. Becauſe the Lord thereof diſobeyed the Lawes and ordinances of the counſell in manie thinges and eſpeciallie in that, that he would maintaine the Idolatrie of the Maſſe, and alſo, that he beſet the waye to the Erle of Arrane with a great gathering

thering as he was ryding with his accuſtomed companie. The Papiſts were prowde for they looked for a new armie from Fraunce at the next ſpring & ther of was their no ſmall appearance, if God had not otherwiſe prouided. For Fraunce vtterly refuſed the confirmation of the peace contracted at Lieth, wold ratifie no part of our Parliament, dimiſſed the Lord of Sainct Ihon without a reſolute aunſwere: beganne to gather new bandes of throatecutters, and to make great preparation for ſhippes. They farther ſent before them certaine practiſers, (amongeſt whome the Lord *Seaton* who had departed with the French out of Lieth was one) to raiſe vp new troubles within this Realm. And all this came partly of the malice of the houſe of Gwyſe who had auowed to reuenge the diſpleaſure of their ſiſter both vpon England and Scotland, and partly by inſtigation of prowde *Beton* falſly called biſhop of Glaſquow, of Dury abbot of Dumfermeling and *Saulles Seaton*, and Maiſter *Iohn Sinclair* Deane of Reſtalrige with ſuch others of the French faction who had openlie ſpoken that they had refuſed alportion of Scotland vnleſſe that it were vnder the gouernment of a French man. Recópéce thé (O Lord) as thou knoweſt moſt expedient for thy owne glorie, and for the perpetuall ſhame of all traytours to their common wealth. The certaine knowledge of all theſe things came to our eares wherat many were afrayed, and diuerſe ſuſpected that England woulde not be ſo forward in times to come, conſidering that their former expenſes were ſo great. The principall comfort remained with the preachers, for they aſſured vs in Godes name that God ſhould performe in all perfection that worke in our handes. The beginning whereof he had ſo mightylie maintained, becauſe it was not ours, but his owne. And therefore exhor-

ted vs, that we ſhould conſtantly proceed to reforme all abuſes and to plant the miniſterie of the Church as by Gods word we might iuſtifie it. And then cõmit the ſucceſſe of all, to our god, in whoſe power the diſpoſition of kingdomes ſtandeth. And ſo we began to doe. for troubles appearing made vs giue eare to the admonitions of Gods ſeruantes. And while that we had ſkarſlie begunne againe to implore the help of our God, and to ſhew ſome ſignes of our obedience vnto his meſſengers, and holie word, Lo the mightie hand of God from aboue ſent vnto vs, a wonderfull and moſt ioyfull deliuerance. For vnhappie Francis huſband to our Soueraigne ſuddanlie periſhed of a rotten eare. But becauſe the death of that child was not onlie the cauſe of ioye to vs in Scotland, but alſo by it were the faithfull in France deliuered as it were from the preſent death. We thinke expedient to entreate the ſame ſomewhat more largelie.

The death of the yoũg King of Fraunce husband to our Iesabel.

Theſe crewell and coniured enemies of God and of all godlines, the Duke of Gwyſe the Cardinall of Lorane, and their faction who thẽ at their owne appetite plaied the tyrants in Fraunce had determined the deſtruction of all that profeſſed the trew knowledge of Ieſus Chriſt within that Realm. What tyrãny late before they had vſed at Amboyſſe the hiſtorie of Fraunce doth witneſſe: now in Orleance in the moneth of Nouember conueaned the King vnhappie Francis, the Queene our Soueraigne, and the Queenes mother, the Duke of Gwyſe with all his faction: The King of Nauare, and the Prince his brother.

So that great was the confluence of the Nobilitie but greater was the aſſemblie of the murtherers, for there was not a hangman in all Fraunce which was not there. The priſons were full of the trew ſeruantes of

of God: The King of Nauarre, and the Prince were conſtituted priſoners. The ſhreefe of Orleance a mā fearing God was taken, and ſo were manie others of the towne. Briefly, ther was none that profeſſed God or godlines within that towne that looked not for the extremity, for the wallies and zetties were night and daye keapt with the garneſins of the Gwyſians, miſerable mē were dayly brought in to ſuffer iudgement, but none was ſuffered to departe forth but at the deuotion of the tyrantes. And ſo they proceeded till the tenth or twelft of December, when that they thought tyme to put their bloody councell in execution, and for that purpoſe concluſion was taken that the King ſhould departe out of the towne and lie at a certaine place, which was done to this intent, that ther ſhould no ſuite be made to the King for the ſaftie of anie mans life, whome they thought worthie of death And ſo was the Kings howſe in Orleance broken vp, his beddes, cofers, and tapiſtrie ſent away, his owne bootes put on, he ſitting at the Maſſe immediatly hereafter to haue departed, and ſo their tyranny to haue begonne. When all things we ſay, were into this readineſſe to ſhed the blood of Innocentes, the eternall our God who euer watcheth for the preſeruation of his owne, beganne to worke, and ſuddanlie did put his owne worke in execution, for as the ſaide King ſatte at Maſſe, he was ſuddanly ſtricken with an Apoſthume, in that deafe eare that neuer wold hear the trueth of God, and ſo was he carried to a voide howſe, laied vpon a palliaſe vnto ſuch time as a cannaby was ſet vp vnto him, wher he lay till the 15 day of December in the yeare of God 1560 yeares. Whē his glorie periſhed, and the pryde of his ſtubborne hart euaniſhed in ſmoke. And ſo was the ſnaire broken, the tyrantes diſapointed of their cruelties. Thoſe

Corrected by Maiſter George.

that was appointed to death raiſed as it were out of their graues, & we who by our fooliſhnes had made our ſelues ſlaues to ſtraungers were reſtored againe to freedome and libertie of a free Realme. O that we had heartes deepelie to conſider, what are thy wonderous workes (O Lord) that we might praiſe thee in the middeſt of this moſt obſtinate and wicked generation, and leaue the memoriall of the ſame to our poſteritie, which alas we feare ſhall forget theſe thy ineſtimable benefites. The godlie in Fraunce vpon this ſuddaine death ſet forth in theſe verſes an admonition to Kinges.

Conſilijs Chriſtum oppugnans & fraudibus ingens
Regum ille terror Carolus
Ipſis ridiculus pueris furioſus & excors
Totus repentè corruit.
Tuq; Henrice malis dum conſulteribus vtens
Sitis piorum ſanguinem
Ipſe tuo vecors inopina cæde peremptus
Terram imbuiſti ſanguine.
Henrici deinceps ſectans veſtigia patris
Franciſcus infelix puer
Clamantem Chriſtum ſurda dum negligis aure
Aure putrefacta corruit.
Verſuti, fatui, ſurdi ſpectacula reges
Hæc vos ſapere, vel mori iubent.

The meaning whereof is.

King Charles that tyrant terrible
VVithſtanding Chriſt with witt and craft
As mocking ſtocke moſt miſerable
Ended at once raging and daft.
Then Henrie through euill cumpany
Thirſting the blood of godly men
VVith his owne blood ſhed ſuddanly

VVa

VVas made to wayte the end ye ken
Laſt Francis thas vnhappie child
His fathers footeſteppes following plaine
To Chriſt crying, deaf eares did yeeld
A rotten eare then was his baine.
O craftie deafe and fooliſh Kinges
Theſe fearfull iudgements gone before you
Biddeth you be wyſer in your ringes
Or ſhamefull death will ſoone deuoure you.

The death of this King made great alteration in Fraunce, England, and Scotland, Fraunce was erected in ſome eſperance that the tyranny of the Gwyſiãs ſhould no lõger raign aboue them. Becauſe God at vnwares had broken the ſtaffe whereupon they leaned, but alas they were deceaued, for the ſimplicity of ſome was ſo abuſed that aganſt the lawes of the Realme, to the Queenes mother was committed regiment which lifted vp aſwell the Duke of Gwyſe as the cruell Cardinal for a ſeaſon. The Queene of England and the Councell remitted our Embaſſadours with anſwere that ſhe would not marie haſtelie and therefore willed the counſell of Scotland & the Erle of Arrane foreſaid not to depend vpõ any hope ther of: what motiues ſhe had we omit. The pride of the Papiſtes of Scotland beganne to be abated, & ſome that euer had ſhowen themſelues enemies vnto vs, beganne to thinke and plainely to ſpeake (amongeſt whome the old ſhreife of Ayre was one) that they perceaued God to fight for vs. The Earle of Arrane him ſelfe did more patiently abide the repulſe of the Queene of England, becauſe he was not altogether without hope that the Queene of Scotland bare vnto him ſome fauour. And ſo he wrote vnto her and ſent for credite a ringe which the ſaid Queene our

Soueraigne knew well inough. The letter and ring were both preſented to the Queene, and of her receaued, Aunſwere was returned to the ſaid Earle after the which he made no further perſuite in that matter. And yet neuertheleſſe he bare it heauelie in harte, and more heauelie then manye would haue wiſhed.

The certaintie of the death foreſaid was ſignified vnto vs both by ſea and land. By ſea receaued *Iohn Knox* (who thē had great intelligence both with the Churches and ſome of the Courte of Fraunce) that the King was mortallie ſick, and could not wel eſcape the death. Which lettres receaued that ſame daie a-after noone he paſſed to the Duks grace to his owne lodging at the Church of field, with whom he foūd the Lord *Iames* in conferenee together, the Earle of Arrane was in Iedbrugh to whome he opened ſuche newes as he had receaued, and willed them to be of good comforte, for ſaid he the aduertiſar neuer hath yet abuſed me. It is the ſame gentlemā that firſt gaue vs knowledg of the ſlaughter of *Hēry* King of France And ſhewed vnto them the letter, but would not expreſſe the mans name. While they were reaſoning in diuerſe purpoſes, and he vpon the one part comforting them, and they vpon the other part comforting him (for he was in no ſmal heauines by reaſon of the laite death of his deare bedfelow *Mariorie Bowes*) for while (we ſay) they three were familiarly cōmoning together, there came a meſſenger frō the Lord *Grey* forthe of Barwicke aſſuringe him of the death of the King of Fraūce. Which diuulgat and noyſed abroad a general conuention of the whole Nobilitie was appointed to be holdē at Edinburgh the fifteenth day of Ianuary following in the which the booke of diſcipline was peruſed newlie ouer again for ſome pre

tēded ignorance by reaſon that they had not heard it. In that aſſemblie was Maiſter *Alexander Anderſon* ſubprincipall of Abirdeane, a man more ſubtill and craftie then either learned or godlie, called, who refuſed to diſpute in his faith, abuſing a place of Tertulian to cloak his ignorāce. It was anſwered vnto him that Tertulian ſhould not preiudge the authority of the holy ghoſt who by the mouth of Peter cōmaundeth vs to giue reaſon of our faith to euery one that requireth the ſame of vs: It was farther aunſwered, that we neither required him neither yet anie mā to diſpute in any point cōcerning our fayth which was groundedvpon Gods worde, & fully expreſſed in his holye Scriptures, for all that we beleeued without controuerſie. But we required of him as of the reſt of Papiſtes, that they wold ſuffer their doctrine conſtitutions and ceremonies to come to tryell. And principallie that the Maſſe and the opinion therof by thē taught vnto the people might be laid to the ſquaire rule of Godes word and vnto the right Inſtitution of Ieſus Chriſt, That they might vnderſtand whether that their preachers offēded or not in that, that they affirmed. The action of the Maſſe to be expreſſelye repugninge vnto the laſt Supper of the Lorde Ieſus. The ſayer of it to committe horrible blaſphemie in vſurping vpon him the office of Chriſt, the hearers to commit damnable Idolatrie, and the opinion of it conceaued to be derogation, and as it were diſanulling of Chriſtes death. While the ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* denied that the prieſt tooke vpon him Chriſts office, to offer for ſinne as was alleadged. A Maſſe booke was produced & in the beginning of the Canon were theſe wordes read, *Suſcipe Sancta trinitas hanc oblationem quam ego indignus peccator offero tibi vivo Deo & vero, pro peccatis meis, pro peccatis totius*

Eccleſiæ viuorum & mortuorum &c. Now ſaid the reſoner if to offer for the ſinnes of the whole Church was not the office of Chriſt Ieſus, yea that office that to him onlie might, & may appertaine let the Scripture iudge . And if a vile knaue , whome ye call prieſt proudlie taketh the ſame vpon him let your owne booke witnes. The ſaid *Maiſter Alexander* anſwered Chriſt offered the propitiatorie, & that could none doe but he : But we offer the remembrance. Wherto it was anſwered we praiſe God that ye haue denyed a ſacrifice propitiatorie to be in the Maſſe: & yet we offer to proue that in moe then a hundereth places of your papiſticall doctors this propoſition is affirmed. The Maſſe is a ſacrifice propitiatorie. But the ſecond part wher ye alleage that ye offer Chriſt in remembrance: we aske firſt vnto whom do ye offer him? and next by what authoritie are ye aſſured of well doing. In God the Father there falleth noo-bliuion. And if ye will ſhifte and ſaie, that ye offer it not as God were forgetfull but as willing to apply Chriſts merites to his Church. We demaund of you what power and commandement haue ye ſo to doe? We know that our Maiſter Chriſt Ieſus commanded his Apoſtles to do that which he did in remembrãce of him. But plaine it is that Chriſt tooke bread gaue thankes, brake bread, and gaue it to his diſciples, ſaying, take ye, eate ye, this is my bodie which is broken for you, do this in remembrance of me. &c. Here we finde a commandement, to take, to eate, to take and to drincke: But to offer Chriſtes bodie either for remembrance or application, we finde not. And therefore we ſay to take vpon you an office which is not giuen vnto you is vniuſt vſurpation , and no lawfull power. The ſaid Maiſter *Alexander* being more then aſtoniſhed would haue ſhifted, but then the Lordes

willed

willeth him to aunſwere directlie, whereto he anſwered, that he was better ſeene in philoſophie, then in Theologie. Then was commanded Maiſter *Ihon Leſlie* (who then was perſon of Vne, and now Lord Abbot of Lõdors and after was made Biſhop of Roſſe) to anſwere to the former argument, & he with great grauitie beganne to anſwere, if our Maiſter haue nothing to ſay to it, I haue nothing. For I know nothing but the canon Law. And the greateſt reaſon that euer I could finde there is, *Nolumus* and *volumus*, and yet we vnderſtand that now he is the onlie patron of the Maſſe. But it is no maruell for we vnderſtande that he is a prieſt gette, and therefore we ſhould not wonder albeit that the old truan verſe be trew. *Patrẽ ſequitur ſua proles.* The Nobilitie hearing that neither the one nor the other would aunſwere directlie, ſaid, we haue bene miſerably deceaued heretofore, for if the Maſſe may not obtaine remiſſion of ſinnes to the quicke and to the dead, wherefore were all the abaſies ſo richly doted with our temporall landes. Thus much we thought good to inſert here, becauſe that ſome Papiſtes are not aſhamed now to affirme that they with their reaſons could neuer be heard, but that all that we did, we did by fine force, when that the whole realm knoweth that we euer required thé to ſpeake their iudgementes freelie. Not onelie promiſing vnto them protection & defence, but alſo that we ſhould ſubſcribe with them if they by Gods ſcriptures could confute vs and by the ſame word eſtabliſh their aſſertions. But who can correct the leaſinges of ſuch as in all thinges ſhow them the ſonnes of the Father of all lies. Preſerue vs Lord from that peruerſe and malicious generation. Amen.

At this ſame aſſembly was the Lord *Iames* appointed to goe to France to the Queene our Soueraigne

and a Parliament was appointed to begin the 20. of May next following: for at that time was the returne of the ſaid Lord *Iames* looked for. And ſo was that cõuention diſſolued without any other thing of importance concluded, the ſaid Lord *Iames* prepared him for his iourney (for albeit he paſt in the publike affaires he ſuſtained the charge of his owne expenſes, and yet there neuer paſt from this realme in the cõpanie of one man ſo manie, and ſo manie and ſo honeſt through England to Fraunce) before he departed he was forwarned aſwell of the danger in France as of the Queenes craft (not that we then ſuſpected her nature, but that we vnderſtood the malice of her friendes) he was plainly premoniſhed that if euer he condiſcended that ſhe ſhould haue Maſſe publikelie or priuatlie within the Realme of Scotland, that then betrayed he the cauſe of God and exponed the religion euen to the vttermoſt danger that he could do. That ſhe ſhould haue Maſſe publikely he affirmed that he ſhould neuer conſent but to haue it ſecretlie in her chamber who could ſtoppe her. The daunger was ſhewen and ſo he departed.

The election of the Superintendentes hereafter followeth in this manner.

FIrſt was made a ſermon in the which theſe heads were intreated. Firſt the neceſſitie of Miniſters & ſuperintendentes, the ſecond the crimes and vices that might vnable them of the Miniſterie, Thirdlye, the vertues required in them, Fourthlye, and laſt whether ſuch as by publique conſent of the Church were called to ſuch office might refuſe the ſame.

The ſermon finiſhed it was declared by the ſame Miniſter maker therof, that the Lords of ſecret coũ-

ſell

sel had geuen charge and power to the Churches of Lowthian to chuse Maister *Ihon Spottiswood* superintendent & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the Churches of Edinburgh, Linlieth-quow, Stirueling, Tranent, Hadington, and Dumbar, as also to Earles, Lordes, Barrons, gentelmen, and others that haue or that might clame to haue vote in election to be present that day at that same howre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent, after was called the said Maister *Ihon*, who aunswering the Minister, demaunded if anye man knew anie cryme or offence to the said Maister *Ihon*, that might vnable him to be called to that office, and that he demaunded thrise. Secondarily question was moued to the whole multitude if there was anie other whome they would put in election with the said Maister *Ihon*, the people were asked if they would haue the said Maister *Ihon* superintendent? if they would honour and obey him as Christes Minister, and comfort & assist him in euerie thing pertayning to his charge.

They answered.

We will & we do promise vnto him such obedience, as becometh the sheepe to giue vnto their Pastour, so long as he remaineth faithfull, in his office. The aunswers of the people, and their consent receaued these questions were proponed to him, that was to be elected.

Question.

Seing that ye heare the thirst and desire of this people, doe ye not thinke your selfe bound in conscience, before God to supporte them that so earnestly

call for your cõfort,& for the fruite of your labours.

Aunſwere.

If any thing were in me able to ſatiſſie their deſire I acknowledge my ſelfe bound to obey God calling by them.

Queſtion.

Do ye ſeek to be promoted to this office & charge for any reſpect of wordly commodity riches or glory

Aunſwere.

God knoweth the contrarie.

Queſtion.

Beleeue ye not that the doctrine of the Prophets and Apoſtles contained in the books of the old and new Teſtaments is the onlie trew,and moſt abſolute foundation of the vniuerſall church of Chriſt Ieſus, in ſo much that in the ſame Scriptures are contained all thinges neceſſary to be beleeued for the ſaluation of mankinde?

Aunſwere.

I verely beleeue the ſame,aud do abhorre and vterly refuſe all doctrine alleaged neceſſary to ſaluation that is not expreſſedly contained in the ſame.

Queſtion.

Is not Chriſt Ieſus man of man according to the flesh.

fleſh. To wit, the ſone of Dauid, the ſeed of Abraham conceaued of the holie ghoſt borne of the virgin his mother the onlie head and mediator of his Church.

Aunſwere.

He is and without him there is neither ſaluation to man nor life to Angell.

Queſtion.

Is not the ſame Lord Ieſus the only trew God, the eternall ſone of the eternall Father in whom all that ſhalbe ſaued were elected before the foundation of the worlde was layed.

Anſwere.

I acknowledge and cõfeſſe him in the vnity of his godhead to be God aboue all thinges bleſſed for euer.

Queſtion.

Shall not they whome God in his eternall counſell hath elected, be called to the knowledge of his Sone our Lord Ieſus, and ſhall not they who of purpoſe are called in this life be iuſtified, and wher iuſtification & free remiſſion of ſinnes is obtained in this life by free grace, ſhall not the glorie of the Sonnes of God follow in the generall reſurrection, when the Sonne of God ſhal appeare in his glorious Maieſty.

Aunſwere.

This I acknowledge to be the doctrin of the Apo-

ſtle, and the moſt ſingular comfort of Gods childré.

Queſtion.

Will ye not then containe your ſelf in all doctrine within the bounds of this foundation? Wil ye not ſtudie to promoue the ſame as well by your life, as by your doctrine? Will ye not according to the graces and vtterance that God ſhall graunt vnto you profeſſe, inſtruct, and maintaine the puritie of the doctrine contained in the ſacred word of God, and to the vttermoſt of your power? Will ye not gaineſtand and conuince the gainſayers, & the teachers of mens inuentions.

Anſwer.

That do I promiſe in the preſence of God and of his congregation here aſſembled.

Queſtion.

Know ye not that the excellencie of this office to the which God hath called you requireth that your conuerſation and behauiour be ſuch, as that ye may be irreprehenſible, yea euen in the eyes of the vngodly?

Anſwer.

I vnfainedly acknowledge and humbly deſire the Church of God to pray with me that my life be not ſlaunderous to the glorious Goſpell of Chriſt Ieſus.

Queſtion.

Becauſe ye are a man compaſſed with infirmities will ye not charitably & with lowlineſſe of ſpirite receaue

ceaue admonition of your brethren: and if ye ſhall happen to ſlide or offend in any point? will ye not be ſubiect to the diſcipline of the Church, as the reſt of your brethren.

The anſwer of the Superintendent or miniſter to be elected.

I acknowledge my ſelf a man ſubiected to infirmitie, & one that hath need of correction & admonitiõ, and therfore I moſt willingly ſubiect my ſelfe to the wholſome diſcipline of the Church, yea to the diſcipline of the ſame Church by the which I am now called to this office and charge, and here in Gods preſence and yours do promiſe obedience to all admonitions ſecretly or publikly giuen, vnto the which if I be found inobedient, I confeſſe my ſelf moſt worthy to be reiected, not only from this honour, but alſo from the ſocietie of the faithfull incaſe of my ſtubburnneſſe. For the vocation of God to beare charge within his Church maketh not men tyrauntes nor Lords, but appointeth them ſeruants, watchmen, & Paſtors to the flocke.

This ended, queſtion muſt be asked againe of the multitude.

Queſtion.

Require ye any farther of this your Superintendent?

Anſwer.

If no man anſwer let the miniſter proceed.

Queſtion.

Will ye not acknowledge this your brother for the miniſter of Chriſt Ieſus? wil ye not reuerẽce the word

of God that proceedeth from his mouth? Wil ye not receaue of him the ſermon of exhortation with patience? not refuſing the wholſome medicine of your ſoules? although it be bitter and vnpleaſing to the fleſh? will ye not finallie maintaine and comfort him in his miniſterie againſt all ſuch as wickedly would rebell againſt God and his holie ordinance?

The people anſwered.

We will: as we will anſwer to the Lord Ieſus, who hath commaunded his miniſters to be had in reuerence, as his Embaſſadours and as men that carefullie watch for the ſaluation of our ſoules.

Let the Nobilite be vrged.

Ye haue heard the duetie and profeſſion of this our brother by your conſentes appoynted to this charge, as alſo the dutie and obedience which God requireth of vs towardes him here in his miniſterie. But becauſe that neither of both are able to performe anie thing without the eſpeciall grace of our God in Chriſt Ieſus, who hath promiſed to be with vs preſent euen to the conſummation of the world, with vnfained hearts let vs craue of him his benediction and aſſiſtance in this worke begun to his glorie and for the comfort of his Church.

The prayer.

O Lord to whom all power is giuen in heauen and in earth, thou that art the eternall Sonne of the eternal Father, who haſt not only loued thy Church that for the redemption and purgation of the ſame, thou

thou haſt hũbled thy ſelfe to the death of the croſſe, and therupon haſt ſhed thy moſt innocent bloud to prepare to thy ſelfe a ſpouſe without ſpot, but alſo to retaine this moſt excellent benefit in recent memorie haſt appointed in thy Church, teachers, Paſtours and Apoſtles, to inſtruct, comfort and admoniſh the ſame: looke vpon vs mercifully O Lord, thou that onely art king, teacher & high prieſt, to thine owne flocke: and ſend vnto this our brother, whom in thy name we haue charged with the chiefe care of thy Church within the bounds of L. ſuch portion of thy holy Spirit as thereby he may rightly deuide thy worde to the inſtruction of thy flocke, and to the confutation of pernitious errours and damnable ſuperſtitions. Geue vnto him good Lord, a mouth and wiſedome whereby the enemies of thy truth may be confounded, the wolues expelled and driuen from thy folde, thy ſheepe may be fedde in the wholeſome paſtures of thy moſt holie word, the blind and ignorant may be illuminated with thy true knowledge. Finallie that the degrees of ſuperſtition and idolatrie which nowe reſteth within this realme, being purged and remoued, we may all not only haue occaſion to glorifie thee our only Lord and Sauiour, but alſo dayly to growe in godlineſſe and obedience of thy moſt holy will, to the deſtruction of the body of ſinne, and to the reſtitution of that image, to the which we were once created, and to the which after our fal and defection we are renued by participation of thy holy Spirit, which by true faith in thee we do profeſſe as the bleſſed of thy Father, of whome the perpetual increaſe of thy graces we craue as by thee our Lord, King, and onely Biſhop we are taught to pray. *Our Father, &c.*

The prayer ended, the reſt of the miniſters if any

be, and Elders of that Church preſent, in ſigne of their conſent ſhall take the elected by the hand. The chiefe miniſter ſhal giue the benedictiō as foloweth.

God the Father of our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt who hath commaunded his Goſpell to be preached to the comfort of his elect, and harh called thee to the office of a watchman ouer his people, multiplie his graces with thee, illuminate thee with his holy Spirit: comfort and ſtrengthen thee in all vertue: gouerne and guide thy miniſterie to the praiſe of his holy name, to the propagation of Chriſts kingdom, to the comfort of his Church, and finally, to the plaine diſcharge and aſſurance of thine owne conſcience in the day of the Lord Ieſus, to whome with the Father and with the holy Ghoſt be all honour, praiſe and glory now and euer. So be it.

The laſt exhortation to the elected.

TAke heed to thy ſelfe, and vnto the flocke committed to thy charge, feede the ſame carefullie, not as it were by compulſion, but of very loue which thou beareſt to the Lord Ieſus. Walke in ſimplicitie and pureneſſe of life, as it becometh the true ſeruant and the Ambaſſadour of the Lord Ieſus. Vſurpe not dominion nor tyrannicall authoritie ouer thy brethren, be not diſcouraged in aduerſity, but lay before thy ſelf the example of the Prophets, Apoſtles, and of the Lord Ieſus, who in their miniſterie ſuſtained contradiction, contempt, perſecution, & death: feare not to rebuke the world of ſinne, iuſtice & iudgment. If anie thing ſucceed proſperouſlie in thy vocation, be not puft vp with pride, neither yet flatter thy ſelf, as that the good ſucceſſe proceedeth from thy vertue, induſtrie or care. But let euer that ſentence of the Apoſtle remaine in thine hart: What haſt thou which

which thou haſt not receaued? If thou haue receiued, why glorieſt thou? Comfort the afflicted, ſupport the poore, and exhort others to ſupport them. Be not careful for things of this life, but be feruent in prayer to God for the increaſe of his holy Spirit. And finallie behaue thy ſelf in this holy vocatiõ with ſuch ſobrietie as God may be glorified in thy miniſtery. And ſo ſhalt thou ſhortly obtaine the victory, and ſhalt receaue the crowne, promiſed when the Lord Ieſus ſhall appeare in his glorie, whoſe omnipotent Spirit aſſiſt thee and vs to the end.

Sing 23 pſalme.

FINIS.

As the ſeruants of God vprightly trauelled to haue vice puniſhed and vertue planted, ſo did the deuill euer ſtirre vp ſome in the contrarie of both. There was a lawe made againſt fornicators and adulterers, that the one & the other ſhould be carted through the townes, and ſo baniſhed til that their repentance was offered and receaued. And albeit this was not the ſeueritie of Gods law, eſpeciallie againſt adulterers, yet was it a great bridle to malefactours, wherat the wicked did wonderouſly ſtorme. It chanced that one *Sanderſon* a fletcher was deprehended, to haue put away his lawfull wife (vnder colour that he was lawfully parted after the maner of the Papiſticall religion) and had taken to him another in houſe. The complaint and ſlander proponed to the Church, and triall taken that he was not married with the ſecond womã, neither that he was able to proue that he was diuorced by any order of lawe from the firſt, he was committed into the handes of the magiſtrates: who according to the lawes cõmanded him to be carted. But the raſcall multitude enflamed by ſome vngodly craftsmen made inſurrection, brake the cart, boſted

the officers,& tooke away the malefactor. This was the beginning of farther euils, as we shal after heare.

Ambassador from France and his demaundes.

In this meane time while Lord *Iames* (we say) was in Fraunce, there came an Embassadour from Fraunce suborned no doubt with all craft that might trouble the estate of religion. His demaunds were, first that league betwixt vs and England should be broken, secondly that the auncient league betwixt Fraunce & Scotland should be renued. Thirdly, and that the bishops and Church men should be reponed in their former places, and be suffered to intermit with their liuings. The Counsell delayed answer to the Parliament appointed in May. In the meane time the Papists of Scotland practised with him. The Earles of Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell and others, intended to haue taken Edinburgh before the sayd Parliament: the whole bishops assembled and held councell in Stirueling. Some whispering there was that the Duke and the Bishop of Saint Andrewes were too familiar, & some feared that the authority of the Queene should haue bene vsurped, by reason of her absence, and that the Duke was second person, for therat had some of his pressed immediatly after the death of the king of Fraunce. The Protestants thereof aduertized, preuented them and came to Edinburgh. The Earle of Arrane stood constant, with his brethren: there were some that carefully and painfully trauelled that nothing preiudiciall to the Queenes authoritie should be done in absence of the Lord *Iames*, to whom the Queene hath recompenced euil for good seruice. *Maister Iames Megill* in that point did both stoutly and truly. For *Iohn Knox* and he were then fallen in familiaritie, in which they yet continue 20. Octobris 1567. by reason that the sayde *Maister Iames* had embraced the religion, and professed

feſſed it publikely. The Papiſts & Biſhops diſapointed of their principall enterpriſe, did yet make broile for trouble. For the raſcall multitude were ſtirred vp to make a Robin Hood, which enormitie was of manie yeares left, and damned by ſtatute & act of Parliament: yet would they not be forbidden, but would diſobey and trouble the towne eſpecially vppon the night, whereat the Bailiffes offended tooke frō them ſome ſwords and an enſeigne, which was occaſion that they that ſame night made a mutinie: kept the gates of the towne, and intended to haue purſued ſome men within their owne houſes. But that vpon the reſtitution of their ſwords & enſigne was ſtayed. But yet they ceaſſed not to moleſt aſwell the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as diuerſe countrey men, taking from them money, and threatning ſome with farther iniuries, wherewith the Magiſtrates of the towne highly offended, tooke more diligent heede to ſuch as reſorted to the towne, and ſo apprehended one of the principall of that miſorder named *Balon* a ſhoemaker, whom they put to an aſſiſes, and being conuict (for he could not be abſolued, for he was the chiefe man that ſpoiled *Iohn Mubray* of ten crownes of the Sunne) they thought to haue executed iudgement vpon him, and ſo erected a gibbet beneath the croſſe. (But whether it came by paction with the Prouoſt & ſome other, or by inſtigation of the crafts men, who euer haue bene bent too much to maintaine ſuch vanitie and riotouſneſſe we fully knowe not) But ſuddenly there did riſe a tumult, the tolbuith was broken vp, and not only the ſaid *Balō* who before was damned was violently taken forth, but alſo all other malefactours were ſet at freedome, the gibbet was pulled downe, and deſpitefully broken. And thereafter as the Prouoſt and ſome of the

Some ſay his name is Killone.

Counſell aſſembled to the Clarks chamber for con-ſultation. The whole raſcall banded together, with ſome knowen & honeſt crafts men, and intended in-uaſion of the ſaid chãber, which perceaued the Pro-uoſt & ſuch as were in his company paſt to the tol-buith ſuſpecting nothing that they would haue bin ſo enraged, that they wold make new purſute after that they had obtained their intent. But they were ſodẽly deceaued, for from the Caſtle hill they came with violence, and with ſtones, gunnes, & ſuch other wea-pons as they had began to aſſault the ſaide tolbuith, ran at the dore of it, till that partly by ſtones caſt frõ aboue, and partly by a piſtole ſhot by *Robert Norvell* (which hurt one *Tuedy*) they were repulſed from the dore. But yet ceaſſed not they to caſt and ſhoot in at the windowes, threatning death to all that were within. And in verie deede the malice of the craftes men who were ſuſpected to be the occaſion of that tumult, bare no good will to diuerſe of thoſe that were with the Prouoſt. The argumentes that the craftes were the cauſes of that vprore, beſides their firſt miſorder that they had vſed before, in taking *Sanderſone* from the execution of puniſhment are two. The former, *Archibald Deware*, *Patricke Shaw-zie*, with other ſixe Deacons came to *Iohn Knox*, and willed him to ſoliſt the Prouoſt and the towne to delay the execution. Who did anſwer, that he had ſo oft ſolicited in their fauours, that his owne con-ſcience accuſed him, that they vſed his labours for no other ende, but to be a patron to their impietie, for he had before made interceſſion for *VVilliam Harlaw*, *Iohn Friſſell* and others that were conuict of the former tumult. They proudly ſaid, that if it was not ſtayed both he and the Bailiffes ſhould repent it: whereto he aunſwered, he would not hurt his con-

ſcience

ſcience for anie feare of man, and ſo they departed, and the tumult as ſayd is immediatly thereafter did ariſe. The ſeconde argument is, the tumult continued from two at after noone, till after eight at night. The craftes men were required to aſſemble them ſelues together for deliuerance of their Prouoſt, but they paſt to their foure houres penie, and in their ieſting ſayd, They will be Magiſtrates alone let them rule the multitude alone. And ſo contrarie to the oth which they had made, they denied their aſſiſtance, councell, and comfort to their Prouoſt and Bailiffes, which are argumentes verie probable that the ſayd tumult roſe by their procurement. The ende hereof was, that the Prouoſt and Bailiffes were compelled to geue their hande writs that they ſhould neuer purſue anie of thoſe that were of that tumult, for anie crime that was done in that behalfe. And this was proclaimed at the croſſe after nine of the clocke at night: and ſo was that trouble quieted. But the Nobilitie auowed that they would not ſpare it. And ſo a great number of that faction were abſent from the towne, till the arriuall of the Queene. The whole multitude were holden excommunicate, and were admitted to no participation of the Sacramentes, vntill ſuch time as they ſatisfied the magiſtrates, and made humble ſute vnto the Church. Of the death of Queene Regent we haue heard before ſpoken: but of her buriall was nothing heard. And it may appeare that ſuch matters are vnworthie of remembrance: but and if all things ſhould be rightly waighed, we ſhall perceaue Gods iuſt iudgementes howe ſecrete that euer they be. Before wee heard the barbarous inhumanitie that was vſed at Leith by the French, who exponed the naked carkaſſes of the ſlayne, as it

were in a ſpectacle deſpiting God. We haue heard that the Queene Regent reioyced at the ſight, but her ioy was ſuddenly turned into ſorowe as we haue heard. The queſtion was moued of her buriall, the preachers boldly gainſtoode that any ſuperſtitious rites ſhould be vſed within that realme, which God of his mercie had begun to purge. And ſo concluſion was taken that her burial ſhould be deferred till farther aduiſement. And ſo was ſhe lapped in a coffin of lead, and kept in the caſtle from the ninth of Iune, vntill the xix. of October, when ſhe by pynours was caried to a ſhip and ſo caried to Fraunce, what pomp was vſed there, we neither heard nor yet regard, but in it we ſee, that ſhe that delited that others lay with out buriall, gat it neither ſo ſoone as ſhe her ſelfe (if ſhe had bene of the counſell in her life) would haue required it, neither yet ſo honorable in this realme, as ſometimes ſhe looked for. It may perchaunce be a pronoſticon, that the Gwiſian bloud can not haue long reſt within this realme.

Of the Q. regents buriall.

Nota.

The Papiſtes a litle before the Parliament reſorted in diuerſe bands to the towne, and beganne to bragge, as that they would haue defaced the Proteſtants: which thing perceaued, the brethren aſſembled, and went in ſuch companies, and yet in peaceable maner, that the Biſhops and their bandes forſooke the calſay. The brethren vnderſtanding what the Papiſts meant, conuened in counſell in the tolbuith of Edinburgh the ſeuen and twentieth of May the yeare of God 1561. yeare, and after conſultation concluded that an humble ſupplication ſhould be preſented vnto the Lords of the ſecret Counſell, and vnto the whole aſſemblie that then was conuened in the which ſhould theſe ſubſequent heades be required, and a law to paſſe thereupon.

1561.

First

1 Firſt that idolatrie and all monuments therof ſhould be ſuppreſſed throughout the whole realme. That the ſayers, hearers, maintainers, and vſers of the Maſſe ſhould be puniſhed according to the act of Parliament, as ſayd is.

2 That ſpeciall and certaine prouiſion be made for the ſuſtentation of the Superintendents, miniſters, exhortaries and readers. That Superintendéts and miniſters ſhould be planted where none were, that puniſhment ſhould be appointed for ſuch as diſobeyed or contemned the Superintendents in their function.

3 That puniſhment may be appointed for the abuſers of the Sacraments, and for the contemners of the ſame.

4 That no letters of the ſeſſion be giuen to anſwer or pay to anie perſon their tenths without eſpeciall prouiſion that the pariſhionars retaine ſo much in their owne hands as is appointed to the miniſterie. And that all ſuch as are elſe giuen be called in, and diſcharged, & likewiſe that no Shiriffes geue precepts to that effect.

5 That neither the Lords of ſeſſion, nor anie other iudges proceed vpō ſuch precepts or warnings paſt at the inſtance of them that of late haue obtained fewis of Vicarages & Parſons manſes, & church yardes And that ſixe akers (if ſo much there be of the gleebe) be alwayes reſerued to the miniſter, according to the appointment of the booke of diſcipline, and that euerie miniſter may haue letters thereupon.

6 That no letters of the ſeſſion nor others take place while the ſtipends contained in the booke of diſcipline for ſuſtentation of the miniſters, be firſt conſigned in the handes at the leaſt of the princi-

palles of the parishionars.

7 That punishment be appointed against all such as purchase, bring home, or execute within this realme the Popes bulls.

The tenor of the supplication was this.

PLEASE your honours & the wisedomes of such as are presently conuened with you in counsel, to vnderstand, that by many arguments we perceaue what the pestilent generation of that Romane Antichrist within this realme pretẽdeth, to wit, that they would of new erect their idolatrie, take vpon them empire aboue our conscience, and so to commaund vs the true subiects of this realme, & such as God of his mercie hath (vnder our Soueraigne) subiect vnto vs: in all thinges to obey their appetites. Honestie craueth, and conscience moueth vs, to make the verie secrets of our harts patent to your honors in that behalf, which is this. That before that euer those tyrants and dumbe dogs empire aboue vs, and aboue such as God hath subiect vnto vs, that we the Barõs and Gentlemen professing Christ Iesus within this realme, are fully determined to hazard life & whatsoeuer we haue receiued of God in temporal things. Most humblie therfore beseching your Honors that such order may be taken, that we haue not occasion to take againe the sworde of iust defence into our hands, which we haue willingly (after that God had giuen victorie both to yours honours & vs) resigned ouer into your hands. To the end that Gods Gospel may be publikely preached within this realme, the true ministers therof reasonably sustained, idolatrie suppressed, and the committers thereof punished according to the lawes of God & mã. In doing wherof

your

your Honours ſhall find vs not onely obedient vnto you in all things lawfull, but alſo readie at all times to bring vnder order and obedience ſuch as would rebell againſt your iuſt authoritie, which in abſence of our Soueraigne wee acknowledge to be in your handes, beſeechinge your Honours with vprighte iudgement and indifferencie, to looke vppon theſe our fewe articles, and by theſe our brethren to ſignifie vnto vs, ſuch anſwer againe as may declare your Honours worthie of that place, whereunto God (after ſome daunger ſuſtained) in his mercy hath called you. And let theſe enemies of God, aſſure themſelues that if your Honours put not order vnto them that we ſhall ſhortly take ſuch order, that they ſhall neither be able to do what they liſt, neither yet to liue vpon the ſweat of the browes of ſuch as are no debters vnto them. Let your Honours conceaue nothing of vs but all humble obedience in God. But let the Papiſts be yet once againe aſſured that their pride and idolatrie we will not ſuffer. Directed from the aſſembly of the Church the 28 of May 1561. And ſend by theſe brethren, the Maiſter of Lindſay, the Laird of Lochinwar, the Laird of Pharmherſt, the Laird of Whittingham, *Thomas Menzeis* Prouoſt of Abirdeane, and *George Lowell* burges of Dundie, vppon the which requeſt and articles the Lordes and Counſell aforeſaid made an act and ordinance aunſwering to euerie head of the foreſayd articles, and commanded letters to be anſwered therupon, which diuerſe miniſters raſed as in the books of ſecret coũſell is yet to be founde. And thus gat Sathan the ſecond fall, after that he had begunne to trouble the ſtate of religion, once eſtabliſhed by lawe. His firſt aſſault was by the raſeall multitude, opponinge them ſelues to the puniſhment of vice.

The ſecond was by the Biſhops and their bandes, in which he thought vtterly to haue triumphed. And yet he in the end proſpered worſe thé ye haue hard. For in this meane time returned from Fraunce the Lord *Iames*, who beſide his great expences, and the loſſe of a box wherein was his ſecret poiſe, eſcaped a deſperat daunger in Paris: for his returning from our Soueraigne (who then lay with the Cardinall of Lorane in Rheims) vnderſtood of the Papiſts in Paris: they hād conſpired ſome treaſonable act againſt him, for they intēded either to haue beſet his houſe by night, or elſe to haue aſſalted him and his companie as they walked vpon the ſtreets. Wherof the ſaid Lord *Iames* aduertiſed by the Ringraue by reaſon of old familiaritie which was betwixt them in Scotland he tooke purpoſe ſuddenly and in good order, to depart from Paris, as that he did the ſecond day after that he arriued there: and yet could not he depart ſo ſecretly, but that the Papiſts had their priuie ambuſhes. For vpon the point of change they had prepared a proceſſion, which met the ſayd Lord and his company euen in the teeth, and knowing that they would not do the accuſtomed reuerence to them & their idols, they thought thereupon to haue picked a quarrell. And ſo as one part paſſed by without mouing of hat to any thing that was there, they had ſuborned ſome to crie Hugonots, and ſo caſt ſtones. But God diſapointed their enterpriſe, for the ſayd Ringraue with other gentlemen being with the Lorde *Iames*, rebuked the fooliſh multitude, and ouer rode ſome of the formoſt, and ſo the reſt were diſperſed, and he and his companie ſafely eſcaped, and came with expedition to Edinburgh, while that yet the Lords and aſſembly were together, to the great cōfort of many godly harts, and to no litle aſtoniſhmēt

of

of the wicked: for from the Queene our Soueraigne he brought letters to the Lordes, praying them to entertaine quietneſſe, and to ſuffer nothing to be attempted againſt the contract of peace which was made at Leith till her owne home comming, and to ſuffer the religion publikely eſtabliſhed to go forward, &c. Whereupon the ſayd Lords gaue aunſwer to the French Ambaſſador, a negatiue to euery one of his petitions.

And firſt that Fraunce had not deſerued at their hands, that either they or their poſteritie ſhould enter with them againe in anie league or confederacy offenſiue or defenſiue, ſeing that ſo traiterouſlie and cruellie they had perſecuted them, their realme and liberties vnder pretence of amitie and mariage. Secondly that beſides their conſcience, they could not take ſuch a worldly ſhame, as without offence committed to breake the league, which in Gods name they had made with them, whom he hath made inſtruments to ſet Scotland at freedome from the tyrannie of the French, at leaſt of the Gwyſians, and of their faction. And laſt, that ſuch as they called Byſhops and Church men, they knewe neither for Paſtors of the Church, neither yet for any iuſt poſſeſſors of the patrimonie therof. But vnderſtand them perfectly to be wolues, theeues, murtherers and idle bellies, and therefore as Scotland hath forſaken the Pope and Papiſtrie, ſo could not they be debters to his forſworne vaſſals. With theſe aunſwers departed the ſaid Ambaſſadour, and the Lords of ſecret counſell made an act, that all places and monumentes of idolatrie ſhould be deſtroyed. And for that purpoſe was directed to the waſt the Earle of Arrane, hauing ioyned with him the Earles of Argile & Glencarne, together with the Proteſtants of the weſt, who burnt

Paſlay (the Biſhop narrowly eſcaped) caſt downe Failfurd, Kylwinning, and a part of Coſraguell: the Lord *Iames* was appointed to the North, where he made ſuch reformation, as nothing contented the Earle of Huntlie, and yet ſeemed he to approue all things. And thus God ſo potently wrought with vs, ſo long aswe depended vpon him, that all the world might ſee his potent hand to maintaine vs, & to fight againſt our enemies: yea, moſt to confound thē, when that they promiſed to them ſelues victorie without reſiſtance. Oh that we ſhould rightly conſider the wonderous works of the Lord our God.

In the treatice of peace contracted at Leith there were contained certaine heads that required the ratification of both the Queenes. The Queene of England according to her promiſe, ſubſcription and ſeale without any delay performed the ſame, & ſent it to our Soueraigne by her appointed officers. But our Soueraigne (whether becauſe her owne craftie nature thereto moued her, or that her vncles chiefe Counſellers ſo would, we knowe not) with manie dilators fruſtrate the expectation of the Queene of Englande, as by the copie of a letter ſent from the Ambaſſadour of England to his Soueraigne we may vnderſtande.

At Paris the three and twentieth of Iune 1561.

THE 18. of this preſent Iune I ſent *Sommer* to the Queene of Scots for audience, who appointed me to come to her the ſame day after dinner, which I did. To her I did your Maieſties heartie commendations, and declared vnto her your Maieſties like gladſomneſſe of her recouerie of her late ſickneſſe, whoſe

whose want of health, as it was grieuous vnto your Maiestie, so did you congratulate, and greatly reioyce of the good termes of health she was presently in. After these offices I put her in remembraunce againe what had passed from the beginning in the matter of your Maiesties demaund of ratification, according to the proport of the sayd treatie, as well by me at the first as afterward by my Lord Bedford, at his being here, and also followed sithence againe by me in audience, and by my letter to her being in Lorane, adding hereto your Maiesties farther commandement, and recharge to me againe presently to renue the same demand, as before had bene done.

Aunswer.

THE sayd Queene made answer, Monsieur Lambassadour I thanke the Queene my good sister for this gentle visitation and congratulation of this my recouerie, and though I be not yet in perfect health, yet I thanke God I feele my self in very good health in the comming to. And for aunswer to your demand (quoth she) of my ratification I do remember all these things that you haue recited vnto me: & I would the Queene my good sister should think that I do respect the resolute answer in this matter & performing thereof vntill such time as I might haue the aduises of the nobles & estates of mine own realme, which I trust shall not be long a doing, for I intend to make my voyage thither shortly. And though this matter (quoth she) doth touch me principally, yet doeth it also touch the Nobles and estates of my realme to: and therefore it shall be meete that I vse their aduises therein. Heretofore they haue seemed to be greeued, that I should do anie thing without them. And now they would be more offended, if I should proceede in this matter

Crafty dealer thou neuer respectest thē farder thē they might serue to thy corrupt affections.

of my ſelfe without their aduiſes. I do intend (quoth ſhe) to ſend *Monſieur Doſell* to the Queene your Miſtreſſe my good ſiſter, who ſhal declare that vnto hir from me, that I truſt ſhall ſuffiſe her. By whom I will geue her to vnderſtand of my iourney into Scotlãd, I meane to embark at Calice. The king hath lent me certaine galleyes and ſhips to conuey me home, and I intend to require of my good ſiſter thoſe fauours that Princes vſe to do in thoſe caſes. And though the termes wherein we haue ſtood heretofore, haue bene ſomewhat hard, * yet I truſt that from henceforth we ſhall accord together as coſines and good neighbours. I meane (quoth ſhe) to retire all the French men forth of Scotland, who had geuen ielouſie to the Queene my ſiſter, and miſcontentment to my ſubiects. So as I will leaue nothing vndone to ſatisfie all parties, truſting the Queene my good ſiſter will do the like, and that from henceforth none of my diſobedient ſubiectes (if there be anie ſuch) ſhall find aide or ſupport at her hands. I aunſwered that I was not deſirous to fall into the diſcourſe how thoſe hard tearmes firſt began, nor by what meanes they were nouriſhed, becauſe therein I muſt charge ſome partie with iniurie, and perill offered to the Queene my Miſtreſſe, which was the verie ground of thoſe matters. But I was well aſſured there could be no better occaſion offered to put the former vnkindneſſe in forgetfulneſſe then by ratifying the treatie of peace, for that ſhould repay all iniuries paſt. And Madame quoth I, where it pleaſed you to ſuſpende the ratification, vntill you haue the aduiſes of the Nobles and eſtates of your realme, the Queene my Miſtreſſe doth nothing doubt of their conformitie in this matter, becauſe the treatie was made by their conſents. The Queene anſwered, yea by ſome of thẽ, but

This was a ſecret Lardon.

She ment ſhe would ſeeke a ſafe conduct.

*Euer till that ſhe may ſhew her euill will.

If Fraunce would haue ſuſtained them they had not yet departed.

The ſecond ſecret Lardon.

The armes of England were vſurped.

but not by all: It will appeare when I come amongeſt them, whether they be of the ſame minde that you ſay they were then of. But of this I aſſure you Monſieur Lambaſſadour (quoth ſhe) I for my part am very deſirous to haue the perfite and the aſſured amity of the Queene my good ſiſter, & will vſe al the means I can to giue her occaſion to thinke that I meane it indeede. I aunſwered Madame the Queene my Miſtreſſe you may be aſſured will vſe the like towardes you, to moue you to be of the ſame opinion towards her. Then (ſaid ſhe) I truſt the Queene your Miſtreſſe will not ſupport nor encourage none of my ſubiects to continew in their diſobedience, nor to take vpon them thinges that appertaine not to ſubiectes (this we may aunſwere here, it appertaineth to ſubiects to worſhippe God as he hath commaunded, and to ſuppreſſe Idolatry, by who ſo euer it be erected or maintained.) You know (quoth ſhe) there is much adoe in my realme about the matters of religiō. And though there be a greater number of a contrary religion vnto me then I would there were, yet there is no reaſon that ſubiectes ſhould giue a law to their Soueraigne, and ſpecially in matters of religion, which I feare (quoth ſhe) my ſubiectes ſhall take in hand (anſwere for the part of Scotlād, and if ſo they had done they eſcaped gods indignation which had bene felte and ſtill hanged ouer this realme for the Idolatrie, and other abhominations committed in the ſame, which ſhall not ceaſe till that it be ſuppreſſed) I aunſwered, Madame your realme is in none other caſe at this day, then al other realmes through Chriſtendome are. The proofe wherof you ſee verified in this realm. And you ſee what great difficultie it is to giue order in this matter, though the King & al his counſell be very deſirous therunto. Religiō is of the grea-

Your Papiſtes and ours haue practiſed & ſtill practiſe diuiſion.

So that ſhe might haue England to the Popes religion I think ſhe lyed not.

The feare of God in the heart of Helias was diſobedience to curſed Ieſabell.

God geueth his law aſwell to the Prince as to the ſubiects.

teſt force that may be: you haue ben long out of your owne realme: So as the contrarie religion to yours had wone the vpper hand, and the greateſt parte of your realme, your mother was a womā of great experience of deep diſſimulation, and kept that realme in quietneſſe till ſhe began to conſtraine mens conſciences. And as you thinke it vnmeet to be conſtrained by your ſubiectes, ſo it may like you to conſider the matter is as intollerable to them to be cōſtraned by you, in matters of conſcience, for the duetie dew to God can not be geuen to any other without offence of his Maieſtie. Why (ſaid ſhe) God doth commaund ſubiects to be obedient to their Princes, and commaundeth Princes to read his law and gouerne therby themſelues & the people committed to their charges. Aunſwere, yea Madame (quoth I) in thoſe thinges that be not againſt his commaundements. Well (quoth ſhe) I will be plaine with you. The religion that I profeſſe I take to be moſt acceptable to God. And indeed neither doe I know nor deſire to know anie other. Conſtancie doth become all folkes well; but none better then Princes, and ſuch as haue rule ouer realmes and ſpeciallie in matters of religion (the Turke is as conſtant in his Alcoram, as the Pope and his ſect are in his conſtitutions) I haue bin brought vp (quoth ſhe) in this religiō and who might credite me in any thing if I ſhould ſhew my ſelf light in this caſe. And though I be yong, and not well learned, yet haue I heard this matter oft diſputed by my vncle my Lord Cardinall, with ſome that thought they could ſay ſomewhat in the matter: and I founde therein no great reaſon to change my opinion (neither yet did Caiphas whē Chriſt Ieſus did reaſon in his preſence. But what was the Cardinall compelled to confeſſe at Poyſie)? Madame (quoth I) if you will

The conſecration of the Cardinall will not ſuffer you.

The third Lardon accuſing England of inconſtancie in religion.

iudge

iudge well in that matter, you may be conuerſant in the Scriptures which are the touchſtone to tryethe right from the wrong. Peraduenture you are ſo parciallie affected to your vncles argument, that you could not indifferently conſider the other partie: yet this I aſſure you Madame (quoth I) your vncle my Lord Cardinall in conference with me aboute theſe matters hath confeſſed that there be great errours and abuſes come into the Church and great diſorder in the Miniſters & cleargie, in ſo much that he deſired and wiſhed that their might be a reformation of the one & of the other. I haue oftentimes hard him ſay the like (quoth ſhe.) Then I ſaid, well, I truſt God will inſpire all you that be Princes, that their may be ſome good order taken in this matter ſo as their may be one vnitie in religion through all Chriſtiandome. God graunt (quoth ſhe) but for my parte you may perceaue, I am none of thoſe, that will chaunge my religion euerie yeare. And as I told you in the beginning I meane to conſtrayne none of my ſubiectes, but would wiſhe that they were all as I am, and I truſt they ſhould haue no ſupporte, to conſtraine me. I will ſend *Monſieur Doſell* (quoth ſhe) to you before he goe, to know whither ye will any thing into England. I pray you ſo order your ſelfe in his matter betwixt the Queene my good ſiſter and me that there maye be perfect and aſſured amitie betwixte vs: For I knowe (quothe ſhee) Miniſters maye doe muche good and harme. I tolde her I woulde faithfullie and trewlie make declaration of all that ſhee had ſayde vnto mee vnto your Maieſtie. And truſted that ſhee woulde ſo ſatiſfie youre Maieſtie by *Monſieur Doſell* in all thinges as I ſhoulde hereafter haue no more occaſiones to treate with her of anie thinges but of

But the deuill would put order to himſelfe.

Change it not before you haue it for danſing and her ſiſter is the ground of that which yet ye haue profeſſed.

the increaſe of amitie there ſhould be no want ther-in on her behalfe. This is the effect of the Queene of Scotlands anſwer to your Maieſties demaund of her ſayd ratification and of my negotiation with her at this time.

Theſe aduertiſements ſomewhat exaſperated the Queene of Englande, and not altogether without cauſe: For the armes of England were before vſurped by our Soueraigne, and by her husband *Francis*: and *Elizabeth* Queene of England was of the Gwyſians reputed litle better then a baſtard. It was appointed that this title ſhould be renued. But hereof had our proud and vaine glorious Queene no pleaſure, & eſpeciallie after that her husband was dead: for thought ſhe, the ſhew of England ſhall allure manie wooers to me. The Gwiſians and the Papiſtes of both the realmes did not a litle animate her in that purſute. The effect whereof will ſooner appeare then the godly of Englande would deſire. Let the world iudge whether Queene *Elizabeth* we ſay offended with the former anſwers written vnto the Nobilitie and eſtates of Scotland in forme as followeth.

The Queene of Englands letter to the ſtates of Scotland.

RIGHT truſtie and right enteerly beloued coſins we greet you. We doubt not but as our meaning is, and hath bene alwayes ſithence our raigne in the ſight of almightie God ſtraight and direct towardes the aduancement of his honor and truth in religiõ, and conſequently to procure peace, and maintaine concord betwixt both theſe realmes of England and Scotland: So alſo our outward acts haue well declared the ſame to the world, & eſpecially to you being

our

our neighbours, who haue tasted & proued in these, our friendship and earnest good will more then we thinke anie of your antecessors haue euer receaued from hence: yea more then a great number of your selues could well hope of vs, all former examples being well weyed and considered. And this we haue to reioyce of, and so may ye be glad, that where in the beginning of the troubles in that countrey, and of our succours meant for you, the ielousie or rather the malice of diuerse both in that realme and in other countreyes was such, both to depriue both vs in the yeelding, and you in requiring our aid, that we were noted to haue meant the surprise of that realme, by depriuing of your Soueraigne the queen of her crown. And you or the greatest part of you to haue intended by our succour the like. And either to prefer some other to the crowne, or else to make of that Monarchie a common weale: matters verie slaunderous and false. But the ende and determination, yea the whole course and processe of the actiō on both our parts haue manifested, both to the slanderers & to all others that nothing was more meant and prosecuted, then to establish your Soueraigne the Queene our cousine and sister in her estate and crowne, the possession whereof was in the handes of straungers. And although no words could then well satisfie the malitious, yet our deeds do declare that no other thing was sought, but the restitutiō of that realme to the auncient libertie: and as it were to redeeme it from captiuitie. Of these our purposes and deedes there remaineth among other argumentes good testimonie, by a solemne treatie and accorde made the last yeare at Edinburgh by commissioners sent from vs & from your Queene, with full authoritie in writing vnder both our hands, & the great

both our realmes. In ſuch manner as other Princes our progenitors haue alwayes vſed. By which treatie and accord, either of vs haue fully accorded with other to keepe good peace and amitie betwixt our ſelues our countries and ſubiectes. And in the ſame alſo a good accorde is made not onelie of certaine quarreles happened betwixt vs, but alſo of ſome differences betwixt the Miniſters of the late Frenche King your Soueraignes husbād and you. The eſtates of that realme for the alteration of lawes and cuſtomes of that countrie attempted by them. Vpon which accord theyre made and concluded hath hitherto folowed, as you know ſuretie to your Soueraignes eſtate, quietnes to your ſelues, and a better peace betwixt both realmes then euer was heard of in anie time paſt. Neuertheleſſe howe it happeneth wee knowe not (we can: for ſhee in her conceate thinketh her ſelfe Queene of both) that your Soueraigne eyther not knowinge in this parte her owne felicitie, or elſe daungerouſlie ſeduced by peruerſe counſell whereof we woulde be moſt ſorie: being of late at ſundrie times required by vs accordinge to her band remayning with vs ſigned with her owne hand and ſealed with the great ſeale of that realme and allowed by you being the eſtates of the ſame, to ratifie her ſayde treatye in like manner as wee by wrytinge haue done, and are readye to delyuer it to her, maketh ſuch delatorie aunſweres thereunto as what we ſhall iudge thereof, we perceaue by her aunſwere, that it is meete to requyre of you: For although ſhe had alwayes aunſwered ſince the death of her husband that in this matter ſhe would firſt vnderſtand the minds of certaine of you before that ſhe would make anſwere. And ſo hauing now of long time ſuſpended our expectation in the end notwithſtanding

Princes little regarded that.

I thinke this ſentence mank, but will alter no worde.

withſtanding that ſhe hath had conference both by meſſengers & by ſome of your ſelues being with her yet ſhe ſtill delayed it alleadging to our Embaſſador in Fraunce (who ſaid that this treatie was made by your conſentes) it was not by conſent of you all. And ſo would haue vs to forbeare vntill ſhe ſhall returne in that her countrie, And now ſeing this her anſwere depended as it ſhould ſeeme by her wordes vpō your opinions we can not but plainlie let you all vnderſtand, that this maner of anſwer without ſome more fruite can not long content vs: we haue ment wel to our ſiſter your Queene in time of offence geuen to vs by her. We did plainlie without diſſimulation charge her in her owne doubtefull eſtate whyle ſtraunge geares poſſeſſed her realme we ſtayed it from daunger. And nowe hauinge promiſed to keepe good peace with her and you her ſubiectes we haue hitherto obſerued it. And ſhalbe ſorie if either ſhe or you ſhall giue vs contrarie cauſe. In a matter ſo profitable to both the realmes we thinke it ſtraunge that your Queene hath no better aduiſe. And therefore we doe require you all being the eſtates of that realme vppon whome the burden reſteth to conſider this matter deepely, and to make vs aunſwere whereunto we may truſt. And if you ſhal thinke meete ſhe ſhall thus leaue the peace imperfite by breaking of her ſolempned promiſe contrary to the order of all Princes, we ſhalbe well content to accept your aunſwere and ſhalbe as careleſſe to ſee the peace kept as ye ſhall giue vs cauſe. *And doubt not by the grace of God, but whoſoeuer of you ſhall firſt incline thereto ſhall ſooneſt repent. You muſt be cōtent with our playn writing. And on the other ſide if you cōtinue al in one mind to haue the peace inuiolablye kepte, and ſhall ſo by your

aduiſe procure the queene to ratifie it, we alſo plainlie promiſe you that we will alſo continew our good diſpoſition to keepe the ſame in ſuch good termes as now it is. And in ſo doing the honour of Almighty God ſhalbe dewlie ſought and promoted in both realmes. The Queene your Soueraigne ſhall enioy her ſtate with ſuretie, and your ſelues poſſeſſe that which you haue with tranquillity, to the encreaſe of your families and poſterities which by the frequent warres heretofore your anteceſſors neuer had long in one eſtate. To conclude we require you to aduertiſe vs, of what minde you be, ſpecially if you al cõtinew in that mind that you meane to haue the peace betwixt both the realmes perpetuallie kept. And if you ſhall forbeare anie long time to aduertiſe vs, ye ſhall giue to vs ſome occaſion of doubt wherof more hurt may grow then good. From, &c.

Theſe lettres receiued & peruſed: albeit the eſtates could not be conueaned, yet did the counſell and ſome others alſo in particular returne anſweres with reaſonable diligence. The tennor of our lettres was this.

Pleaſe your Maieſtie that with iudgemẽt we haue aduiſed your Maieſties letters. And albeit the whole eſtats could not ſuddãlie be aſſẽbled, yet we thought expedient to ſignifie ſomewhat of our mindes vnto your Maieſty. Farre be it from vs, that either we take vpon vs, that infamie before the world, or grudge of conſcience before our God, that we ſhould lightlie eſteeme, the obſeruation of that peace latelie contracted betwixt theſe two realmes. By what motiues our Soueraigne delayed the ratification thereof we eã not tell. But of vs (of vs we ſay Madame that haue in Gods preſence proteſted fidelitie in our promiſe) her grace had none. Your Maieſtie can not be ignorant,

rant that in this realme there are manie enemies, and farther that our Soueraigne hath counſellers, whoſe iudgements ſhe in all ſuch cauſes preferred to ours. Our obedience bindeth vs not only reuerently to ſpeake and write of our Soueraigne, but alſo ſo to iudge and thinke, and yet your Maieſtie may be well aſſured, that in vs ſhall be noted no blame, if that peace be not ratified to your Maieſties contentment. For God is witneſſe, that our chiefe care in this earth next the glorie of our God, is, that conſtãt peace may remain betwixt theſe two realmes, wherof your Maieſtie and realme may haue ſure experience, ſo long as our councell or votes may ſtay the contrarie. The benefite that we haue receaued is ſo recent, that we can not ſuddenly burie it in forgetfulneſſe. We would deſire your Maieſtie rather to be perſwaded of vs, that we to our powers will ſtudie to leaue it in remembrance to our poſterity. And thus with lawfull and humble commendation of our ſeruice, we commit your Maieſtie to the protection of the Omnipotent. Of Edinburgh the ſixteenth day of Iulie 1561.

There were ſome others that aunſwered ſome of the miniſters of England ſomewhat more ſharply, and willed thẽ not to accuſe nor threatten ſo ſharply til that they were able to conuict ſuch as had promiſed fidelitie, of ſome euident cryme, which although they were able to lay to the charge of ſome, yet reſpect would be had to ſuch as long had declared them ſelues conſtant procurers of quietnes and peace. The ſoddaine arryuall of the Queene made greate alteration euen in the counſail as after wee will heare. In this meane tyme the Papiſts by ſurmiſing troubled what they might, theire poſts letters, and cõplaints were from day to day directed ſome

to the Pope, ſome to the Cardinall of Lorrayne, and ſome to our Queene. The principall of thoſe curriors were *Maiſter Stephen VVilſon*, *Maiſter Ihon Leſlie* called *Nolumus* and *Volumus Maiſter Iames Throgmorton* and others ſuch as liued and ſtill liue by the traffique of that Romaine Antechriſt.

The preachers vehemẽtly exhorted vs to eſtabliſh the booke of diſcipline by an acte and publicke Law: Affirming that and if they ſuffered things to hang in ſuſpence when God had giuen vnto them ſufficient power in theyr hand, they ſhould after ſob for it, but ſhould not get it. And nowe becauſe that diuerſe times heretofore we haue made mention of the ſaid booke, wee haue thought expedient to inſert the whole in this parte of our hiſtorie, to the ende that the poſterities to come may iudge as well what the worldlings refuſed, as what pollicie the godlie miniſters required: that they (if God graunt vnto them occaſion and libertie) may either eſtabliſh a more perfect, or elſe imitate that which auaritiouſneſſe would not ſuffer this corrupt generation to approue.

THE

THE PREFACE TO THE BOOKE OF DISCIPLINE.

TO THE GREAT COVNSEL OF Scotlande nowe admitted to the regiment by the prouidence of God, and by the common conſent of the Eſtates thereof. Your Honours humble ſeruitors and Miniſters of Chriſt Ieſus within the ſame, wiſh grace, mercie and peace from God the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with the perpetuall increaſe of the holy Spirit.

FROM your Honours we receaued a charge dated at Edinburgh the xxix. of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord 1560. requiring and commaunding vs in the name of the eternall God, as we will anſwer in his preſence, to commit to writing and in a booke deliuer vnto your wiſedomes our iudgements touching the reformation in religion, which heretofore in this realme (as in others) hath bene vtterly corrupted: vpon the receipt whereof ſo many of vs as were in this towne did conuene, and in vnitie of mind do offer vnto your wiſedomes theſe heads ſubſequent for common order and vniformitie to be obſerued in this realme concerning doctrine, adminiſtration of Sacraments, election of Miniſters, prouiſion for their ſuſtentation, Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and policie of the Church. Moſt humbly requiring your Honours that as ye looke for participation with

Christ Iesus, that neither ye admit any thing, which Gods plaine word shall not approue, neither yet that ye shall reiect such ordinances as equitie, iustice, and Gods word do specifie. For as we will not binde your VVisedomes to our iudgementes further then wee be able to proue by Gods plaine Scriptures: so must we most humblie craue of you, euen as ye will answer in Gods presence (before whom both ye and we must appeare, to render accomptes of all our factes) that ye repudiate nothing for pleasure and affection of men, which ye be not able to improue by Gods writen and reuealed word.

The first head of doctrine.

SEING that Christ Iesus is he whom God the Father hath commanded onely to be heard and followed of his sheepe: we iudge it necessarie that his Gospel be truly & openly preached in euerie church and assemblie of this realme, and that all doctrine repugning to the same be vtterly represſed as damnable to mans saluation.

The explication of the first head.

LEAST that vppon this our generalitie vngodly men take occasion to cauill, this we adde for explication. By preaching of the Gospell we vnderstād not only the Scriptures of the newe Testament, but also of the old, to wit, the Law, Prophets, & histories, in which Christ Iesus is no lesse contained in figure, then we haue him nowe expressed in veritie. And therfore with the example we affirme, that all Scripture inspired of God is profitable to instruct, to reproue and to exhort. In which bookes of olde and newe Testamentes, we affirme that all thinges necessarie

ceſſarie for the inſtruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect is contained and ſufficiently expreſſed.

By the contrarie doctrine we vnderſtand what ſoeuer men by lawes, counſells or conſtitutions, haue impoſed vpon the conſciences of men, without the expreſſed commandement of Gods word, ſuch as be the vowes of chaſtitie, forſwearing of mariage, binding of men and women to ſeuerall & diſguiſed apparelles, to the ſuperſtitious obſeruation of faſting dayes, difference of meat for conſcienee ſake, prayer for the dead, & keeping of holy dayes of certayne Sainctes commaunded by man, ſuch as be all thoſe that the Papiſts haue inuented, as the feaſts (as they terme them) of the Apoſtles, Martyrs, Virgines, of Chriſtmaſſe, Circumciſion, Epiphanie, Purification and other fonde feaſtes of our Ladie. Which things becauſe in Gods Scriptures they neither haue commaundement nor aſſurance, we iudge them vtterly to be aboliſhed from this realme: affirming farther, that the obſtinate maintainers and teachers of ſuch abhominations ought not to eſcape the puniſhment of the ciuill Magiſtrate.

The ſecond head of Sacraments.

TO Chriſt Ieſus his holy Goſpell truly preached of neceſſitie it is that his holie Sacramentes be annexed and truely miniſtred as ſeales and viſible conformations of the ſpirituall promiſes contained in the word, and they be two, to wit, Baptiſme, and the holie Supper of the Lord Ieſus, which are then rightly miniſtred, when by a lawfull Miniſter the people before the adminiſtration of the ſame, are plainelie inſtructed, and put in minde of Gods

free grace and mercie offered vnto the penitent in Christ Iesus, when Gods promises are rehearsed, the end and vse of the Sacraments preached and declared, and that in such a tong as the people do vnderstand, when farther to them is nothing added, from them nothing diminished, and in their practise, nothing changed besides the institution of the Lorde Iesus, and practise of his holie Apostles.

And albeit the order of Geneua which nowe is vsed in some of our churches, is sufficient to instruct the diligẽt reader how that both these Sacraments may be rightly ministred, yet for an vniformitie to be kept we haue thought good to adde this as superabundant.

In Baptisme we acknowledge nothing to be vsed except the element of water onely (that the word & declaration of the promises ought to preceede we haue sayd before) wherefore who soeuer presumeth in Baptisme to vse oyle, salt, waxe, spittle, conjuration, & crossing, accuseth the perfect institution of Christ Iesus of imperfectiõ, for was not the word of all such inuentions deuised by men? and such as would presume to alter Christs perfect ordinaunce, you ought seuerely to punish.

The table of the Lord is then most rightly ministred when it appeareth most neare to Christs owne action. But plaine it is that at that Supper Christ Iesus sate with his Disciples, and therfore do we iudge that sitting at a table is most conuenient to that holie action, that breade and wine ought to be there, that thankes ought to be giuen, distribution of the same made, and commaundement giuen that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drinke of the cup of wine, with declaration what both ỹ one & the other is: we suppose no godly man

man will doubt. For as touching the damnable error of the Papiſtes, who dare defraud the common people of the one part of that holy Sacrament, to wit, of the cup of the Lords bloud, we ſuppoſe their error to be ſo manifeſt, that it needeth no confutation: neither yet intend we to confute anie thing in this our ſimple confeſſion. But to offer publike diſputation to all that liſt oppugne anie thing affirmed by vs.

That the Miniſter breake the bread, and diſtribute the ſame to thoſe that be next vnto him, commanding the reſt euerie one with reuerence and ſobrietie to breake with other, we thinke it neareſt to Chriſts action & to the perfect practiſe, as we reade in Sainct Paule: during the which action we thinke it neceſſarie, that ſome comfortable places of the ſcripture be read, which may bring in mind the death of Chriſt Ieſus, and the benefit of the ſame. For ſeeing that in that action we ought chiefly to remember the Lords death, we iudge the Scriptures making mention of the ſame, moſt apt to ſtirre vp our dull minds then, & at all times. Let the diſcretion of the miniſters appoint the places to be read as they think good. What times we thinke moſt conuenient for the adminiſtration of the one and of the other of theſe Sacraments ſhall be declared in the pollicie of the Church.

The third head touching the aboliſhing of idolatrie.

AS we require Chriſt Ieſus to be truely preached, and his holie Sacraments rightly miniſtred, ſo can we not ceaſe to require idolatrie with all monuments & places of the ſame, as Abbeyes, Monkeries

Frieries, Nonries, chapells, chanteries, cathedrall churches, Chanonries, colledges others then presently are Parish Churches or schooles to be vtterly suppressed in all boundes and places of this realme (except onely pallaces, Mansions, and dwelling places adiacent thereto, with orchards and yardes of the same) as also that idolatrie may be remoued from the presence of all persons of what estate or condition that euer they be within this realme.

For let your Honors assuredly be perswaded that where idolatrie is maintained or permitted, where it may be suppressed, that there shall Gods wrath raigne, not only vpon the blind and obstinate idolater, but also the negligent sufferers, especially if God haue armed their handes with power to suppresse such abhomination.

By idolatrie we vnderstand, the Masse, inuocation of Saincts, adoration of Images, and the keping and retaining of the same. And finally all honouring of God not contained in his holy word.

The fourth head concerning Ministers and their lawfull election.

IN a Church reformed or tending to reformation, none ought to presume either to preach, either yet to minister the Sacraments till that orderly they be called to the same. Ordinarie vocation consisteth in election, examination, and admission. And because that election of Ministers in this cursed Papistrie hath altogether bene abused, we thinke expedient to intreate it more largely. It appertaineth to the people, and to euerie seuerall congregation to elect their Minister. And in case that they be found negligent therein the space of fourtie dayes. The best

beſt reformed Church, to wit, the Church of the Superintendent with his counſell, maye preſent vnto them a man, whome they iudge apt to feede the flocke of Chriſt Ieſus, who muſt be examinated aſwell in life & maners, as in doctrine & knowledge. And that this may be done with more exact diligẽce the perſons that are to be examinated, muſt be commanded to appeare before men of ſoundeſt iudgmẽt remaining in ſome principall towne next adiacent vnto them, as they that be in Fife, Anguſt, Mearnes, or Straitharne, to preſent them ſelues in Sainct Andrews, theſe that be in Lowthian, Merſe, or Teuidell to Edinburgh, and likewiſe theſe that be in other countreyes muſt reſort to the beſt reformed citie & townes, that is to the towne of the Superintendent, where firſt in the ſchooles, or falling thereof in open aſſemblie, and before the congregation they muſt giue declaration of their giftes, vtterance and knowledge, by interpreting ſome place of Scripture to be appointed by the miniſtery, which being ended, the perſonne that is preſented, or that offereth him ſelfe to the adminiſtration of the Church, muſt be examined by the Miniſters and Elders of the Church, and that openly, and before all that liſt to heare in all the chiefe points that now be in controuerſie betwixt vs and the Papiſts, Anabaptiſts, Arrians or other ſuch enemies to the Chriſtian religion. In which if he be found ſound, able to perſwade by wholeſome doctrine, and to conuince the gainſayer, then muſt he be directed to the Church and Congregation where he ſhould ſerue, that there in open audience of his flocke, in diuerſe publique ſermons, he may geue confeſſion of his fayth in the article of iuſtification, in the office of Chriſt Ieſus, of the number, effect and vſe

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of the Sacraments, and finally of the whole religion which heretofore hath bene corrupted by the Papists. If this doctrine be found wholsome and able to instruct the simple, and if the Church iustly can reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine, nor vtterance, then we iudge the Church which before was destitute vnreasonable, if they refuse him whome the Church did offer, and that they should be compelled by the censure of the Counsell & Church to receiue the person appointed, and approued by the iudgement of the godly & learned: vnlesse that the same Church, haue presented a man better or as wel qualified to the examination, before that this foresayde triall was taken of the person presented by the coũsell of the whole Church. As for example, the counsell of the Church presents to anie Church a man to be their Minister, not knowing that they are otherwise prouided: in the meane time the church is prouided of another sufficient in their iudgement for that charge, whom they present to the learned Ministers and next reformed Church to be examined. In this case the presentation of the people to whom he should be appointed Pastour, must be preferred to the presentation of the Counsell, or greater Church, vnlesse the person presented by the inferiour Church be iudged vnable of the regiment, by the learned: for altogether this is to be auoided that anie man be violently intruded or thrust in vpon any congregation. But this libertie with all care must be reserued to euerie seuerall Church to haue their votes and suffrages in election of their Ministers. But violent intrusion we call not when the counsel of the Church in the feare of God, and for the saluation of the people, offereth vnto them a sufficient man to instruct them, whom they shall not be forced to admit,

mit before iuſt examination, as before is ſayd.

What may vnable any perſon, that he may not be admitted to the miniſterie of the Church.

IT is to be obſerued that no perſon noted with publike infamie, or being vnable to edifie the Church by wholſome doctrine, or being knowen of corrupt iudgement, be either promoted to the regiment of the Church, or yet retained in Eccleſiaſticall adminiſtration.

Explication.

BY publike infamie we vnderſtand not the common ſinnes and offences, which anie hath committed in time of blindneſſe by fragilitie, (if of the ſame by a better & more ſober conuerſatiō he hath declared him ſelfe verily penitent) but ſuch capitall crimes as the ciuill ſword ought and may puniſh with death by the word of God, for beſides that the Apoſtle requireth the life of Miniſters to be ſo irreprehenſible, that they haue a good teſtimonie frō thoſe that be without. We iudge it a thing vnſeemely and daungerous that he ſhall haue publike authoritie to preach to others the life euerlaſting, from whō the ciuill Magiſtrate may take the life temporall for a crime publikely committed. And if anie obiect that the Prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publikely repented, and ſo is not onely his life in aſſurance, but alſo that he may be receaued to the Miniſterie of the Church, we aunſwer, that repentance doth not take away the temporall puniſhmēt of the law, neither doth the pardon of the Prince remoue his infamie before man.

That the life and conuerſation of the perſon pre-

ſented, or to be elected may be the more clearlie knowen, publike edictes muſt be directed to all parts of this realme or at the leaſt to thoſe partes where the perſon had bin moſt cõuerſant, as where he was nouriſhed in letters or where he continewed from the yeares of infancie and childhead were paſſed. Straighte commaundement would be geuen, that if anie capitall crimes were committed by him, that they ſhould be notified as if he had committed willfull murther, Adulterie. A common fornicator, if he were a theef a drunkard, a fechtar, brawler, or cõtentious perſon. Theſe Edicts ought to be notified in the cheefe ciries with the like charge & commandemẽt with declaratiõ that ſuch as cõcealed his ſinnes knowen did deceaue & betray, (ſo far as in thẽ laye) the Church which is the ſpouſe of Ieſus Chriſt and did communicate with the ſinnes of that wicked man.

Admiſſion.

THe admiſſion of Miniſters to their offices muſt conſiſt in cõſent of the people & Church wherto they ſhalbe appointed and my approbratiõ of the learned Miniſters appointed for her examination.

We iudge it expediẽt that the admiſſion of Miniſters be in open audiẽce, that ſome eſpecial Miniſter make a ſermon touching the duetie & office of Miniſters, touching their manners conuerſation & life. As alſo touching the obedienẽe which the Church oweth to their miniſters. Cõmãdemẽt ſhold be giuẽ aſwell to the Miniſter as vnto the people both being preſent: To wit, that he with al carefull diligẽce attẽd vpõ the flock of Chriſt Ieſus ouer the which he is apointed preacher. That he walk in the preſence of God ſo ſincerely, that the graces of the holie Spirite may

may be multiplied into him, and in the preſence of men ſo ſoberlie and vprightlie that his life may confirme in the eyes of men, that which by tong & word he perſwaded vnto others. The people would be exhorted to reuerence and honour their Miniſters choſen as the ſeruants and Embaſſadors of the Lord Ieſus, obeying the commaundementes which they pronounce from Gods mouth, and booke, euen as they would obey God himſelfe. For whoſoeuer heareth Chriſts Miniſters, heareth himſelf, & whoſoeuer reiecteth thē & deſpiſeth their Miniſtery & exhortatiō reiecteth & deſpiſeth Chriſt Ieſus. Other ceremony then the publike approbation of the people, & declaration of the cheefe Miniſter that the perſon ther preſented is appointed to ſerue that Church we can not approue, for albeit the Apoſtles vſed the impoſition of hands yet ſeing the miracle is ceaſed the vſing of the ceremony we iudge it not neceſſary.

The Miniſter elected, or preſented examined and as ſaid is publikely admitted may neither leaue the flocke at his pleaſure to the which he had promiſed his fidelity & labors, neither yet may the flock reiect nor chāge him at their appetite vnleſſe they be able to conuict him of ſuch crimes as deſerueth depoſition, whereof we ſhal after ſpeake. We meane not but that the whole Church or the moſt parte thereof for iuſt conſiderations may tranſferre a Miniſter frō one Church to an other neither yet meane we that men who now do ſerue as it were of beneuolēce may not be appointed & elected to ſerue in other places but once being ſolempnedlie elected & admitted we can not approue that they ſhould change at their owne pleaſure.

We are not ignorant that the rarytie of godly & learned men ſhall ſeeme to ſome a iuſt reaſon why

that ſo ſtrayt and ſharp examination ſhould not be taken vniuerſally for ſo it ſhall appeare that the moſt parte of Churches ſhall haue no miniſter at all. But let theſe men vnderſtand that the lacke of able men ſhall not excuſe vs before God, if by our conſent vnable men be placed ouer the flocke of Chriſt Ieſus, As alſo that amongſt the Gentils godly & learned men were as rare, as they be now amongſt vs when the Apoſtle gaue the ſame rule to trie & examinate miniſters which we now followe. And laſt let them vnderſtand that it is a lyke to haue no miniſter at all and to haue an Idoll in the place of a trew miniſter: Yea and in ſome it is worſe, for thoſe that be vtterly deſtitute of miniſters will be diligent to ſearch for them, but thoſe that haue a vayne ſhadowe doe cómonly without farther care cótent them ſelues with the ſame, and ſo remaine they continually deceiued thinking that they haue a miniſter whé in very deed they haue none. For we can not iudge him a diſpenſator of Gods miſteries that in no wiſe can breake the breade of life to the faynting and hungrie ſoules Nether iudge we that the Sacraméts can be rightly miniſtred by him in whoſe mouth God hath put no ſermon of exhortation. The cheefeſt remedy left to your honors and to vs in all this raritie of trew miniſters is feruét prayer vnto God that it will pleaſe his mercie to thruſt out faithfull workemen in this his harueſt. And next that your honors with conſent of the Church are bound by your authority to compel ſuch men as haue giftes and graces able to edifie the Church of God, that they beſtow them where greateſt neceſſitie ſhall be knowen. For no man may be permitted to liue Idle, or as them ſelfe liſt. But muſt be appointed to trauell where your wiſedomes and the Church ſhall thinke expedient: We can not preſcribe

ſcribe vnto your honors certaine rules how that ye ſhall diſtribute the Miniſters & learned men whome God hath alreadie ſent vnto you. But hereof we are aſſured that it greatly hindereth the progreſſe of Chriſts Goſpell within this poore realme, that ſome altogether abſtract their labors from the Church & others remaine together in one place the moſt part of them being Idle. And therfore of your honors we require in Gods name, that by your authority which ye haue of God ye compell all men to whome God had geuen anie Talét to perſwade by holeſome doctrine to beſtowe the ſame if they be called by the Church to the aduancement of Chriſtes glorie and to the comforte of his troubled flock. And that ye with the conſent of the Church aſſigne vnto your chiefeſt workemen, not only townes to remaine in, but alſo prouinces that by their faithfull labours, churches may be erected & order eſtabliſhed where none is now. And if on this maner ye ſhall vſe your power and authoritie chieflie ſeeking Gods glory & the comfort of your brethren, we doubt not but God ſhall bleſſe you and your enterpriſe.

For Readers.

TO the Churches where no Miniſters can be had preſentlie muſt be appointed the moſt apt men that diſtinctlie can read the common prayers & the Scriptures, to exerciſe both théſelues & the Church till they grow to greater perfection, and in proceſſe of time he that is but a reader may attaine to the farther gree, and by cõſent of the Church and diſcreet Miniſters may be permitted to miniſter the Sacraments, but not before that he be able ſomewhat to perſwade by holeſome doctrine beſide his reading

and be admitted to the Miniſterie as before is ſaide. Some wee knowe that of long time haue profeſſed Chriſt Ieſus, whoſe honeſt conuerſation deſerueth praiſe of all godlie men, and whoſe knowledge alſo might greatlie help the ſimple, and yet they onelie content themſelues with reading, theſe muſt be animated & by gentle admonition encouraged by ſome exhortation to comforte their brethren, and ſo they may be admitted to adminiſtratiō of the Sacramēts but ſuch readers as neither haue had exerciſe nor continuance in Chriſtes trew religion muſt abſtaine from miniſtration of the Sacramentes till they giue declaration and witneſſing of their honeſtie and further knowledge, for the Lordes thinketh that none be admitted to preache but that they are qualified therefore, but rather be retained readers, and ſuch that are preachers already not foūd qualefied therfore be the ſuperintendent be placed to be readers.

Additio.

The fift head concerning the prouiſion for the Miniſters and for the diſtribution of the rentes and poſſeſſions iuſtlie appertayning to the Church.

SEing that our Maiſter Chriſt Ieſus and his Apoſtle Paule we haue that the workeman is worthie of his reward, and that the mouth of the labouring oxe ought not to be muſſeled, of neceſſitie it is that honeſt prouiſion be made for the Miniſters which we require to be ſuch that they haue neither occaſion of ſollicitude, neither yet of inſolency and wantōneſſe. And this prouiſion muſt be made not only for their owne ſuſtentation, during their liues. But alſo for their wiues and childrē after them. For we iudge it a thing moſt contrarious to reaſon godlynes and equitie, that the widow and the children of him who

in

in his life did faithfully serve the Church of God, & for that cause did not carefully make provision for his families, should after his death be left comfortless of all provision. Difficil it is to appoint a severall stipend to every minister, by reason that the charge & necessities of all will not be alike; for, some will be continuers in one place, some will be compelled to travell often to change dwelling place (if they shall have charge in diverse churches) Among those some will be burthened with wife & children, & some with more then another, & some perchance will be single men; if equall stipends shall be appointed to all those that in charge are so unequall, either should the one suffer penurie, or els should the other have superfluitie & too much; and iudge therfore that every minister have sufficient wherupon to keep a house & be sustayned honestly in all things necessarie as well for keeping of his house as clothes, flesh, fishe, bookes, & other things necessarie of the rente & revenue of the Church at the discretion of the congregation, conforme to the qualitie of the person & necessitie of the tyme, wherin it is thought that

that euery minister shall haue at least
fourtie bowles meale, & twentie six
bowles malt to find his house bread &
drinke, & more, so much as ye discretion
of the Church findeth necessarie. Besides
money for buying of other prouision to
his house & other necessaries. The medi-
tation whereof is referred to the iudgmt.
of the Church to be made euery yeare
at the time of the eldest & discreet
of the Church, prouiding alwayes that
there be aduanced to euery minister
sufficient prouision for one quarter of a
yeare before hand of all things. To him
that trauelleth from place to place
whome we call Superintendents who
remaine as it were a moneth or lesse in
one place for establishing of the Church,
& for the same purpose changing to ane
other place, must farther consideration
be had, & therefore to such we think six
chalder beare, 4 chalder meale, three
chalder oate for his house, fiue hundred
merke money to be taken & paid at the
discretion of the prince & rewards of
the Realme, to be paid to him yearly
in maner aforesaid.

The children of the ministers must haue

must have the liberties of the thitive
nest adjacent wher their fathers labourd
freely granted; They must have the
privilidge in Reheald & burgh in Coll-
lidge that it, that they shall be sustyned
at learning if they be found apt yrto
it, & fayling therof that they be put to
some handie craft, or provided in some
vertuous industrie, whereby they may be
profitable members in a Common Zealth:
And the same we require for their daughters
to wit, that they be vertuously brought
up & honestly dotid when they come to
maturitie of yeares at the discretion of ye
Church: And this in Gods sight we
witness we require not so much for ob
seruance & for any that to pertayneth,
as that we do for the mirrors of vertue
learning, & for the profit of the
posterite to come. It is not to be supposed
that any man will dedicate himselfe &
children so to God & to serue his Church,
that they looke for no worldly commodite
but, this tankered nature with mee bare
is prooted to follow vertue when it
seeth honour & profit annexed to the
same, & contrarily shun it vertue of many

of many desired when vertuous & godly men lives without honor, & sorry would were be that godlynes should discourage men from studie & from following the way of vertue, by the wch they might edifie the Church & flock of Christ Jesus.

Nothing have we spoken of the stipend of Readers, because if they can do no thing but read, they neither can be called, nor iudged true ministers: And yet regard must be had vnto their labours, but so that they may be stirred forward to vertue, & not by a stipend appointed for their reading to be retayned still in that estate. To a Reader therfore that is lately entered we think fortie mke or more or less, as the parishoners & readers can agree, sufficient prouided that he teach the children of ye parishe wch he must do besides the reading of the comon prayers & booke of ye new old Testament. If from reading he proceede to declare & playne the Scriptures, then ought his stipend to be augmented till finally he come to the honor of a minister. But if he be

hee bee found vnable after two yeares then
must hee bee removed from that office &
discharged of all stipend, that another
may bee provided at large, for this always
is to bee avoyded that none who is iudged
vnable to come at any tyme to some reasonable
knowledge, whereby hee may bee sic y^t there
shall bee ever actually nourished vpon the
charge of the Church. Farther it must
bee avoyded that no child or yong man
vnder that be vnder 21 yeares of age bee
admitted the office of a reader. But readers
ought to bee indued with gravitie, wit &
discretion, least that by their lightnes, yong
myndes & corrupture read bee of lesse
price & estimation. It is to bee noted that
the readers bee put in by the Church and
admission of the Superintendent.

The other sort of readers who have long
continued in godlines & have some gift
of exhortation, who are in hope to attaine
to the degree of a minister, & seek the
children, wee thinke an 100 mylles or more
at the discretion of the Church may bee
appointed. So that, difference (as said is)
bee betweene them & the ministers that
onely preach the word & ministery of Sacram^ts.
Except, yet other two sorte of people to

to be provided for of that wch is called
the patrimonie of the Church; to wit,
the poore & the fathers of the youthe.
Every severall Church must provide for
the poore within it selfe; for a fearfull
& horrible sin it is, that the poore, whom not
only God the Father in his lawe, but Christ
Jesus in his Gospell & the holy Ghost
speaking by St Paule, had so earnestly
commended to our care, are privily sallyed
contemned & despised; nay are not patronds
for stubborne & idle beggers, who running
from place to place make a craft of their
begging; whom the civil magistrate
ought to punishe; but for the widowe
& fatherlesse, the aged impotent, or
lamed, who neither can nor may travell
for their sustentation, these say y^t God
commanded his people to be carefull
therefore for such, as also for ye sore
& honest fallen in decay & penurie
ought such provision to be made, that
of o^r abundance should their indigence
be relieved. Soone this must conveniently
& most easily may be done in every citie
& other parts of this Realme, God shall
shew ye wisdome & the meanes, so that

so that yr minde be godly then to mislyned old must not be suffred to beg, that gladly wold do nether yet must beggers remaine wher they chuse: but the stout & strong beggar must be compelled to worke And every yr son that may not worke must be compelled to repaire to the place wher he or she was borne Unless of long continuance they have remayned in one place To their reasonable provision must be made for their sustentation as the Church shall appoint. The order now sumed in our iudgmente cannot be particularly appointed vnto such tyme as the yeare of every tribe, found & yat is be compelled to repaire to the place wher they were borne, or of their residence wher their names & number must be taken & put in roll. And then may the wisdome of the Church appoint stipende accordingly.

Of ye Superintendents

Yet must we have appointed a larger stipend to those that shall be superintendente then to the rest of the ministere we have thought good to signifie vnto yo honr such reasons as moved vs to make difference

betwixt quarters at this tyme, also
how many superintendentes shuld
haue seuerie, with their bounds offices, elderrou
mes that may depryue deposition from
that charge.

Item to consider that if the ministers whom
God hath endued with his graces among
vs should be appointit to soueraigne
certaine places then to make their
continuall residence, that then the
greatest part of this realme should
be destitute of all doctrine, wch should
not only be occasion of great murmur
but also should be dangerous to the
salvation of many. And therfore we
haue thought it a thing most needfull
for this tyme, that from the whole
number of godly learned now presently
in this realme be selected twelue or
ten (for so many prouinces haue we
diuided the whole) to whom charge and
commandement shall be giuen to plant
order churches, to set order & appoint
ministers (at the former order prescribed)
to the Countreyes that shall be ap-
pointed to their care, where none are now.
And by these meanes yor Lo. shall com on

and comon rare ouer all the inhabitants of the realme (to whom yᵉ are ingratt debtors) shall euidently appeare, & also the simple & ignorant (who perchance haue neuer heard Christ Jesus truely preached) shall come to some knowledge, by the wᶜʰ many that now be blind in superstition & ignorance shall attaine to some feelling of godlines by the wᶜʰ they may be prouoked to search & seek further knowledge of God & of his true religion & not shrinking; where by the contrary, if they shall be neglected they shall not only grudge but also they shall seek the meanes whereby they may continue in their blindnes, or returne to their accustomed idolatrie; And then for nothing desire yᵉ more earnestly, then that Christ Jesus be universally & truely preached throughout this realme, wch shall not dayly be practised that by yᵉ men be appointed & commanded faithfully to trauell in such service as to them shall be assigned.

The names of ye places of residence & Severall dioceses of ye Superintendte

1 Imprimis, the Superintendent of Orkney whose Diocese shall be the Isles of Orkney, & Hetland, Caithnesse, and Straithnaber, his residence to be in the towne of Kirkwall.

2 The Superintendent of Ross whose Diocese shall conteine Ross & Sutherland murray, with the North Isles of ye Skye & the Lewis, with their adjacente, his residence to be in the Chanonrie of Ross

3 The Superintendente of Argile, whose Diocese shall conteine Argile Lorne, the South Isles Arrane & Bute with their adiacente with Louth haber; his residence to be in.

4 The Superintendent of Aberdane whose Diocese is betwixt Dee & Spey conteyning the Shrifdome of Aberdā & Bamff; his residence to be in old Aberdean.

5 The Superintendent of Fyfe, whose Diocese shall be the whole Shrifdome of monte & Angus & the Bray of Mar to Dee, his residence to be in Fyfe.

6 The Superintendent of St Andrewes whose

whose diocese shall comprehend the whole Sheriffdomes of Ayrr & Glasgow to Stirling & the whole Sheriffdome of Edrr. his residence in St Andrewes.

7 The Superintendent of Edenburgh whose diocese shall comprehend the whole Sheriffdomes of Lothiane & Stirling on the South side of the water of Forth & thereto is added by consent of the whole Church, merss Lauderdaill & Cowdell, his residence to be in.

8 The Superintendent of Jedburgh whose diocese shall comprehend Teviotdaill Cowdaill Liddisdaill with the forrest of Ettrik his residence to be in

9 The Superintendent of Glasgow whose diocese shall comprehend Clidesdell, Renfrow, Menteth, Lennox, Kyle and Cunningham, his residence to be in Glasgow.

10 The Superintendent of Dumfreis whose diocese shall comprehend Galloway, Carrick, with the Hill Annandaills with the rest of the Dailes in the west, his residence to be in Dumfreis.

These men must not be suffered to live as yr Idle Bishops have done heretofore neither must they remaine where gladly they would, but they must be wearied them selves & such as may make no long

no long residence in any one place till
their Churches be planted & provided
of ministers or at the least of Readers
Charge must be given them that they
remaine in no one place about twenty
or thirtie dayes in their visitation,
till they have passed throughout their
whole bounds. They must thrise every
week be at least present, & when they
returne to their ordinarie & owne
residence, they must be likewise
exercised in preaching & ministring
of the Church there. & yet they must
not be suffered to continue there
so long as they may come to neighbor
their other Churches. But after
that they have remayned in their
theirs twice or thrise more then
at most, they shall be compelled
(unless by sickness only they be
retayned) to remove to ministrie;
in which they shall not only preach
but also examine the life, diligence
& behaviour of the ministers, as also
the order of their churches & manners
of the people. They must further

farther consider how the poore be provided, how the youth be instructed they must admonish where admonition needeth, dresse such thinge as by good counsell they be able to appease; finally, they must note such remisse as be haynous that by the censure of the Church the same may be corrected: If the Superintendent be found negligent in any of these thinges pointe of his office, especially if he be noted negligent in teaching of the word & visitation of his churches, or if he be convict of any of these crymes with in the comon ministers are damned, he must be deposed without respect of his person or office

of the Election of Superintendte

In this present were sithed the nomination examination & admission of Superintendte cannot be so straight als we require, & as afterwarde it must be, for this present therfore we thinke sufficient that either yor honors by yor Bills nominate so many as may [illegible] the forewritten provinces, or that yor grace

yow a full Comission to such men as in whome yow suppose the feare of God to be, to doe the same. And that the same men, being called in yor grace shall by yow & by such as yor honor shall call vnto yow for consultation in that matter, bee appointed to their severall charges. And I thinke it very expedient and necessarie that as well the gentlemen as Burgesses of every diocese bee made privie at this same tyme to the election of the Superintendent, as well to bring the Church in some greatter libertie as to make the pastor better favoured of the flock whom themselves have chosen. If yor honor cannot find for this present so many able men as the necessitie requireth, then in my iudgment more profitable it is that those places were vaiede till God provide better, then that men vnable to rule & governe the Church bee so dangerously placed in the charge, for experience hath taught vs what greefe hath bene ingendred in the Church by men vnable to.

Church of Scotland

to discharge their office: Quhen therfore
after three yeares any Superintendent
shall decease or chance to be deposed,
the thrie fowre within that province,
to wit, the minister, eldere, & deacons,
with the magistrate of towne of the
same toune shall nominate & by publique
edicte proclayme ane will to the Su-
perintendente ab to two or three prince
next adiacent, two or three of their
most learned & most godly ministere
within the whole Realme. That from
among them, one with publique consent
may be elected & appointed to the
office then vacand. And this the thrie
fowre shall be bound to do within the
bowne of twentie dayes, with bidding
required, & no man appeirand, then
shall three of the next adiacent
provinces with the consent of their
Superintendente, Ministers, eldere,
enter into the right & privilege of
the thrie fowre, & shall present twa,
or three of them, one or two, if they list to
the thrie towne to be examined at the
order requireth. Bot also it shall be
lawfull for all the Churches of the

of the Diocesse to nominate & in the
same time such persons as they think
worthy to stand in Election wch may be
put in Christ.

After the nominations be made publique
Edicte must be sent, first warning all
men that have any obiection against
the persons nominated or against any
one of them, to be present in the third
hour at Day Clare affixed, to obiect
what they can against the Election of
any one of them; Thirtie dayes we
think sufficient to be assigned there-
thirtie will meane after that the
nomination be made; wth Day of Election
being come, the whole ministerie of that
province wth three or more of the
Superintendents next adiacent, or
that shall thereto be named, shall
examine not only the learning, but
also the maners, gravitie and
habilitie to governe the Church of all
those that are nominate, that he that
shall be found most worthy, may be
burthened with the charge. If the
ministers of the whole province should

should bring with them the votes of those that were remitted to their care, the election should be more free. But always the votes of all those that reteane, must be required. The examination must be publiquely made, those that stand in election must publiquely preach, men must be charged in the name of God to vote according to conscience & not affection. If any thing be objected against any that stand in election, the superintendent & ministers must consider whither the objection be made of conscience or of malice, & they must answere accordingly. Other ceremonies then sharpe examination, approbation of the ministers & superintendent, with the publique consent of the elders & people then present, we cannot allow. The superintendent being elected & approved to his charge must be subiect to the censure & correction of the ministers & elders, not only of his chiefe towne, but also of the whole province, over the which he is appointed ouerseer. If his offence be knowne the ministers & elders of his province be negligent in correcting him, then the next one or two

Superintendents with their ministers
& elders may convene with the
ministers & elders of his christian
provinde that it be within his owne
province or christe towne) & may assist
& correct as will the Superintendent
in those things that are worthy of
correction as the ministers & elders
for their negligence & wilfully tolerans
of his offences whatsoeuer remede
desyre correction or deposition of
any other ministers desyre the same
in the Superintendent without ex-
ception of person.

After that the Church be established
three yeares be passed, we require
that no man be called to the office of
a Superintendent who hath not two
yeares at least given declaration of
his faithfull laboure in y ministris
of some Church.

No Superintendent may be transferred
at the pleasure & request of any
one persone, no not without the consent
of the whole counsell of the Church,
& that for grave causes & consideration
of one thing in the end we must ad-
monish yor honore to wit, that in
appointing Superintendents for the

for this present, yo^u Dispayre not
yo^t these townes, where learning is
ygnorish of such mynisters as were
may profit by ye sincere in one place
then by continuall travell from place
to place. for if you doe so, the youth in
those places shall lack ye profound
interpretation of the Scriptures.
so shall it be long before that yor
gardens send forth many plants,
wher by the controuersie of our two townes
be continually ygnorish as they may
the comon wealth shall shortly taste
of their fruits to the comfort of the
godly.

for the Behalfe.

Seing that the office & dutie of the
godly magistrate is not only to
purge the Church of God from all
superstition & set it at libertie
from bondage of Tyrants, but
also to prouide to the vttermost of
his power how it may abide in the
same puritie & libertie following
wee cannot but freely comunicate our
iudgm^t with yor honore in this behalfe.

The necessitie of Behalfe.

Seeing that God hath determyned
that his Church here in earth shalbe

shalbe taught not by Angels but by
men, & seeing that men bee ignorant of
all godlines, & seeing also that God
now vseth to illumyne men mysterie-
lously, & daily changing them as hee
did his Apostles & others in the
primitiue Church, of necessitie it is
that we honore hee most carefull for the
perpetuall duration & yerely encreasing
of youth of this realme, if either we
thirst vnfaynedly the aduancement of
Christe glorie, or elles the continuance
of his benefit to the generation
following, for as the youth must succeed
after vs, so ought wee to bee carefull
that they haue the knowledge & vse thereof
to profit & comfort, that which ought
to be most deare to vs, to wit, the
Church & seruice of the Lord Iesus.
Of necessitie therefore wee iudge it
that euery seuerall Church haue a
Schoolemaister appointed, such an one
as is able at least to teach grammar
& the latine tongue, if the found bee
of any reputation; & if it bee in a land
where the people conuert to Christ but
one in the week, then must either
the waiter or the ministers there appoint
a

appointed take care over ye children
& youth of the parishe to instruct them
in their first rudiments & especially
in the catechisme al wel haueing now
translated in the booke of our common
order called the order of Geneua;
And further we think it expedyent
that in euery notable towne & especially
in the towne of the Superintendents
be erected a Colledge; in wch the arte,
at least of logick & rhetorick be
taught together with the tongues be read
by sufficient m.rs for whome honest
stipende must be appointed; & also
provision for those that be godlie
& are not able by them selues nor by
their friends to be sustayned at letters
& especially such as come from landward
The fruits & comodities herof shall
dailie appeare, for first ye youth
heade & tender children shall be nourished
& brought vp in vertue in presence of
their friends, by whose good attendance
many inconveniences may be avoyded
wch the youth commonly falleth vnder
by too much libertie, wch they haue in
their age & on the contrarie gladlie while they

they cannot rule themselues; or else
for lack of good attendance of
such as Nature & their tender age
requires. Especially the seruice
of the children in every Church shall
be great instruction to the aged.
Last the great Schooles called vniuer-
sities shall be replenished as they
that bee apt to learning for, this
must bee carefully prouided, that
no father of what state or condition
that euer hee be vse his children
at his owne fantasie, especially
in their youth head, but all must be
compelled to bring vp their childre
in learning & vertue. The rich
& potent may not be permitted
to suffer their children to spend
their youth in vaine idlenes as
here before they haue done, but they
must bee exhorted & by the vnyuer
of the Church compelled to dedicate
their soul by good seruice to the
profit of the Church & to the comon
wealth & that they must do of their

of their owne expenss, becaus they are able. The children of the poore must be suppported & sustayned of the charge of the Church till tryall be taken whither the spirit of docilitie be found in them or not. If they be found apt to letters & learning, then may they not onely mean and nether the sonn of the rich nor the sonn of the poore be permitted to reject learning, but must be charged to continue their studie, so that the comon wealth may have some comfort by them. And for this purpose must discreat learned grave men be appointed to visit all schooles for the tryall of their profiteing & continuance, to wit, the minister eldere with the best learned in every towne shall every quarter take examination how the youth had profited. Certaine tymes must be appointed to reading & to the learning of the catechisme, a certaine to the Grammar & in the latin tongue, a certaine to the Arte philosophie, & to the tongues & a certaine to that studie in with they

they must bend chiefly to trauell for the
profit of the common wealth, with some
competent meanes to carry our
the children must either proceed to
further knowledge, or else they must
be sent to some handy craft or to
some other profitable exercise;
Prouided alwayes that first they
haue the former knowledge of Chri-
stian religion, to wit, the knowledge of
Gods lawe, Commandements, the
right vse & office of the same, the chiefe
Articles of our beliefe, the right forme
to pray vnto God, the number, vse
& effect of the Sacraments, the true
knowledge of Christ Iesus & his
office & nature, & such other, as
without the knowledge whereof
neither Christian man to be named
a Christian; neither ought any to be
admitted to the participation of
the Lords table; & therefore the
principalle ought & must be learned
in the youth hood.

The tymes appointed for
learning these
two yeares, were thinke more then

more then sufficient to learne to read
yᵉ perfitly, to answere to yᵉ rapthismes
& to have some entrance in the first
rudiments of grammar. To the full
accomplishment whᵉrof (wᵗ meane of
the grammar) we think either three
or foure yeares at most sufficient.
To the Arts, to wit Logick & rhe-
torick & to the Greek tongue foure
yeares. And the rest till the age of
twentie foure yeares to be spent
in that studie wherin the learner
would profit the Church or comon
wealth, be it in lawes, phisick, or
Divinitie; with tyme of 24 yeares
being spent in the Schooles, the
learned must be removed to serve
the Church or comon wealth, unles
he be found a verie speciall leader
in the same colledge or universitie.
If God shall move yᵉ harte to estab-
lisshe & decreete this order, & quiet
the present thinge in controversie, yᵉ whole
Realme (we doubt not) within fewe
yeares shall have it fleis of true
preachers & of other officiers verie needfull
for yᵉ comon wealth.

The

The Historie of the

the Erection of prouidentis
the grammar schoole, & of ye tongues
being erected as we haue said; we
wil think it nedfull heir be shew
prouidentis in this whole realme
& stablished, in the townes aboue named
the first in St Andrewes, the second
in Glasgow & the third in Abirdean;
And the first prouidentis of erectione
with in St Andrewes, heir be three
colledges, in the first colledge
wth in the entrie of the prouidentis
heir be foure classe or degrie the
first to the new scholleris shalbe
only dyalectique, the nixt only
mathematique, the third of ghistik
only, the fourth of meditrine. And
in the second colledge two classe
or degrie the first in morall philo-
sophie, the second in the lawes:
And in the third colledge two classe
or degrie, the first in the tongues
to wit, greek & hebrew the second
in diuinitie.

Of readers of the degrees
of tymes & study.

Item in the first colledge & in the first

in the first Classe shall be a Reader
of Dyalstrigue, who shall accomplishe
his course thereof in one yeare. In the
mathematigue with in the second classe
shall be a Reader who shall complete his
course of Arithmetick, Geometrie
& mesurand thir & astrologie in one yeare
In the third classe shall be a reader
of naturall philosophie, who shall
complete his course in one yeare
& who after the three yeares by tryall
& examination shall be sufficiently
found instructed in the aforesaid
1 degree sciences shall be laureat graduat
in philosophie. In the fourth classe
shall be a Reader of medicine, who
shall complete his course in fiue
yeares, after the studie of the with
sayd being by examination found
2 degree sufficient, they shall be graduat
in medicine
Item in the second Colledge in the first
classe one Reader only of Ethicke
Oeconomicke & politigue, who shall
complete his course in the space of
one yeare. In the second classe shall
be two Readers in the municipall
& Roman lawes, who shall complete

their course in fours yeares; After
the wch tyme being by examination
3 degree found sufficient, they shall be
graduat in the lowre
Item in the third Colledge in ye first
classe one Reader of the hebrew
another of the greek tongue
who shall rone their grammers three
in halfe an yeare, the Reader in
hebrew shall interpret a booke of
moyse, the 4 evangiles or ye psalmes;
so that his course or classe shall
continue one yeare. The Reader
of the Greek shall enterpret some
booke of Plato, togither with
some place of the new Testament.
In the second classe shalbe two
readers in divinitie; the one in the
new Testament, the other in the
old who shall rone their course
in fiue yeares, After wch tyme who
shall be found by examynation
4 degree sufficient shalbe graduat in divinitie
Item we thinke it expedient that
none be admitted to the first colledge
or to be Regente of the universitie
vnles he have from the mr of
the Schools & the minister of the

of the tyme wher he was instructed
in the tongues a testimoniall of his
learning docilitie age & parentage &
likewise tryall to be taken by certaine
examinators deputed by the Visitor
or ministers of the same & if he be
found sufficiently instructed in the
tongues he shall incontinent that
same yeare be promoted to the classe
of mathematicke. Item, that none be
admitted to the classe of the medicine
but he that hath his testimoniall of
his tyme well spent in dyalectique,
mathematique & physicke & of his
docilitie in the last
Item that none be admitted to the
classe of the lawes, but he that shall
have sufficient testimoniall of his
tyme well spent in dyalectique,
mathematique, physicke, ethicke,
oeconomicke & politique & of his
docilitie in the last
Item that none be admitted unto the
classe of divinitie but he
that shall have testimonyall of his
tyme well spent in dyalectique,
mathematique, physicke, ethicke,
oeconomique, morall philosophie &

& the greeke & hebrew tongues; of
his dotilitie in the moral philosophie
& the hebrew tongue. But neither
shall such as will apply them to heare
the lawe, be compelled to heare
medicine, neither such as apply them
to heare medicine, be compelled to
heare either medicine or yt lawe.
Item in the second vniversitie wth in
Glasgow shall be two colledges. In
the first shall be one classe of
dyalectique, an other of mathematique,
the third in philosophie ordered in all
sorte as at St Andrewes.
Item in the second colledge foure
classes, the first in morall philosophy,
& thirke pollicie & politique.
The second of the municipall
roman lawe; the third of the
hebrew tongue, the fourth in divinitie
wch shall be ordered in all sorte
conforme to it now hand written vizt
order of the privitie of St Andrewes
The third vniversitie of Aberdean
shall be conforme to this vniversitie
of Glasgow in all sorte.
Item we think need full that ther
be chosen of the body of ye vniver-

of the pmadvertis to every Colledge
a man of learning, discretion and
diligence who shall retaine the whole
rents of the Colledge & distribute
the same according to the direction of
the Colledge & shall dayly harken
the diet tomyte, adioyning to him
weekly one of the readers or regents
about whome he shall take attendance
vpon their diligence at will in their
reading as direction of ye youth
in the manner taught vpon the
policy & vphold of the place, & for
punishm^t. of crimes shall hold a
weekly convention wth the whole
members of the Colledge he shall
be comptable yearly to the Quar-
tendent, Rector & rest of the pri-
vigalls convened about the first of
November; Visitation shalbe on this
sort

There shall be three of the most
sufficient men of the privversitie
(not ye privigalls alreadie) nominate
by the members of the Colledge sworne
to follow their conscience who be
ye privigalls is departed & publiquely
throughout & through ye whole privversitie;

after the rate tyme eight dayes the
Superintendent by himselfe or his
Deputie, accompanied with the Rector
& the rest of the Principalls & one
Chapter convened, shall confirme
one of the three they thinke most
sufficient, being afore sworne to do
the same with single eye but respect
no feare or favour.

Item in every College was thinke
needfull at least one Steward, one
Cooke, one Gardiner, one Porter, who
shall be subiect to Discipline of
the Principall as the rest.

Item that every Universitie have
one beadle subiect to serve at all
tymes throughout ye whole Universitie
as the Rector & Principalls shall
comand.

Item, that every Universitie have a
Rector chosen from yeare to yeare
as shall follow.

The Principalls being convened
wth the whole regente thereof,
shalbe sworne that every man in
his roome shall nominate soth one
as his conscience shall be stirred to
be most sufficient to beare such
charge & dignitie; And these of

And three of them that shall be of best
nominate shall be put in dirt publickly
15 dayes after michaelmas; And then
shall on michaelmas even convene the whole
principall regente & supposte that are
graduat or at the least studyed three
tymes in ethicke oeconomiques & the
libriques & no others younger. And every
nation first protesting in Gods feare
to follow the finding & dittment of their
conscience shall nominate one of the
said three, & he that hath most votes
shall be confirmed by the superintendt
& principalle; his dutie w.th an exhor-
tation prowanst vnto him; And this to
be the 28th day of September, and
thereafter oathes to be taken of his
iust & godly gouvernt & of the re
manente lawfull submission & obedyence
he shall be promoved to the vniversity
at his entry with a new garment
being insignia magistratis & he
holding monethly to visit every Colledge
& call his pupills & examine
the lectiones & exercitation thereof. All
Assistors shall be one Lawyer one

Cond Theologe, wth whose advise
he shall decide all questions truelle
betwixt the members of ye universities
if any w^thout the universities pursue
a member thereof or be pursued by a
member of the same, he shall assist
the Provost & Baylliffs in the raise
& are ather iudge competent to see
iustice be ministred In likewise if any
of the universities be criminally
pursued he shall assist the Iudge
competent, & see that iustice be
ministred

Item we think it expedyent that in
euerie Colledge in euery universitie
there be 24 Bursars devided equally
in all the classes & degree, as is above
expremed, that is in St Andrewes
presentlie two Bursars, In Glasgow
presentlie eight bursars, In Aberdean
presentlie eight to be sustayned only
in meat vpon the charges of the
Colledge, And to be admitted at the
examinatou of the ministers and
chaplanes of ye respective ye universities
as well in doctrine of the p^rsons

of the persons offered as of the habilitie of their parents to sustaine them
their place & not to be burthen the comon-
wealth with them.

Of the stipends & dignities necessary

Item, wee think expedient that the
vnited states be dotted with temporall
lands with rents & revenues of the
Archbishopricks bishopricks & of the
churches erected, so far as their or-
diarie charges shall require; & there-
fore that it would please yr honrs
by advise of yr honrs counsell
vote of parliament to do the same, And
to the effect the same may be shortly
provided, wee have collected the
sumes wee think meet should for yr saues
Imprimis for the ordinarie stipend
of the dialectique reader, the mathe-
matique, Christian & moral philosophy
wee think sufficient 100 for euerie
one of them
Item, for the stipend of euerie reader
in ordinarie classe 133-6-8
Item to euerie reader in hebrew, greeke
& divine ——— 200
Item, to euerie primipall of a college 200

Item to ilk burry Steward ——— 16

Item to ilk burry Gardiner to ilk burry Cook, & Waiter, ilk ane ——— 10 mk.

Item to the board of ilk burs[ar] out of ye classe of theologie & medicine 20

Item in the classe of theologie with will be only twa lus persons in St Andrewis ——— 24

Summa of ye yearly ordinaris expenss in the vniuersitie of St Andrewis extendis to 3796

Summa of yearly ordinaris expens of Glasgow ——— 2922

Aberdean as much ——— 2922

Summa of the ordinaris charges of the whole ——— 9640

Item the Maisters stipend shall be of ilk burry entrante & last yeir of the vniuersitie two shillinge, of ilk one graduat in philosophie three shillinge, of ilk one graduat in medicine or lawes fourie shillinge In theologie fyue shillinge all burs[ars] being deducted.

Item we haue thought good for

for buildmg & vpkeep of the glaue
a generall Collect be made, & that
euery Clarkes sone at at entry to the
vniuersitie shall giue fortie shillinge
& such like at euery graduation, fortie
shillinge
Item, euery Lords sone sicklike at such
tyme thirtie shillinge; euery Knycht holding
Baronie sone twentie shillinge, euery
fermer & substantious gentlemans
sone, one mke
Item, euery substantious husbandm
& burgesses sone at sich tyme ten
shillinge. Item euery one of y^r rest
(except ing the bursars) fiue shillinge
at ilk tyme
And the be gathered in a comon box
put in keiping to the principall of y^e
Theologiane, euery principall having
a key thereof to be reuerted euery yeare
once with the relicte of the principalls
to be layd into the same about the
15 day of Iune in presens of the
Superintendent, rectour & whole
principalls & at their whole consent
or at the least the most part thereof
respectand employed only vpon the

the building & vpholding of ye Glasse & repayring of the same as shall requisite shall require; And therefore the Rector with his Assistante shall be holden to visite the Glasse each yeare once imediately after hee be promoted, vpon the last of October or thereby.

Of the priviledge of ye vniuersity

Seeing wee desire that innocencie should defend & rather then priviledge wee think that each person of the vniuersitie should answere before ye proost & Bayliffe of each towne wher the vniuersitie are of all crimes whereof they are accused, only that ye Rector bee assistent to them in the said action. In ciuil matters if the question bee betwixt men here of the vniuersitie on both side making their residence & dyocitation therin for the tyme, in that case the partie called shall not bee holden to answere but only before the Rector & his assistere, heretofore deputed. In all other cases of ciuill sute the

the generall rule of the law to be
observed, Actor sequatur forum rei &
ther, that the rector & all inferior mem-
bers of the universitie be exempted
from all taxations, impositt, charge,
of watch, or any other charge that may
distract or abstract him or them from
the cure of their office, such as tutorie
curatorie Idatorey, or any such thing
that are established, or hereafter
shall be established in our comon
wealth, to the effect that without
trouble one may waite upon the
edification of youth in learning, &
that the other bestowe his tyme only
in that most necessarie exercitation
All other thinge touching the bookes to
be read in each classe, & all suche
particular affaires we reserve to ye
discretion of the ministere, primarij
& regente with their wele advised
Counsell, not doubting, but if God
shall graunt quietnes, & unto yor
wisdomes grace to set forwarde
letters in the sort aforesaid, yo shall
leave wisdome & learning to your
posteritie, a treasure more to be
esteemed then any earthly treasure

yᵉ are able to provide for them)
with without wisdome are more able
to bee their ruine & confusion then
help yᵉ & comfort. And as this is
most true, so well deale it with the
rest of the remonstrance to be weighed
by yᵒʳ honors wisdome & set forward
by yᵒʳ authorities to the most high
advancement of this comon wealth
committed to yᵒʳ charge

The first head of the Ante
matrimonie of the Church.

The first two sorts of men, that is to
say the ministers & the poore together
with the Schooles, when order shall
be taken therupon, must be sup-
ported upon the charges of the
Church, & therfore provision must
be made how & of whome such sums
must be levyed.

But before we enter in this head
we must treate of yᵒʳ honorˢ in
the first place to yᵒʳ poore betwen
the labourers & manuarie of the
ground, who by these truell waste
the yeares past have bene so oppressed
that their life to them hath bene
dolorous & bitter, if yᵉ will have

if yᵉ will have God, the Author & approver of yᵒʳ reformation, yᵉ must not follow their footsteps, but yᵉ must have compassion upon yᵒʳ brethren, appointing them to pay so reasonable tithes, that they may have some benefit of Christ Jesus now preached unto them.

With grief of our hearts we hear that some gentlemen are now as cruel over their tenants as ever were the Papists, requiring of them what pleased before they paid to the Church, so that the papistical tyranny shall only be changed in the tyranny of the Lords of the land; we dare not flatter yᵒʳ honors, neither yet is it profitable for you that so will do, if yᵉ permit such insolencies to be used, neither shall yᵉ who by yᵒʳ authority ought to withstand such oppression, neither yet they that use the same, escape God's heavie & fearefull iudgmᵗ. The Gentlemen, Barons, Earles, Lords & others, must be content to live upon their just rents, & suffer the Church to be restored to her liberties, that in her restitution the

the poore who heretofore by ye true all
ye Parishe have bine spoyled and
oppressed may now receive some
comfort & relaxation
Concluded by the Lords that their
tithes & other oblations to be
cleane discharged & never to be
taken in the tyme coming, & the
oppressor most duly the tythes present,
the clerke maide, the pasche offering,
with all, & all handillinge whatsoever
can neither be required nor received
of good conscience; neither do we
judge it to proceed from justice that
one man shall possesse the tithes
of another; but, we think it a thing
most reasonable that every man have
the use of his owne tenthe, provided
that hee answere to the Deacon &
Wardes of the Church of that wch
justly shall be appointed vnto him;
& we require Deacon & Wardes rather
to receive the tenthe then the
ministers themselves, because that of
the tenthe must not only the ministers
be sustayned, but also the poore &
Churches. Therefore we think it most

most expedient that comon houses
to wit, the Deacons be appointed from
yeare to yeare to receive the whole
rents appertaining to the Church, And
that comandment be given that no
man be permitted either to receive
either yet to intromett wt any thing
pertayning to the sustentation of the
ptt sent foresaid, but such as by the
comon consent of the Church are
thereto appointed.

Additio
The Lords
agent to y
head of y
retaining
of y Stewd

If any think this prejudiciall to the
lawfull callings of those that now
possess the bysshes, let them understand
that an unjust possession is no pos-
session before God; for those of whome
they received their title & pretended
right were Caterues & murtherers,
& had no power to alienate the
patrymonie of comon weall of y Church
And yet we are not so extreame but
that we wish unjust recompense to be
made to such as have disbursed same
of money, to these unjust possessors
that it have not been of late dayes
in prejudice of the Church but such

Bitt such as are knowne to be done of
late time, I am no wise ought to be
mindyned of yt: And for that ever wise
men shall it most expedyent that who
soever have assydation of the tithes or
that they be orderly warned to produce
their assydation & assurance, that coym-
tion being taken the Taksman may
have a iust & reasonable recompence
for the yeares that are to come, the
profit of the yeares passed being
considered & deducted And the iniust
& surmised may be staued accordingly,
so that the Church in the end may recouer
her libertie & freedome, that onely
for the reliefe of the poore; yt herein
may easily understand that we speake
not here for Ps gluse but in favour of
the poore & of the labourers defrauded
& oppressed by the priste & by their
confederate parsoners; for while that
the priste parsoner his idle belly
is deliratly fed the poore to whome a
portion of that appertaineth, are
pined with hunger. And moreover the
poore labourer was commanded to pay

to say that noth hee ought not, for y^e
labours & ill nother Debtor to the dumb
dog called the Bp^e, nether yet to the
hyred ministers but ill Debtor only
to the Church & the church ill only
bound to sustaine & nourish of her
charge the persons before mentonat
to wit, the ministers of the word, y^e
poore & the harberie of youth.
But, now to returne to the former heads;
the same abled to sustaine the before
named ye soule & to furnishe all things
appertaining to the good preservation of
a good order & policy, wth in the Church
must be lifted of the tenthes, to wit,
the tenth sheafe, tenth hay, tenth
hemp, tenth Lint, tenth fishes, tenth
calfe, tenth foale, tenth lamb, tenth
woll, wth thes & or. And heir y^t
will know that the tythes reasonably
taken, as ill be found ye will not
suffice to discharge the former necessities
wee shall that all things doted to
hospitalitie all annuall rents both
in burgh & land pertaining to ye
Chantry colledge chaplanrye &
to fryers of all orders to the sisters.

agreed upon by ye Lords.

of the Isaue & to all others of that
order & such others within the Isles
be reteynd still to the vse of the
Churche or churches within the towne
or parishes wher they were dotd; fur
thermore to the vpholdt of ye vnion & sus
tentation of the Superintendt
the whole reuenus of the temporalitie
of the Bp. Isaues are to Isaue lande
& all kynde of lande pertaining to
Corbie wall thurthse what soeuer.
And further Marchantes & craftes
men in ye burghs who haue nothing
to doe with the manuring of ye ground
must make some provision in their
rittes, townes & dwelling place for
to support the need of the churches
The ministers & failing thereof, the
readers must be restord to their
manse & their glebe, for ells they
can not serue the flock at all
tymes, as their dutie is; if any
glebe exceede sixe aikes of land
the rest to remaine in the possessors
hands while order be taken therin
The reuenues & collectors of these

of the ffrontes Office must be the
Deacons Stwards appointed from
yeare to yeare in every Church yt
by common consent & free election of ye
church. The Deacons may distribute
no part of that wch is collected but
by the comandmt of the ministere
& elders; they may comand nothing
to be done but as the church before
had determined; to wit, the Deacons
shall of the first pay the sumes
either quarterly or from halfe yeare
to halfe yeare to the ministere wch
the Church hath appointed; the same
they shall doe to the Scholmr, readers
& hospitalls (if any be) always
receiving acquittance for their
discharge; If any extraordinarie
sumes be to be payd, then must the
ministers, elders, & Deacons consult
whether the deliberance of the sd
sumes doth stand with the common
vtilitie of the Church or not. And
if they do previously agree and
condiscend either vpon ye affirmative
or the negative, then because they
are intrusted & offices for the yeare,
they may do as best seemeth vnto them;

But

But if there be controuersie among them please, the whole church must be made priuie, & after that the matter be opponed & the reasons heard, the iudgement of the church with the ministers consent shall preuail. The Deacons shall be bound & remaild to make accounte to the ministers & elders of that wch they haue receiued as often as the policy shall appoint. & the elders when they are charged (with must be euery yeare) must giue their counts before such Auditors as the Church shall appoint. & both the Deacons & elders being discharged shall deliuer to them that shall be now elected, all summes of money, rents & other profit resting in their hands. The billets wherof must be giuen to the Superintendents in their visitation, & by them to the great counsell of the Church, that as well the abundance as the indigence of euery Church may be euidently knowne, that a reasonable equalitie may be had throughout the whole Realme. If this order be precisely

bee greatly kept, corruption can not
so easily enter, for the fues & yearly elections
of deacons & elders shall suffer none to
usurpe a perpetuall domination over
the Church the knowledge of ye wordall
shall suffice them to retaine no more then
whereof they shall be bound to make
account the deliverance of the money
to the new officiars shall not suffer
private men use in their private business
that wth appertayneth to the publique
affaires.

The 7th head of Ecclesiasticall discipline

No that no common wealth can flourish
or long endure without good lawes and
sharpe execution of the same; so can
neither the Church of God bee brought
to purity, neither yet bee retayned in the
same without the order of ecclesiasticall
discipline, wth standeth in reproving
& correction of the faulte wherby
civill sword doth either neglect either
may not punish: Blasphemie, Adultery,
murther, perjurie, & other crimes capitall
worthy of death ought not properly to fall
under the censure of the Church because,

braues, all such open transgressours of Gods lawes ought to be taken away by the ciuill sword. But drunkennesse (be it in wearing or be it in eating or drinking) fornication, oppression of the poore by extortion, detaining of them in buying selling by wrong measures wanton words, tyrannious liuing lending to vsurie, do grossely appertaine to the Church of God, to punish the same, as Gods word commandeth. But braues this peruerse Papistry had brought in such confusion in the world, that neither was vertue rightly praised, neither vice seuerely punished the Church of God is compelled to draw the sword, wch of God she hath receiued against such open and manifest offenders, curseing excommunicating all such, as well those whom the Ciuill sword ought to punish, as the others from all participation with her in prayers Sacramente, till open repentance manifestly appeare

manifestly appeare in them. As the
order of excommunicating proceeding
to the same ought to be graue & slowe;
so being once pronounced against any
person it must be kept with all
seuerity, for lawes made & not kept
engendreth contempt of vertue & bring
eth in confusion & libertie to sinne.
And therefore this order was thinke
expedient to be obserued before &
after excomunication.

First, if the offence be secret & known
to few & rather stande in suspition
then in manifest probation, the offender
ought to be priuately admonished to
abstaine from all appearance of euill,
wch if he promise to doe & to declare
himselfe sober, honest & one that
feareth God & feareth to offend his
brethren then may the secret admonition
suffice for his correction; But if he
either condemne the admonition or after
promise made do shew himselfe no more
tractum sed then he was before, then
must the minister admonish him; Do

To whome if hee be found obedyent
they must proceed according to the rule
of Christ God after shall be declared
if the crime be publique & such as it
may require, as fornication, drunkennes,
fighting, comon swearing or blasphemie
then ought the offender to be called
in the presence of the ministers, elders
& deacons, where his sinne & offence ought
to be declared & aggravated, so that
his conscience may feele how farre hee
had offended God & what slander hee
had raysed in the Church. If signes
of unfayned repentance appeared in
him & if hee require to be admitted to
publique repentance, the ministrie
may appoint to him a day when ye whole
Church convened together, that in presence
of all hee may testifie the repentance
wch before them hee professed; wch if
hee accept with reverence & confessing his sinne & damning the same
& earnestly desiring the congregation
to pray God with him for mercie & to
accept him in their societie notwithstanding

not withstanding his former assent, then
the Church may & ought to retain him
as a penitent, for the church ought to
be no more severe then God declared
himself to be, who witnesseth that in
what soever hour a sinner unfeignedly
repented & turned from his wicked way,
that he will not remember one of his
iniquities; & therefore the Church ought
diligently to advert, that it excommu-
nicate not those whom God absolves. If
the offender called before the ministery
be found stubborn, hard hearted, or
one in whom no signs of repentance
appeareth, then must he be dismissed
with an exhortation to consider the
damnable estate in which he standeth,
assuring him that if they find in him
no other token of amendment of life,
that they will be compelled to seek
a further remedie. If he within a
certain space shew his repentance
to the ministerie, they may present him
to the Church as before is said: but, if
he continue in his impenitencie, then.

then must the Church be admonished,
that such crimes are committed among
them, wch by the ministerie had been
reprehended & the person proued to
be guilt, wherof because no signe
appeared vnto them, they could not be
perswaded vnto the Church the crime
But not the person, requiring them
earnestly to call God to mouth
the hearte of the offendere, so that so-
dainly & earnestly he may repent. If
the person maligne, then the next day
of publique assembly the crime & the
person must be both notified vnto the
Church, & their iudgment must be
required, if that such crimes ought to
be suffered vnpunished among them
Request also would be made to the
most discreet & to the nearest ffriends
of the offender to trauell with him to
bring him to knowledge of himselfe
of his damnable estate; with a
commandment giuen to all men to call
to God for the conuersion of the mis-
reant. The solemne & ordinarie prayers
were

were made & drawne for that purpose
the thing should be the more gravely
done. The third Sunday the minister
ought to require if the impenitent have
declared any signes of repentance vnto
any of the ministrie; And if he have
then may the minister appoint him to be
examyned by the whole ministrie, either
then instantly or at another day assigned
to the Consistorie. And if repentance
appeare as well of the mynd as of his
long contempt, then may he be restored
to the Church & make his confession
& to be accepted as before it should.
But if no man signifie his repentance,
then ought he to be excommunicate, by
the mouth of the minister, consent of
the ministrie, & commandement of the
Church must such a contemner be pro-
nounced excommunicate from God & from
the societie of his Church; After wch
sentence may noe person (his wife &
family only excepted) have any kind
of conversation with him, be it in
eating, drinking, buying or selling, yea
in saluting & talking with him, except

desyre that it be at ye commandement
or licence of the ministrie for his con
version; That he by such meanes con
founded, seeing himselfe abhorred
of the faithfull & godly may have oc
casion to repent & so be saued. The
sentence of his excommunication must
be published universally throughout
the realme, least that any man should
pretend ignorance. Yea children begotten
or borne after that sentence before
his repentance may not be admitted
to Baptisme, till either they be of age
to require the same, or else that the
mother, or some of his especiall
friends, members of the Church, offer
& require the child, abhorring and
damning the iniquitie & obstinate con
tempt of the impenitent. If any think
it severe that the child should be
punished for the iniquitie of ye father,
let them understand, that the Sacrament
appertaines only to the faithfull & to
their seed; but, such as stubbornly
contemne all godly admonition, and
obstinately remaine in their iniquitie,
cannot

ramest be accounted among ȳ faithfull.

The order for publique offendere

Now have spoken nothing of thes that
comitt horrible crimes, as of murthe-
rers, manslayers, adulterers, for such
(as we have said) the civill sword
ought to punish to death, but in case
they be permitted to live, then must
the Church (as before it said) draw the
sword word of God she hath received
holding them as accursed even in their
fact: The offender being first called
& the order of the Church used against
him in the same maner as the persone
that for obstinate impenitence are pub-
liquely excommunicate. So that the ob-
stinate impenitent after the sentence
of excommunication, & the murtherer
& adulterer stand in one case as tou-
ching the judgment of them, that ei-
ther of both may be received in the
fellowship of the Church to prayere
or Sacrament but to hearing of the
word they may) till first they offer them-
selves to the ministerie, humbly requiring
the ministers & elders to pray God for them,

& also to be intreated before the Church,
that they might be admitted to
publique repentance & to the
fruition of the benefite of Christ
Jesus distributed to the members of
his body. If this request be humbly
made, then may not the ministers re-
fuse to signifie the same unto the
Church the next day of publique
preaching, the minister exhor-
tation to the Church to pray to God to
performe the worke in his appointed
to have begunne, working in the heart
of the offender unfained repentance
of his grievous crime, & the sure
feeling of his great mercie, by the
operation of his holy spirit. Then
after a day ought to be publiquely to be
assigned unto him to give open con-
fession of his offence & contempt
& to make a publique satisfaction to
the Church of God: wch day ye offender
must appeare in ye sight of the whole
church & with his owne mouth damne
his owne impietie publiquely confessing

publiquely confessing the same, desiring God of his grace & mercie & his congregation, that it will please them to accept him into their societie, as before is said.

The minister must examinate him diligently whether he find a hatred, and displeasure of his sinne, as well of his mind as of his conversatione, & if he confesse, he must travell with him to see what hope he hath of Gods mercie, & if he find him reasonably instructed in the knowledge of Christ Jesus, in the vertue of his death, then may the minister comfort him by Gods infallible promise, & demande of the Church if they be content to receive ye penitent of God, whome Nathan before had pronounced in his name, into the societie of their body, seeing that he declareth himselfe penitent; & if the Church grant, as they may not iniustly deny the same, then ought the minister in publique prayer to commend him to God & confesse the sinne of that offender, &

of the whole Church desiring mercie & grace for Christ his sake, with prayer be ended, the minister ought to exhort the Church to receive that penitent brother into their favoure as they require God to forgive them selues when they haue offended; and in signe of their consent, the elders & chiefe men of the Church shall take the penitent by the hand one or two in name of the whole shall kisse & imbrace him with all reuerence & grauitie as a member of Christ Iesus; which being done, the minister shall exhort the congregation to take diligent heed in time to come that Sathan trap him not in such a snare, admonishing him that hee will not cease to tempt, & they all meanes possible to bring him from that obedience with hee hath giuen to God & to the ordinance of the Lord Christ Iesus.

The exhortation being ended the minister ought to cause publique thanke ptos God for the conuersion of

that

of that their brother, & for the confirme
with wee receive by Christ Jesus, —
praying for the mercy & continuance
of the same; If the penitent after
that he hath offered himself to the
ministerie or to the church, be found
ignorant in the principall points of
our religion, & chiefly in the Articles
of iustification & of the office of
Christ Jesus, then ought he be
diligently instructed before he be
received; for, a mocking of God it
is to receive them to repentance who
know not wherein standeth their
remedie when they repent their sinne.

7. Persons subiect to discipline

To discipline must all & states within Consisted
this realme be subiect, if they offend, likewise
as well the rulers as they that are
ruled, yea & the greatest themselves
as well as the meanest within the
Church: And because the dyd mouth
of the Church ought to be most
single & undefiled, the life &
conversation of the ministers ought

ought most diligently to be tryed whereof wee shall speake after y^t wee have spoken of the election of Elders & Deacons wch must assist the ministers in all publique affaires of the Church.

The 8 head touching the election of Elders & Deacons.

Men of best knowledge in Gods word of best life men faithfull & of most honest conversation that can be found in the Church, must be nominated to be in election, & the names of the same must be publiquely read to the whole church by the ministers, giving them advertisment that from among these must be chosen Elders & Deacons. If any of the nominated be noted with publique infamie, hee ought to be rejected, for, it is not seemely that the Deacons of correction shall have authoritie to iudge in the church of God, if any man have other qualities wch in the

Church of Scotland

within the Church then the first that be
nominated, let them be put in election
that the church may have the choyse
of whom they will be joyned to the next adiacent
the first from among them then may they
will be joyned to the next adiacent
churches, for the plurality of churches
without ministers order shall rather
hurt then edifie

The election of Elders & Deacons ought
to be used every year once (with me
judge to be most convenient the first
day of August) least that by long
continuance of such officiars men
presume upon the liberty of the
Church.

It hurteth not that one man be retayn'd
in office more years then one, so that
he be annomited yearly by voices
free election; Provided always, that
the Deacons, Elders, be not compelled
to retayne the office against for the space
of three years.

How the votes, suffrages may be best
devised, so that every man may give

[illegible] if there be of smaller number
may be joyned to the
[illegible] judge

giue his vote freely, euery seuerall
church may take such order as best
seemeth to them.

The elders being elected must bee
admonished of their office, which is, to
assist the minister in all publique af-
faires of the Church to wit, minding
& discerning cause, in giuing admoni-
tion to the lyrentious liues, hauing respect
to the manners & conuersation of all
men within their charge: for, by the
grauity of the Seniors ought the
light & vnbridled life of the lirentious
bee restrained & bridled; yea the Seniors
ought to take heed to the life, manners,
diligence & study of their ministers:
If hee bee worthy of admonition they
must admonish him; of correction they
must correct him, & if hee bee worthy
of deposition, they with consent of the
Church & Superintendent may depose
him, so that hee cease so to preach: If
a minister be light in conuersation, by
his elders & Seniors hee ought to bee admo-

to be admonished if he be negligent in
studie or one that waiteth not upon his
charge & flock, or one that propones not
fruitfull doctrine, he deserveth sharper
admonition & correction, & the rather if he be
found stubborne & inobedient, then may the
Diocye of one Church complaine to the
ministrie of the two next adiacent churches
wher men of grave & prudence are, to whose
admonition if any be found inobedient
he ought to be discharged from his
ministrie till his repentance appeare
& a place be waiting for him. If any
minister be apprehended in any notable
crime as whordome, adultrie, murther,
manslaughter, periurie, burning of
houses &c, or any such as deserves death, or
may be a note of perpetuall infamie
he ought to be deposed for ever. By
heresie we mean pernicious doctrine
plainly taught obstinatly defended
against the foundation & principall of
our faith & such a crime we judge to
deserve perpetuall deposition from the
ministrie, for most dainge rous we

nes from it to be to vomit the flesh
to a man infected with the qualities
of his sin. Some time of deposition
sition for a time, & while the perso-
ns declaration of greater grauitie
& shame. As if a minister be drun-
kard, quarelling, & fighting,
an open slanderer, or infamer of his
neighbours, factious, & sower of discord,
he may be tomanded to cease from
his ministerie till he declare the signes
of repentance upon the wch the Church
shall abide him the space of 20 dayes
or farther as the Church shall think
expedient before they proceede to any
new election. Every inferiour Church
shall by one of their deputie goe
of their deacons, one in the yeare
notifie vnto the ministerie of the
Superintendente church, the life, manners
study & diligence of their ministers,
to the end that the discretion of some
may correct the levitie of others, not
only must the life & manners of the
ministere come vnder censure & iudgm^t.

& iudgmt of the Church, but also of their
wiues, children & family iudgmt must
be taken that he neither liue ryotously
neither yet auaritiously, yea respect
must be had how they expend the stipend
appointed to their liuing. If a reason-
able stipend be appointed & they liue
auaritiously, they must be admonished
to liue as they ought, for as expresse
& superfluitie is not tolerable in a
minister, so is auarice & the carefull
solicitude of money a thing vtterly to
be damned in Christe seruants, &
especially in those that are sett by you
the charge of the Church nor iudge
it vnseemely nor tolerable that
ministers shall be burded in alehouse
or tauerne, neither yet must a minister
be permitted to frequent & ordinarly
haunt the Court (vnless it be for
a tyme when he is either sent by
the Church, either yet called for by
the authoritie for his Counsell and
iudgment), neither yet must he be
one of the Counsell in ciuell affaires
for he neuer iudged so apt for that

that purpose, but either must he
wast from the ministerie what his
owne pleasure he may not do, or else
from hearing charge in will appeare
unlesse it be to assist the gliament
if they be called.

The office of the Deacons as before is
declared is to receive the rents & gather
the almes of the Church, to keepe and
distribute the same as by the ministerie
& church shall be appointed; they
may also assist in iudgment with the
ministers & elders & may be admitted
to read in the assembly if they be
required & found able thereto.

The elders & deacons with their
wives & household must be under the
same censure that is prescribed to y^e
ministers, for they must be carefull
over their office, seeing that they
are iudged by the manners of others
their owne conversation ought to be
irreprehensible, they must be sober
humble, louers & entertayners of
concord & peace, finally ought to be

ought to be examplar of godlineth
therof. if the contrarie therof appeare
they must be admonished by the minister
or by some of their brethren of the
ministerie if the fault be secret. if
it be open & knowne, it must be
rebuked before the ministerie & the
same order kept against the Deacon
or Deacon that before it be scribed against
the minister. We think it not necessary
that any publique & diligend shall be
appointed either to the elders or yet
to the Deacons, because their travell
continueth but for a yeare, & also be-
cause they are not so occupied with
the affaires of the church, but that
reasonably they may attend upon their
domestrall business.

The sixth head concerning the
politie of the Church

Politie we call an ordre of the
church in such things as may bring
the rude & ignorant to knowledge,
or else inflame the learned to greater
fervencie, or to retaine the Church in
good order. And therof there be two sorte

the one vtterly vnprofitable, as, that the word be truly preached the Sacramt rightly ministrat, common prayers publiquely made, that the children of euill parentes be instructed in the chiefe pointes of religion, that offences be corrected & punished. These things we say be so vnprofitable, that without the same there is no face of a visible church. The other is profitable but not meerly vnprofitable, as, that psalmes should be sung, that certaine places of the scripture should be read when there is no sermon, that, this day or that day, ten or many in the weeke, the church should assemble. al these or such other we rate not per how a certaine order should be established, for, in some churches the psalmes may be conuenientlie sung, in others perchance they cannot. Some Churches may conuene euery day some twise or thrise in the weeke, some perchance but once. In the Booke of

& Suchlike must every particular church by their owne consent appoint their owne politie. In great townes we think expedient that every day there be either Sermon or else common prayer with some exercise of reading the Scriptures &c. Any the publique Sermon is we cannot therefore require nor greatly approue that the common prayers be publiquely vsed, least that we shall rather foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers as they come to the masse, or else giue them occasion to think that there be no prayers wch are made before & after Sermon.

In euery notable towne we require that one day besides the Sunday be appointed to the Sermon & prayre; with during the tyme of Sermon must be kept free from all exercise of labor as well of the maisters of the Seruants In smaller townes (as we haue said) the common consent of the Church must set order; But the Sunday must be strictly kept both before & after noone in all townes

Before noone must the word be preached & Sacraments ministred, as also mariages solemnized (if occasion offer) After noone must the young children be publiquely examined in their catechisme in audience of the people, In doing wherof the minister must take great Diligence, as well to trayne the people to understand the questions propounded & the answeares & the doctrine that may be collected thereof.

The order how much is appointed for every Sunday is alwaies distinctly in our booke of comon order, which catechisme is the most perfect that ever yet was vsed in the church Of afternoone also may baptisme be ministred when occasion is offered of great travell before noone. It is also to be observed, that prayers be vsed at afternoone vpon the Sunday where ther is neither preaching nor catechisme It appertaineth to the policie of the church to appoint the tymes when the Sacraments shall be ministred. Baptisme may be ministred when soeuer the word is preached, but, we thinke it more

war thinke it more expedient that it be
ministred upon the Sunday or upon the
day of prayers only after the Sermon;
partly to remove this grosse error, by
the wch many doe quyte thinke that children
be damned if they dye wtout baptisme:
& partly to mak the people assist the
administration of that Sacrament with
more reverence then they do, for
we do se the people begin already
to wax wearie, by reason of ye frequent
repetition of these promisses.
Foure tymes in the yeare we thinke
sufficient to the administration of
the Lords table wch we desire so to be
distincted, that the superstition of tyme
may be avoyded, so far as may be. For
heirin we are not ignorant how superstitiously
the people ran to that action at Easter,
then as if the time gaue vertue to the
Sacrament, & how carelesse & negligent
all the rest of the whole
yeare they were carelesse & negligent
as if that it appertained not unto them
but at that tyme only. We thinke it
therfore most expedient that the first
Sunday of March be appointed for one

the first Sunday of June for another
the first Sunday of September for the third
& first Sunday of December for the fourth.
We do not deny but that any Bishop
thurch for reasonable cause may
change the tyme, & may minister after
but we studie to suppresse superstition
All ministers must be admonished
to be more carefull to instruct the ig
norant, then readie to satisfie their
appetites, more sharpe in examinatio
then indulgent in admitting to that
great ministrie such as be ignorant
of the vse & vertues of the same. And
therfore we thinke that the administ
ration of the table ought neuer to be
without the examination going before
especially of those who se knowledge is
suspect, we thinke that none are ayt
to be admitted to that ministrie, who
can not formelie say the Lords prayer,
the Articles of Beliefe, & declare the
sums of the law further.
We thinke it a thing most conuenient
neu Iarie that euerie thurch haue a bible
in Englishe, & that the people be commanded

We commanded to convene to shew the plaine reading or interpretation of the Scriptures, & the church shall appoint, that by frequent reading, the grosse ignorance within the rest & barrestry had ouerflowed all, may ytly be removed.

Wee think it most expedient that the Scriptures be read in order, that is, y^t some one book of the new & old Testam^t. be begunne orderly read to the end.

And the same wee iudge of preaching whair the minister for the most part remaineth in one place: for, this skipping & distraction from place to place of Scripture, be it in reading or in preaching wee iudge not so profitable to edifie the Church, as the continuall following of one Text.

Every master of houshould must be commanded either to instruct or else trust to be instructed his children, seruants, & familie in the principalls of the Christian religion; without the knowledge whairof ought none to be admitted to the table of the Lord Jesus, for such as be dull & so

so ignorant, that they neither can try themselues neither yet know the dignitie & mysterie of that action, can not taste & iudge of that table worthyly, therfore of necessitie we iudge that euery yeare at least publique examination be had by the ministers & elders of the knowledge of euery person within the church to wit, that euery maister of household bring them selues & family so many as be come to maturitie before the ministers & elders, to giue confession of their faith, & answere to such chief poinctes of religion as the ministers shall demande. Such as be ignorant in the Articles of their faith, vnderstand not nor cannot rehearse the commandments of God, know not how to pray, neither whereunto their righteousnes pertaineth ought not to be admitted to the holy Table: & if they stubbornly continue & suffer their children & seruants to continue in wilfull ignorance, y discipline of the Church must proceed against them vnto excommunication: & then must

& then must the matter be referred to the
civill magistrate; for, seing that the
iust liveth by his owne faith, & that
Christ Jesus iustifieth by knowledge
of himselfe, insufferable were iudge
it, that men shall be permitted to live
& continue in ignorance as members
of the Church of God.
Moreover men & women & children
would be exhorted to frequent the
Sermons in the Kirk, that when the
Church convenith doth sing, they may
be the more able together with one
heart & voyce to glorifie God; In private
houses were thinke it expedient that the
most grave & discreet doe use the
common prayers at noone & at night
for the comfort & instruction of there
seruants, seing that we behold & see the
hand of God grievously striking us
with diuerse plagues; we thinke it
a contempt of his iudgments, or a
prouocation of his anger more to be
kindled against us, if we be not mouid
to repentance of our former vnthankfulnes
&

& to earnest invocation of his name, whose only power may (& great mercy wilbe) if we vnfeignedly convert vnto him, remove from vs these terrible plagues, with now for our iniquities hang ouer & heade. Convert vs o Lord & we shall be converted.

For searching & interpretation of Scripture

To the end that the Church of God may haue a true all of most knowledge, iudgmt & prudence, & therewithall, that such as somewhat haue profited in Gods word may from tyme to tyme grow to more full perfection, to serue the Church as need shall require, it is most expedient that in euery towne where schooles & nurses of learned men are, that there be one certaine day euery weeke appointed that exercise with St Paules tolde prophesying, the
1 Cor: 14:29. order whereof is prescribed by him in these words; Let two or three prophete speake, & let the rest iudge, but, if any thing be reuealed to him that sitteth by, let

at the former wee[k]e seisure; yow may one
by one propheseie, that all may learne,
& all may receive consolation, & the
spirits (that is the iudgments) of the
Prophets &c. Of which words of the
Apostle it is evident that in Corinthus
when the church did assemble for that
purpose, some place of Scripture was
read; upon the which first one gave
his iudgment to the instruction and
consolation of the Audytors; After
whome did another confirme or the
former had saide or did add what hee
had omitted, or did gently correct &
explaine more properly where the
whole matter was not reprovable in y[e]
former. And wtsoe some things were
hid from the one & from the other,
Liberty was given to the third to speak
his Judgm[t] for edification of the
Church; above the which number of
three (as appeareth) they passed not,
for avoyding confusion.

This Scripture wee say is a thing mo[st]
necessarie for the Church of God this day

this day in Scotland, for (as they
saith it) shall the Church have iudgm.t
& knowledge of the gyfte, gifte, &
vtterance of every man within their
owne body; The simple & such as
have somewhat profited, shall be
encouraged daylie to study & travell
in knowledge, the church shalbe
edified (for, this exercise must be
patent to vs, as wel as to heare and
learne) & every man shall have
libertie to declare his mind
& knowledge to the comfort & edification
of the Church. But, least that of
profitable exercise might arise
debate & strife, vncertaine, & needfull,
& vnprofitable questions are to be
avoyded, all interpretations disagree-
ing from the principalls of the faith,
repugning to charitie, or yt standeth
in plaine contradiction to any other
manifest place of Scripture is to be
rejected. The interpretor in that
exercise may not take to himself &

to himself the libertie of a publique
prayer (yea although hee bee a minister
appointed) but hee must bind himself to
his text, that hee enter not by digressions
in explaning to much glaire, hee may
no meet take in that exercise unlesse
it be with sobriete in confuting
heresie, in exhortation or admonitione
hee must bee short that the tyme may be
spent in opening of the mind of the
holy ghost in that place in following
the full dependance of the text in
observing such notice as may instruct
& edifie the auditor. For avoyding of
confusion neither may the interpreter
neither yet any of the assembly make any
question in open audyence, whereto himself
is not entrent to give resolution without
reasoning with any other. But every
man ought to speake his owne judgment
to the edification of the Church. If any
bee noted with curiositie or bringing in
any strange doctrine, hee must bee
admonished by the Moderators
ministers & elders; immediatly after
that the interpretation is ended the

the whole ministere & number of them
that are of the assembly ought to conveene
together wher examination should be had
here the parties that did interchange, & handle
& conduct the matter, they themselues being
removed, till euery man haue giuen his
consent after the 10th the parties being
called, the faults (if any notable are found)
are noted & the parties gently admonished
In the last assembly all questions & doubts
(if any arise) should be resolued, without
contention.

The ministers of the parish Churches
to Landward adjacent to euery thir
townes & the readers if they haue any
guift of interpretation, within fyue
miles must assist & repaire to those
that are within the townes to
the end that they themselues may either
learne or els that others may learne by
them. And moreouer, men in whome are
perceiued any guifte to be, which might
edifie the Church if they were wisely
applyed, must be charged by the
ministers & elders. to employ them selues

to ioyne themselues with that Assemblie & Company of ministers; to the end that the Church may iudge whither they be able to serue to Gods glorie & to the profit of the Church in the vocation of ministers or not; And if any be found disobedient & not willing to communicat the gifts & spirituall graces of God with their brethren, after sufficient admonition, discipline must proceed against them; Prohibited that the ciuill Magistrate conturre with the iudgment & election of the Church; for, no man may be permitted to lead a wicked life within the Church of God, but euery man must be constrayned by fraternall admonition & correction to bestowe his labours when of the Church they are required, to the vtilitation of others.

What day in the weeke is most conuenient for that exercise & vt. booke of the Scriptures shall be most profitable to be read, we refer it to the iudgment of euery particular Church, we meane to the wisdome of the ministers & elders.

Of Marriage.

Seeing that mariage the blessed ordynance of God in this cursed Papistry hath partly bene contemned & partly hath bene so misused, that

that the persons conjoyned, could neuer
be assured of continuance, if the Bp.
& Prelates list to dissolue the same, will
haue thought good to shew our iudgmt. how
such confusion in time coming may be
best auoyded.

And first, publique inhibition must be
made that no person vnder the power &
obedyence of others, such as sons & daughters
those that be vnder-Curators, neither men
nor women, contract marriage secretly,
& without knowledge; wch if they do,
the censure & discipline of the Church to
prouide against them. If the sonne or
daughter or other haue their heart touched
with desire of marriage, they are bound
to giue that honor to their parents, that they
open vnto them their affection, asking of
them counsell & assistance, how that motion
wch they iudge to be of God may be performed.
If the father, friend or mr. gainstande
their request & haue no other cause then the
comon sort of men haue, to wit, lacke of
goode, or because they are not so high borne
as they require; yet must not the parties
whose harte are touched, make any vehemt
& further declaration be made vnto the

vnto the Church of God; therfore after they
haue opened their mind to their parents or
freinds, or haue charge geuen them, they must
declare it also to the ministry or to the ciuill
magistrate, requiring them to trauell with their
parents for their consent, wch to doe, they
are bound. And if they, to wit, ye magistrate
or ministers find no cause why the marriage
required may not be fulfilled, then after
sufficient admonition to the father, freind,
wt. or freindes. That none of them hinder
the worke of God. The ministers or
magistrate may enter in the place of the
parent, & by consenting to their iust requeste
may admitt them to marriage, for the
worke of God ought not to be hindered
by the corrupt affections of worldly men.
The worke of God will take, when two
harts without filthinesse before remitted
are so ioyned, that both requires & are content
to liue together in that holy band of ma-
trimony.

If any man remit fornication with the woman
whome he requireth in marriage, then doe
both lose the[ir] fore said benefites, as well of
the Church as of the Magistrate, for, neither

for nether of boll ought to be mi[illegible]
or advocate for filthy fornicatre, but
the father or nerest friend whose daught
being a virgin, is deflowred, hath com
by the lawe of God, to compell the man
that did that injurie, to marrie his daught
or if the father will not accept him by
reason of his offence, then may he require
the dote of his daughter, with ij^s offende
be not able to pay, then ought the ciuill
magistrate to punishe the bodie by some
other punishment, & straight that fornicat
Whoredome & adultorie are sinne most
comon in this realme, I require you
honors in the name of the Eternall God,
that seuere punishment, according as
God hath commanded, be executed,
against such wicked offenders; for
will doubt not but such enorme crimes
openly committed, provoke the wrath of
God, as the Apostle saieth, not only
upon the offenders, but also upon such
places and nation without punishment
they are committed. But to returne to
our former purpose, marriage ought not to
be contracted among persons that

that haue no dispensation for lack of vnderstanding, & therfore will affirme that barnes & infants cannot lawfully be maryed in their minor ages; to wit, the man within 14 yeares of age, & the woman within 12 yeares at the least, wch if it chance any to haue bene, & haue keept their bodies alwayes vncorrupt, will cannot iudge them bound to adhere as man & wife by reason of that promise, wch in Gods sight was no promise at all. But if in the yeares of iudgment they haue imbraced the one the other, then by reason of their last consent, they haue ratified that wch others did promise for them in their youth. And in a reformed Church marriage ought not to be priuatly vsed, but in open face & publique audience of the Church. And for auoyding of danger that may ensue, it is, that the bannes be publiquely proclaymed three Sundayes, vnless the persons be so knowne that no iust suspition of danger may arise, & then may the bannes be shortened at the discretion of the ministerie. But in no wayes can we admitt marriage to be vsed priuatly, how honorable that euer the persons be.

Against the bad of marriage

the Sunday before. Sermon was thinke most conuenyent for marriages, yt to be vsed no day els without the consent of the ministers.

Marriage once lawfully contracted may not be dissolued at mans pleasure, as our m^r Christ Jesus doth witnes, only adulteris be excepted; which being sufficiently proued in the sight of the ciuill magistrate, the innocent (if they so require) ought to be pronounced free & the offender ought to suffer the death as God hath commanded; if the ciuill sword foolishly spare the life of the offender, yet may not the church be negligent in their office, which is to excommunicate the wicked & to repute them as dead members & to pronounce the innocent partie to be at freedome, be they neuer so honorable before the world. If the life be spared (as it ought not to be) to the offender, if the fruits of repentance of long tyme appeare in him & if they earnestly desire to be reconciled with the church, we iudge that they be receiued to participation of ye Sacra-

of the other benefite of the Church
for we would not that the Church should
hold those excommunicate whome God
absolueth, that is, the penitent: if any
demande whether that the offender after
reconciliation with the Church may not marry
a gaine? we answeare, that if they cannot
liue continent, if the necessitie be such
as that they feare further offence of God
we cannot forbid them to doe it vnwillingly
demands of God. If the partie offended
may be reconciled to the offender, then we
iudge that in no wayes it shall be lawfull to the offender to marrie another
except the partie that before had bene
offended. The solemnization of the
latter marriage must be in the open
face of the Church like as the former,
but without proclamation of bandes.

This we doe offer as the best counsell
that God giueth vnto vs in so doubtsome
a case. But the most gracious reformation
we of yor honors would giue to God his
glorie & honour, that you would giue forth
this doubtfull commandment to your owne

yor owne retrayt iudgmt. especially in
punishing of those crimes with hee
commanded to be punished with death
for, so shall you declare yor selues
Gods true & obedient officiars & yor
comon wealth should be rid of
innumerable troubles; wch meane not
that sins committed in our former blindnes
(which be almost buryed in oblivion)
shall be called agayne to examination &
iudgment, but wee requier that the
lawe may now & hereafter be es-
tablished & executed, that this ungod-
ly impunitie of crimes have no place wth-
in this realme, for wch fault of Gods
wrath sighnified unto yor honours. That who
soeuer yor wealth unto yt that yt may
pardon where God commandeth death &
necessitie yor selues & provoketh yt
to offend Gods maiestie.

Of Buryalls

Buryalls, in all ages hath bene holden in
estimation, to signifie that the same
body that was committed to the earth
should not vtterly perish, but should

but should rise agaiñ. And the same
we would have kept within this realme:
prohibiting that superstition, idolatrie, and
what soeuer had growñe of a false
opinion for advantage's sake may be
avoyded, as, singing of masse, placebo, &
dirige, & all other prayers vsed for
the dead, are not only superfluous & vaine
but also are idolatry & do repugne to the
plaine Scriptures of God; for plaine it
is, that euery one that dyes, dyeth either
in the faith of Christ Jesus, or else
dyeth in mistrust & infidelitie; plaine it is, yt
they that dye in the true faith
of Christ Jesus rise from their labours
& from death go to life everlasting, all
by our M^r & by his Apostles we are
taught. But, whosoeuer dyeth in pre-
sumptuous or in mistrustfull, shall neuer
see life, but, the wrath of God abideth
vpon him. And so we say, that prayers
for the dead, are not only superfluous &
vaine, but do expressly repugne to the
manifest Scriptures & verities thereof
for avoyding all inconveniences we iudge

rose iudged it best that no ther singing
nor readinig be at the buryalls, for albeit
thinges sung & read may admonish the
of the liuing to prepare themselues
for death; yet shall some superstitious
& ignorant persons euer think, that the
worke, singing & readinig of the liuing
do & may profit the dead. And therfore
(til artikle
Referred to
the iudgmt
of ye Church)
it is ordered that the dead
be conueyed to the place of buryall
some honest company of the Church
out either singing or readinig, yea, without
all kind of ceremonie hertofore vsed,
other then that the dead be committed to
the graue with such gravitie & sobriety
as those that be present may seeme to
feare the iudgments of God, & to haue
minde of the rauages of death. And
Additio yet notwithstanding we are not so
precise but that we are content that
whatsoeuer ceremonies be vsed in that
behalfe with the consent of ye ministery
of the same, as they will answeare to
God & the assembly of the vniuersall
Church gathered within the dealings
We are

Lres are not ignorant that some require a
Sermon at the buryall, & desire some glosse of
scripture to be read, to put the living in mind
that they are mortall, & that lykewise they must
dye: but, let those men understand, that the
Sermon, with be dayly made, true for yt
ells, with if men despise the preaching of
the funerall Sermon shall rather nourish
superstition & a false opinion (as before it
did) then that they shall bring ought vnto
any godly consideration of their owne
estate: And so, either shall the ministere
for the most part be occupied in preaching
funerall Sermons, or ells they shall have a
resort of persons preaching at ye buryall
of the rich & no: but keeping silence, whe-
the poore or despised departed. And this
with safe conscience cannot the ministere
do: for, seeing that before God, there is no
respect of persons & that their ministery
appertaineth to all alike, what soever
they do to the rich in respect of their
ministerie the same they are bound to do
to the poorest vnder their charge.

In respect of diverse inconveniences we
think it nothing seemely, that the Church
appointed to preaching & to ministration of

of the Parrams^t shall bee made a place of buryall, but, that some other seuerall conuenyent place lying in the most parts bee appointed for that vse, which place ought to bee well walled about. & kept for that vse only.

The reparation of Churches.

Last that the word of God ministred of the Parrams^t by vnseemelyness of the place come in contempt, or nay that the churches & places where the people ought publiquely to conuene be with ydle men repaired, in decent, comely, & with such reuerence within as appertaines as well to the Matie of the word of God, as vnto the vse & comodities of the people. And because we know the slouthfulnes of men in this behalfe & in all other poth may not redound to their priuate comodities, straight charge & commandem^t must bee giuen that within a certaine day the reparations must bee begune, & within an other day to be affixed by yor honors that they be finished, the nalties & sumes of money must be injoyned & without pardon taken for

taken from the contemners; The reparation would bee according to the possibilitie and number of the Church. Euery church must haue dore, close windowes of glasse that ch or slate able to withhold raine. A bell to conuocate the people together. A pulpet a bason for baptisme & table for the ministration of the Lords Supper &c greater thurthes & wher the congregation is great in number must reparation bee made within the Church for the quiet and conuenient receiuing of the people; The doores to be keeped partly of the people & partly of the brethe at the consecration of the ministerie

For punishment of those yt prophane the Sacraments & contemne the word of God & dare presume to minister them not being thervnto lawfully called,

As Sathan hath neuer ceased from the begining to draw mankind in one of two extremities, to wit, that either men should be so rauished with gazing vpon the visible creatures that forgetting the cause why they were ordained they attribute vnto them a vertue & power with God hath not granted vnto them, or else that

that men should so contemne & despise Gods
blessed ordinances & holy institutions as that
neither in the right vse of them were there
any profit, neither yet in their prophanation
were there any danger. Of this wise was
Sathan hath blinded the most part of mankind
from the beginning so doubt was not but
that he will striue to continue in his malice
even by the end; for we haue seene and
dayly do see the experience of the
one of the other. what was the opinion
of the most part of men of the Sacrament
of Christs body & bloud during the darkenes
of superstition is not unknowne, how it
was gazed vpon, worshipped vnto, borne in
procession, finally worshipped wherein
as Christ Iesus himselfe. So long as
Sathan might haue retayned men in that
damnable idolatrie. he was quiet as one
that possessed his kingdome of darkenes
peaceably. But since that it hath pleased
the mercie of God to reueale vnto the
vnthankfull world the light of his word
the right vse & ministration of his
Sacraments; he assayeth man by on the
contrarie part, for where (not long ago)
men stood in such admiration of that

wold that God in the masse that none durst presume to have said the masse but the forsworne shaven sort, the baste marked men; Dare now be so bold as without all vocation to minister (as they suppose) the true Sacramente in open assemblyde & some idyote (yet more wickedly & more imprudently dare counterfaite in their house that with true ministery doe in open congregation They presume we say to doe it in house without reverence, without word preached, & without minister, other then of companion to companion. This contempt proceedeth no doubt from the malice & craft of that Servant who first devised man of purpose to defase the glorie of Christe Evangile & to burie his blessed Sacramt. in a perpetuale contempt, & further yor honors may clearly see how proudly and stubbornly the most part despise the Evangell of Christ Jesus offered unto you whom unles that sharpely & stoutly ye withstand, we meane, & avoid their manifest dispite & the prophane of the Sacramt. you shall find them pernicious

yᵉ shall find them yᵉ enimies and mis-
vse it bee long.
And therfore in the name of the eternall
God & of his Sonne Christ Iesus wee
require you hereby that without delay
straight lawes bee made against the
one & the other. Wee dare not yᵉ shrink
vnto yᵉ what penalties shall bee required
of such, but, this wee feare not to affirme
that the one & the other deserue death
for. if hee yᵗ doth falsifie yᵉ Seale
subscription or coyne of a king is ad-
iudged worthy of death, what shall
wee think of him who plainely doth
falsifie the Edicts of Christ Iesus
prince of the kinge of the earth:
Of Darius pronounced that a balke
should bee taken from the house of
that man, & hee himselfe hanged vp-
on it, that durst attempt to hinder the
reedification of the materiall temple
what shall wee say of those that vn-
righteously blaspheme God and
manifestly hinder the temple of
God with the soules & bodies of the
Elect, to bee.

to be your gods by the true preaching of
Christ Jesus from the superstition &
damnable idolatrie in the wch they have
bene of long tyme holden captive
If you (say God forbid) declare your selves
careless ouer the true religion, God will
not suffer your negligence vnpunished;
& therfore most earnestly requires you yt
straight lawes be made against the
stubburne contemners of Christ Jesus
& against such as dare presume to minister
the Sacramente not orderly called to yt
effect, least that while ther be none
found to gainstand iniquitie, the wrath
of God be kindled against the whole.
Christ Jesus spirituall spouse hath neither power
nor authoritie to minister the Sacramente
of Christ Jesus, bicause that in their
mouth is not the Sermon of exhortacion
& therfore to them must straight inhibition
be made notwithstanding any dispensation wch
they have had in that behalfe in the time
of blindnes. It is ether the displaying of
their streamer the ringing of their fingers
nor the blowing of the dumb dogg calld
the Pope; nether yet the laying on of
their hands that maketh them true

Lrue ministers of Christ Jesus, but the
spirit of God inwardly first moving the
harte to seke Christe glorie & ye profit
of his Church; & therafter, the nominatiō
of the people, the examinatiō of the
learned & publique admitiō (as before
is said) maketh men lawfull ministers
of the word & Sacramēt. Now speake
of an ordinarie vocatiō whē churches
are reformed & at least tend to refor-
matiō; not of that wch is extraordinary
when God by himselfe & by his only
power raysith vp to the ministerie
such as best pleaseth his wisdome.

The Conclusion

Thus haue in the fewe wordes hearde
offred vnto yor honors our iudgmente
touching yor reformatiō of thinges
wch heretofore haue altogether beene
abused in this ruinous Papistrie. Nowe
doubt not but some of our petitiones
shall appeare strange vnto yow at the
first sight; but if yor wisdomes deeply
consider that we must answeare not
only vnto men but also before the
throne of the eternall God & of his Sonne
Christ Jesus. For the Counsell wch we

yet how we quis in this so great matter
yor honor shall so slyly consider that
were a shame, yt it unto us to fall in the
displeasure of all men on earth then to
offend the ma^tie of God, whose justice
can not suffer flatterers, & doth full
cruelly punish ungodliness. That we
require the Church to be set at liberty
that she may then be ready to seek
idols elsewhere rather yet to sustein the
tyranny wch hitherto by violence hath
been maintained, we dare well affirm
many; but if we should be so disloyal
here of we are most assured, to offend the
iust & righteous God who by the mouth
of his Apostle hath pronounced this
sentence, Let that labourer not, be fed
not eate; If we in this behalfe or
in any other requisite or assured thing
shun by God commanded by equitie
& good conscience we are bound to grant
but it be ratified & after requisite
But if we require nothing wch God
requireth not also, let yor honor take
heed how ye gainstand the charge of
him, whose hand & punishment ye can-

yᵉ cannot escape. If blind affection rather lead yᵒᵘ to haue recourse to the sustentation of those yᵒʳ carnall friends who tyrannously haue usurped about the poore flock of Christ Jesus, then that the zeale of Gods glorie prouoke & moue yᵒᵘ to set his oppressed Church at freedome & libertie was feare yᵒʳ charge & ordaine punishmente, that the glorie & honor of this victorie may be knowen vnto others. And yet shall this our iudgmt abide to the generations following for a monumt & witnesse how louingly God called yᵒᵘ & yᵒʳ realme to his obedience, what Counsellors God sent vnto yᵒᵘ & how yᵒᵘ & yᵒʳ same did obediently yᵒᵘ heare God now calling you doubt not but he shall heare yᵒᵘ in yᵒʳ greatest necessity but if following yᵒʳ owne rotten iudgmente yᵒᵘ contemne his voyce & votation you are assured that yᵒʳ former iniquitie & yᵒʳ sinne & iniquitie shall together treade iust punishmt from God, who can not long delay to execute his most iust iudgmente vpon after many

many offences & long blindnes grow
& mutrid offended ib contemptuously re-
fused;
God the father of o^r Lord Jesus Christ
by the power of his holy Spirit so
illuminat yor hearte that yo^w may clearly
se what is pleasing & acceptable un-
his presence, so bow the same unto his
obedyence that yo^w may imbrace his
revealed will to yor owne affection
& so strengthen yo^w by the spirit of
fortitude that boldly yo^w may manifest
vice & maintene vertue within your
realme to the praise & glorie of his
holy name to the comfort & assurance
of yor owne conscience & to the con-
solation & good example of the pos-
teritie following Amen Do be it

From Edinburgh ye 20 of May 1560

By yor honors most humble & obedient
Act of secret Counsell 27 January Servitore
Anno Dni 60.

[illegible] who have subscribed the Articles
having advised upon the Articles herein
specified do ordain them from

from the beginning of this booke &
thinke the same good & conforme to
Gods word in all pointe conforme to
the notes & additions thereto annexit
& promittis to set the same forward
at the uttermost of our powers —
& Provyding that the Lo. Abbote,
priors & other prelatis & benefist
men wth haue adioynit them to us
during the resydence of their benefices
during their lifetimes, they sustene
& vpphold the ministeris & ministry
as is herein ordinit for preaching
of the worde & ministring the
Sacramt of God.

Sic subscribitur

James Hamiltonn ——
Mr Mr Gile ——
James Stewart ——
Robt & James Halyburton
R. Boyd ——
Alex: Campbell Deane of Murray
William of Sulis ——
Mr Alex: Gordone ——
Bargany younger ——

Church of Scotland /.

John Lothart of Bar ——
Georg Corry of Kelwood ——
Glenearne ——
Cowhillrie ——
Languhair ——
St Johns ——
William Lord Hay ——
Drum Langrick ——
Conyghame sid ——
John Maxwell ——
Georg Eton of the Ilk ——
Andro Br of Hadowns ——
Eat of Flaming ——
John Shaw of Haly ——
Andro Hamilton of Lethame
Lothmiward.

Jfmie

The Historie of the

The fourth booke.

The fourth book of the progresse,
& continuance of true Religion
within Scotland.

In the former bookes gentle reader thou
may clearly see how potently God had
performed in these our last & wicked dayes
as well as in the age that have passed
before, the promise that is made to
the servants of God, by the true Prophet
Esay in these words They that wait
upon the Lord shall renue their strength
they shall lift up their wings as the
Eagles, they shall run & not be weary
they shall walke & not faint; Like wise
we do say such as Satan had not utterly
blinded, may see performed in our the
professors of Christ Jesus within y^e
realme of Scotland with no lesse
evidence then it was in any age that
ever have passed before us; for, what
was our force? what was our number
ye what wisdome or worldly policie
was into us to have brought to any good
end so great an enterprise as our
very enemies can bear witnesse. And
yet in how great perilis God did

did establishe amongst vs his true religion as well in doctrine as ministerie to what confusion & feare were idolatrie, adulteries, & all sublique transgressions of Gods commandments within short tyme brought: the publique rods of the Church wt by the mercie of God ioined wt ye punishmts executed agt malefactrs testifie vnto the world, for as touching the doctrine taught by our ministers, & as touching the administration of Sacraments vsed in our churches we are bold to affirme, yt ther is no realme this day vpon the face of the earth that hath them in greater puritie, yea, we may speake the truth whom soeuer we offend, ther is none (no realme we meane) that hath them in the like puritie, for all others (how sincere that euer the doctrine be that by some is taught) retaine in their churches & in the ministers therof some footesteps of Antichrist & some dregs of papistry But we, (all praise to God alone)

Witnes the bigotts & ranke papists

gaue no

haue nothing with ye Church but that wch flowes from that man of Sinne. And this we acknowledge to be the strength giuen to vs by God. Wch we esteeme not our study wise in our owne eyes, but vnderstanding our whole wisdome to be but meere foolishnes before our God, laid it aside, & followed only that wch was found approued by himselfe. For this point could neuer our vnrighteousnes or to fault, for our first petition was that the reuerend face of the primitiue & Apostolike Church should be reduced again to the rule & knowledge of vs. And in that point we say our God hath strengthned vs till that the worke was finished as the world may see. And as concerning the suppressing of vice & of the abolishing of all such things as might nourishe impietie within the realme the lawes & statutes of the principall townes reformed will yet testifie; for wt Adulterer what fornicator, what knowne misdemeanor or yt silent papist durst

haue bene done in publique within any reformed townes within this realme, before that the queene arriued. And this victorie to his word & towards all filthy liuers did our God worke by such as yet liue & remaine witnesse (whether they will or not) of the foresaid worke of our God; we say, as God suffered none of those whom he first called to the battell, to perishe or to fall, till he had made them victors of their enemies for euen as God suffered none of those whom he called from Egipt to perishe in the red sea, how feareful that euer the danger appeared, so suffered he none of vs to be oppressed, nor yet to be taken from this life till that more then Hebraeans then one were drowned, & we sit at freedome without danger of our enemies. To let both our & your posterities vnderstand that such as follow the conduction of God, cannot perishe, albeit that they walke in the very shadowe of

of Death. But from whence (alas) proceedeth this miserable dissipation of Gods people within this realme this day? Almo. j566 in May. And what is the cause that now the visit is compelled to beg silver, good men are banished, murtherers & such as are knowne unworthy of the common breath (if ane lawes were put to due execution) beare the whole regiment & sharing within this realme? was ane sweare, & drawes the most part of ye Isralyte from the purity of gods word, & began to follow the world, & so agane to shake hande with ye Deuill & with Idolatrie, ab initio this fourth booke we will heare; for while the Papiste were so confounded, that none within the realme durst mare avow the hearing or saying of masse then the theifes of Liddisdaile durst avow their stealth in presence of an upright Judge; ther were Protestants found that ashamed not at tables & other open places to aske why may not the queene have her owne

her owne mass: & the forme of her religion: what can that hurt vs or of religion: And from these two, why & what, at length ensueth out this affirmative; The queenes mate & her Priests will wee maintaine; This hand & this rapier shall fight in their defence &c. The intendments were shewen both by tongue & pen: But the aduersaries were iudged to be men of pregnant spirite, their credit was defaced at the hands of such as before were not ashamed to haue vsed their counsell in matters of greater importance then to haue resisted the mass. but then, my Lord my maister may not be this vsed, he hath that honor to be the queens brother; And therefore wee will that all men shall vnderstand that he maintaineth her at his Diuotion And whosoeuer will counsell him to displease her or shall dare that appertaineth to her, shall not find him their friend, yea they are worthy to be hanged, that would so counsell him &c. These

&c.

Those & the like was sone took furth
Jesuites roote mistes the & blood, that
the truth of god was almost forced
And from this fountaine (to witt) that
flesh & blood was (& alas yet it)
forced to God (& to his messengers
rebuking vice & vanitie) had all ye
miseries yat we see, ffor, as before
so euen yet, although the messengers
be set to beg, the guards & the men of warr must be stirred. Though
the blood of the ministers be spilt,
it is the quarrell of Gods servants that dies
it: Although mess be multiplyed, in
all quarters of the realme who can
stop the quarrell subiect to lies of
the quarrell religion? Although inno-
cent men be imprisoned, yet it is the
quarrell yat we fight, she is offended
at iust men, although vnder pretence
of Justice, innocents be cruelly
murthered, the Lord shall revenge,
but the quarrell mind must be
satisfied: Nobles of the realme
Barons, & Lords there are banished,

ye minister y corruption that entred
y gates of

y theologie of y court, & their reasons.

banished, their estates disparked, & their
liues most vniustly ouer sold; The guene
hath lost her trustie Seruant Dauis, he
was deare vnto her, & therfore for her
honours sake she may shew some token of
reuenge his death; And yet further albeit
that some know that she hath plainly
purposed to weake the religion within
this realme. That to the Romane Anti-
christ she had made her promise &
that from him she hath taken mandy
to vphold his power within this realme
yet will they let the people vnderstand
That the guene will establish religion
& prouide all things orderly if she
were once deliuered, If such dealinge
with are common amongst ye Protestants
be not to be preferred before flesh & blood to god
to his truth, to iustice, to religion, &
vnto the liberties of this oppressed
realme, let the world iudge; The plagues
haue bene, & misses yet are present
that were before threatned, the rest
appear nere; & yet who from the hart
can say I haue offended, Lord lay
trouble, in thee only in the trust of

yo-

of the ayre ffell, for mine is the helpe
of man, But now returne wee to the
historie.

The 19 day of August, the yeare of
God 1561, betwixt 7 & 8 houres before
noone, arryved in Marry ffyrthe of
ffrance, the Quene dowager of Scotland
then widowe with two Galleys, the
ffrenche Quene (besides
her gentlewomen called the Maride)
were her three brether, the Duke de
Omall, the grand Prior, & Marquis
de Elbeuf. Their attendants & her
alsoe the Admirall Don to the Constable
of ffrance, with other gent. of myne
condition, besides Servants & officers.
This perry face of the heaven, the tyme of
her arryvall did manifestly speake not
comfort was bringe hir into this countrey
with her; to wit, sorrowe, dolor, darknes
& all myseries; for in the memorie of
man, that day of the yeare was never
seene a more dolourous face of the heaven
then was at her arryvall, with two dayes
after did so continue; for besides the
ffoull
ayre was so thick, & so darke, that

that stave might any man spie an other the length of two yards of butte. The dune was not seene to shine two daye before, nor two dayes after. That fire warning gaue God vnto vs; but alas the most part were blind. At the sound of the Diamont while the Gallies shott the multitude being aduertised, hapie was hee & shee, that first might haue the presence of the gassne: The Gallies stroke not the slowest, and therefore they were not to be blamed. Because the palace of the Galy and house was not throughly yet ridie (for her coming was more soudaine then many looked for) she remayned in Dyet till towards the euening: then shee passed further; at the way whiche Dyet & the Abbey met her the Nobles of the Graffe (of whome was spoke before) to witt, those that violated the authoritie of the magistrate, had The gassne be sieged the Prouoste: But because first grew shee was sufficiently instructed, yt in despight of religion all that they did was done in despight of the religion, they were easily appeased; fyres of ioy were set for that night, &

And a company of the most honest with instrumente of musick & with musitians gave their salutation at her Chamber window The melodie (as she allwayes) likes her well & shee willes the same to be continued some nights after. With great diligence the Lords resorted unto her from all quarters. And so was nothing undertaken but with quietnes till the next Sunday with rose the 24 August when preparation began to be made for that idoll the masse to be said in the chappell. wch devided the harts of all the godly began to be bolden, And men began openly to speake shame that idoll should be suffered again to take place within this realme. It shall not. The Lord send say (then but maister) with the regent of the other family ryded in the close the idolatrie first the gasps shall dye the death according to gods first masse lawe. One that carryed in the candle was affrayed; But then began flesh & blood to shewe it selfe. Their durst not a christ wther yet any that came out of France wher. But the

Ld James Portt

the Lord James (the man whome all the godly did most reverence) took upon him to keep the thanksgiving day. His best excuse was, that he would stop all tumult men to enter into the mass. But it was sufficiently knowne that the Idea was kept, that none should have entry to trouble the priest; who, after the mass was ended to the protection of the Lord John of Coldingham & Lord Robert of halyrood house, who then were both Protestants, & had communicat at the table of ye Lord betwixt them two way the priest conveyed to his chamber. So the godly departed with griefe of hart. And at afternoone repaired to the Abbey in great company, & gave plaine signification they they could not abide. That the Land with God by his power had delivered from Idolatrie should in their dyes be polluted againe; wch understood they began complaint upon complaint. The old Doubty knight & others, that Lowry had passed in ye Land, & had no remission of same, but

but by vertue of the mess they did they
would to effraine without delay. //
They could not liue w^th^out the masse.
The same affirmed the gunnyspowder
would to God that that together
with the masse had taken good night at
Pinkhealme for euer, for, so had Scotland
bene rid of an vnprofitable burden of
vnprofitable strangers of the malediction
of God that hath stricken yet will
strike for Idolatrie. The Counsell
assembles, Disputation was had of the
next remedie. Politick heads were
sent vnto the quene with the p^ts^ the
like perswasions; why, alas, will ye all
thase o^r^ Soueraigne feminee. She will
mitentinent, hearken to her euill aduise,
what then shall all Realmes say of vs
may we not suffer her a little while?
we doubt not, but she shall leave it,
if we were not assured that she might
be won, we should be as quiet and
meek to her masse as ye should be
ever prelacy will depart, then
shall we rule all at our plesure;

The end is not yet come

& perswasions of y^r^ neighbors

would not now be als soon to hurt the religion as any of yᵉ would be: with the fre & the libertie wᵗ sicht (wᵗ say) was the fortenis of the burrowis quarrell; And as not was fund, the knot whairof followeth

Apud Edinburgh 25 Augusti
Anno Dⁿⁱ 1561.

Upon aduisment of the Quenis Maᵗⁱᵉ. thir vnder stand the great inconvenientis that may come through the diuision presently standing in this Realme for the differens of matters of religion. That hir Maᵗⁱᵉ. is most desirous to be satisfid be a good ordor to the honor of God & tranquillitie of hir realme, And meanis to take the same be aduyse of hir estatis so soon as conuenientlie may be, And that hir Maᵗⁱᵉ godly resolution therin may be greatly hindred in caise any tumult or sedition be raisid among the leigis, if any sodane alteration & nouation be presentlie attempted before that the ordor may be establishid. Therfore for preuening of the

of the said misorderinge her ma^tie
ordayneth letters to be direct to
charge all & sundry her leiges by
open proclamation at the mercatt
crosse of Edinburgh & other needfull
place. That they & every one of
them contayne themselves in quietnes,
keepe peace & privie perfect among
themselves & in the meane time whilst
the estates of the realme may be
assembled, & ther her Mat^tie have taken
a fynall order by the advice and
publique consent, with her Matie
hopeth shall be to the contentm^t
of yow all. That none of them take
in hand privatly or openly to make
any alteration or innovation of the
estate of religion. Or attempt any
thing against the forme wth her ma^tie
found publiquely & universally stand
ing at his ma^ties arrivall in this realme
under the paine of death, wth confiscation
that if any subiect of the realme
shall come in the contrarie hereof, he

hir shall be estemed holden a seditious
person & raiser of tumult, & the said
paine shall be executed upon him
with all rigor to the example of
others; Also her Ma.tie by the advise of
the Lords of her privie counsell
comaunde & charge all her lieges
that none of them take upon hand to
molest or trouble any of her dominions
servaunte or subjects whatsoever to
forth of Scotland in her Graces com
pany at this tyme in word, deed, or
countenaunce or any cause whatsoever
either within her palace or without,
or make any derision or invasion vpon
any of them vnder whatsoever colour
or pretence, vnder the paine of
treason; Albeit her Ma.tie be sufficient-
ly perswaded, that her good loving
subiectes would do the same for the
reverence they beare to her person
authorized, notwithstanding that
no such comaundement were
published.

This Act

This Act & proclamation was made & sent in forme by such as had professed Christ Jesus. For in the Queene, whom had papistrie neither power nor pole it was publiquely proclaymed at the mercat crosse of Edinburgh upon monday the day forsaid, no man reclaymd nor made requeast to it, bot the Earls of Atholl only, who in open audience of the heralds & people, protested, that hee dissassented that any protection or defence should bee made to the queenes domestiques, or to any others from ffrance, to offend gods ma^tie & to violate the lawes of the realme more then to any other subiect, for, Gods lawes had pronounced death against idolatrie, & the lawes of the realme had appointed punishment for sclaye & heresie of messe, both, saith hee, & hold protest bee unlawfully observed & that none bee compelled unto such hynes as a lawe as publique made, and also repugnant to the lawe of God, haue

haue disannulled the former. And therin
hir graces determinate resolution doth rest.

For so farre as by this proclamation it
is vnderstand to the Church of God,
& members thereof, That the queenes
grace is minded that the true religion
& worshipping as is established & used
forward, that it may dayly increase
vnto the glorie of God, that order then
may be taken for extirpation of all
Idolatrie within this realme, we
render most harties thanks to the Lord
of God for his grace & good will,
earnestly praying that it may be
mindefull in hir highnes to the honor
& glorie of his name & weale of his
Church within this realme. And al
touching the molestation of hir highnes
servants, we suppose that none dare
be so bold as once to move their fingers
at them in doing of their lawfull busines.
And as for vs we have learned at our

at ye maister Christe Schule to bringe
ware wythall more; Therefore for ye
part We will promise that obedyence
vnto her Matie (at ye our Dutie) that
none of her Servante shalbe mo-
lested, troubled, or onde touched by the
Church or any member thereof in doing
their lawfull affaires; but seing that
God hath said, the Idolater shall dye
the death, we protest solemnely in ye
of God, in the eares of the whole
people that heareth this proclamation
especially in ye of yor Grace herald
& the rest of yor Colleagues makers
of this proclamation, that if any of her
Servante shall commit Idolatrie, spe-
cially say masse, or assist at the same
or take the Sacrament thereof (which
were loth should be in her Graces
company) In this case that this
proclamation be not extended to them
in that behalfe, nor be not a safeguard
or girth to them in that behalfe, no-

no more, nor if they tomit slaughter or murther, seeing the one is nothe more abhominable & odyous in the sight of god then is the other: but that it may be lawfull to inflict upon them ye paines contained in gods word agt Idolatrie whr ever they may be apprehended And this our greate station was diuised yt to notifie unto her & quid her the troubles thereof, least her highnes should suppose an vnitie if we should all come & not sent the same.

At Edinburgh ye 3d Day of yeare foresaid This boldnes did somewhat disquiet the queene & perhaps fauoured her in yt point.

At the Lords calling ye congregation repaired unto the towne: At the first coming they shewe themselues wonderously offended that the masse was omitted but after that they had remained a certaine space, they were all quiet al wch the former nth standing diuided a zealous & godly man Robt Campbell

ane

of Kingzeuals with suid ynto the Lord
Bishopis.

My Lord, now are yor rome, almost
the last of all the rest, I perceive
by yor anger that the fire dois not
out of yow yet; but I feare yt after y
the holy water of the Court be sprinkled
vpon yow, that yee shall become as tem-
perate as the rest, for I have bene
here now fiue dayes, & at the first I
heard euery man say, Eyther hang the
prelat, Put, after they had bene twise
or thrise in the Abbey, all that fervencie
was past; I think ther be some ne-
thamtnes wher by men are bewitched
And in verie deed so it came to passe.
For the quenes flattering words vpon
the one part, euer shifting conscience
ton strenes; yt is apte thing to ton straine
the ton strenes; And the publict dyet-
sion of her purpose (we meane euen
of such as sometimes were verie familiar
seruent with ye) vpon the other part

blinded all men, & put them in this opinion, that will be content to hear the preaching, & so no doubt but she may be won, & find this of all it was concluded to suffer her for a time.

The next Sunday John Knox in preaching against Idolatrie shewed what terrible plagues God had taken upon realmes & nations for the same, & added, that one masse (there were no more suffered at the first) was more feared to him, then if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realme of purpose to suppresse the whole religion; for said he, in ye Lord, that is strength to resist confound multitudes, if we profanedly depend upon him. whereof hitherto we have had experience, but when we joyne hand wth Idolatrie it is no doubt but that both Gods amiable presence & comfortable deliverance, & we shall then become of enimies to be feared of many

At this

At these words the guiders of the
Court mar̄ked & plainly spake, that The Courtiers
such feare was no gemt of their fault
it was bidden his text & was a very
pitifully admonition: But, we heard
this same John Knox in the audyence
of these same men write the same
words again in the middest of
troubles And in the audyence of many
ask God mercie that he was not
more vehement & wright in the ex-
pressing of that ydoll in the begin-
ning. For (said he) albeit that I
spake that noth offended some (wch
this day they see & feele to be true)
yet did I not that wch I might have
done; for, God had not only given
vnto me knowledge & tongue to make
the iniquitie of that ydoll knowne
vnto this realme, but he had given
me zeale & courage to make
the same manifest to many wch would have
put in execution gode judgment if Jn° Knox
I would have only tendred thervnto confession
but so farre fell was I of the comon-

the common languities, so late
I was I to haue offended those of
whome I had receiued a good
opinion that in priuat conference
with earnest & zealous men I tra-
uelled rather to mitigate your la-
slatten that feruentie that God
had kindled in other then to animate
or encourage them to put their
hands to the Lords worke, when
until I vnfaignedly acknowledge
my self to haue done most wickedly
& from the bottome of my hart aske of
my God grace & pardon, for that
I did not what in me lay to haue
stopped that I doll in the be-
ginning

This & other words did many heare
him speake in publique place in y
moneth of October the yeare of
1565 when such as at the queenes
arriuall only mainteyned the masse
were exiled the realme, famous
vpon treason, & of for
feiture intended against them,

But.

But to returne from whence we have
digressed.

Whether it was by counsell of others
or of the gaoler or not, but, the gaoler talk with
John Knox & had long reasoning
with him; none being present but onely
the Lord James (two gentlewomen
stood in the other end of the house.)
The sume of their reasoning was this.
The gaoler accused him that hee
had raised a part of her rebellion agt
her mother & agt her selfe. That
hee had written a booke against her
first entrie (shee meant the
treatise agt the regiment of women)
with shee had, & should cause the
most learned in Europe to write
against it. That hee was the cause
of great seditions & great slaughter
in England: And that it was said
to her, that all with hee did, was by
Negromancie &c.

The 1st reasoning betwixt the gaoler & Jno Knox.

The gaolers obiections

To the with the said John answered;
madame. It may please your matie
patiently to heare my simple an-
swere. And first. (said hee) if to-

Answere.

if to teach the truth of God in
Scriptures if to rebuke Idolatry,
to will a people to worshipp God
according to his word, & to raise
Rebellion against their governors
then can not I be excused for
it hath pleased God of his mercy
to make me one (among many)
to disclose unto this realme the
vanities of the Papisticall religion
& the deceit, craft, & tyrannie of
that Roman Antichrist. But, madame
if the true knowledge of God, his
right worshipping & the thinges
that must make men frame
their hart to obey their governors
(as it is most certaine that they are)
whereon can I be reprehended?
I thinke & am verily perswaded
that yor Grace have had and
yor subjects have as unfeigned obedy-
ence of such as professe Jesus
Christ within this realme as ever
yor father or other progenitors
had of the Papists that were called Rit.
And nothing that breedeth
highly to offend yor majestie it is most

It is most certaine that I wrote it. I am content that all the learned of the Land iudge of it; I heare that an Englishe man hath written agt it. but I haue not read him; if he haue sufficiently impugned my reasons & established his contrarie proposition with as euident testimonies as I haue done mine. I shall not be obstinate, but shall confesse my errour & ignorance. But to this houre I haue thought & yet think my booke alone to be more able to confirme the things affirmed in that my worke shall any in Europe shall be able to confute it.

You think then (q she) that I haue no iust authoritie.

I pray yor ma.tie (said he) that learned men in all ages haue had their iudgmt. fast & most commonly disagreeing from ye comon iudgmt of the world. Such also haue they established both with pen & tongue & yet notwithstanding they them selues haue liued in the comunion with others & haue borne patiently with the errors & imperfections

which they could not amend. Plato the Philosopher wrote his book of the common wealth in the wch he could not find many things that then were maintained in the world, & required many things to have bene reformed, And yet not withstanding they had been vnder such politike as then were vniuersally practised, without further troubling of any estate. Euen so madame am I content to God's grace & the rightnes of hart & with a testimonie of a good conscience, I haue communicated my iudgment to the world, if the world find no inconuenience in the regiment of a woman, that wch they approue, shall I no further disallow then within my owne breast, but shall be as well content to liue vnder yor Grace, as I could wish to liue vnder Deare; And my hope is that as long as that you defile not yor hands wth the bloud of the Saints of God, that neither I nor that booke shall either hurt you or yor Authoritie; for in

March 1601 Lond

for in very deed Madame y booke
was written most especially agt
that virtuous Queene Elizabeth of England/
But (said shee) you speake of women
in generall / most true it is madame,
said the other; and yet it appeareth to
me, that wisdome should perswade
yor Grace not to raise troubles
for that wch to this day had not trou-
bled yor matie neither in your nor
yet in Authorities time, of late yeares
many things wch before were holden
stabell, have been called in doubt,
yea they have been plainly impugned;
but yet, Madame (said hee) I am
assured, that neither Protestant nor
Papist shall be able to prove that
any such question was at any time
moved in publique, or in secret; How
Madame? (said he) if I had intended
to have troubled yor Estate because
you are a woman, I might have chosen
a tyme more convenient for that
purpose, then I can do now, when yor
crowne & person is in the hearts of

But now Madame shortly to answere
to the other two accusations; I hartily
praise my God through Jesus Christ,
that, (whan the enemis of man kind
& the writers of the world haue no
other crimes to lay to my charge, then
such as the very world it selfe know
eth to be most false & vaine; for, in
England I was resident only 2 yeares
& a halfe yeare: The places were
Barwick wher I abode two yeares
& long in the new castle, a yeare
in London; Now madame if in any
of these places during the tyme that
I was ther, any man shall be able
to proue, that ther was either battell
sedition, or mutiny; I shall confesse
that I my selfe was the malefactor
& the shedder of blood; I ashame not
madame for to affirme that God so
blessed my weak labours, that in
Barwick (wher comonly before ther
vsed to be slaughters by reason of
the garrons that vse to arise among

among Doulyers) ther was a great
quietnes all the tyme that I remaind
ther, at ther in the day in Edinburgh;
And wher they slander me of magick,
nor romantre, or of any other art for-
bidden of God; I have witnesse besyde
(my owne conscience) all congregations
that have heard me, what I speak
both against such arts, & against
those that vse such impietie; but,
seeing the wicked of the world did
that my M. Lord Seyton was pos-
sessed with Belzebub, I may con-
stantly beare albeit that I were stryck
amaze be prinstly assaults of those
that never delighted in verities.
But yet (Madam) you have taught
the people to receive a nother religion
then their Princes can allowe, & how
can that doctrine be of God, seeing
that God commandes subiectes to obey
their Princes.
(Madame) (said he) a right religion
took neither originall, strength
nor authoritie from worldly Princes

The grund
of
2 obiection

But from the Eternall God alone;
so are not Rubicots bound to frame
their religion according to the Ob-
servation of their Ancestors; for
often it is that Ancestors are the
most ignorant of all other in Gods
true religion, as we may read
in the history as well before
the death of Christ Jesus, as
after: If all the Sons of Abraham
should have been of the religion
of Jo: Knox, whom to they were
bound Rubicots, I pray yo madame
what religion should there have
been in the world: Or if all
men in the dayes of the Apostles
should have been of the religion of
the romane Emperours what reli-
gion should there have been upon
the face of the earth: Daniell &
his fellowes were Rubicots to Ne-
buchadnezzar & unto Darius & yet
madame they would not be of their
religion neither of the one nor of
the other; for the three children said,

we

You make it known to the K. King
that you will not worship the true God;
And Daniel did openly & publiquely unto
his God against the expresse Com
mandm^t of the King: And so
madame, you may perceive that
Subiects are not bound to the Reli
gion of their Superiors, albeit they
are commanded to give them obedience
Yea, (quoth she) but none of them The third obiection
raised the sword agt their Superiors
Yet, madame, (quoth he) you can
not deny but that they resisted,
for those that obey not the com
mandm^t that are given, in some
sort they resist
But yet (said she) they resisted Question
not by the sword.
God (said he) madame, had not Answeare
given unto them the power & the
meanes.
Think you (quoth she) that Subi^t Question
having power may resist their Superiors
If their Superiors exceed their Answeare
bounds (said he) madame, &c

And doe against that wherefore they
should be obeyed, it is no doubt
but they may be resisted even by
power, for there is neither greater
honor, nor greater obedyence to be
given to Kings or Princes then
God hath commanded to be given
to father & mother; But set it
Madame, that the father may be
stricken with a phrensie, in the
wch he will slay his owne children
& Madame, if the children arise
against them selues together, and
bind the father, take the sword
or other weapons from him, and
finally bind his hands & keepe
him in prison till that his phrensie
be ouergone; think ye madame
that the children doe any wrong?
or think ye madame that God
will be offended with them that
have stayed their father to commit
wickednes; yt it even so (quod he)
madame, with Princes that would
murther the children of God that
are subiect vnto them; Their blind

Question to
answered ye
former

Their blind zeale is nothing but a very mad phrensie. And therfore to take the sword from them, to bind their hands & to cast them selues in prison; but till that they be brought to a more sobre mind, it is no disobedyence against princis, but iust obedyence, because yt it agreeth with the will of God.

Blind zeale is mad.

when their rage was willed then was no assurance of maries imprisonm.

At these words the queene stood as it were amazed, more then the quarter of an houre, her countenance altered so, that Lord James began to intreat her & to demand, what hath offended yor madame? At length she said: Well then I see that subiects shall obey not me, & shall do what they list, & not what I command, & so may I be subiect to them, & not they to me.

The queene Conclusio

God forbid (answered he) that such I take upon me to command anye to obey me, or yet to let subiects at libertie to do what lyketh them: but my travell is, that both Princes & subiects obey God. And thinke

And think not (saith he) madame, that
wrong is done vnto yᵒᵘ, when yᵒᵘ are
willed to be subiect vnto God, for it
is he that subiecteth the people vnder
Princes, & causeth obedyence to be
yeilded vnto them, yea God craues of
Kinges that they be as nurses to his
Church, & commaundeth
queenes to be nourishers vnto his people.
And this subiection madame vnto God
& vnto his troubled church is the greatest
dignitie that euer any of yᵒᵘʳ
sex on the earth, for, it shall exalte
them to euerlasting glorie.

The queenes conclusion

Yea (quoth shee) but yᵒᵘ are not the
church that I will nourish, I will
defend the Church of Rome, for,
I think it is the true church of God

Answeare

Yea (saith he) madame, is no
reason, neither doth yᵒᵘ thereby make
that Romish harlot to be the true
immaculate spouse of Iesus Christ.
And wonder not madame that I call
Rome an harlot, for that Church is
altogether polluted with all kind
of spirituall fornication, as well
in doctrine as in maners; yea madame
I offer my self further to proue
that the

Church of Scotland

that the Church of the Jewes that crucified Christ Jesus was not so far degenerated from the ordinances & statutes wch God gave by Moses & Aaron unto his people, wch that they manifestly denyed the sone of God was the Church of Rome is declined & more then 500 yeares hath declined from the rules of that religion wch the Apostles taught & planted. I my Conscience (said she) it is not so. Conscience, madame (said he) requires knowledge & I feare that right knowledge ye have none. But (did she) I have both heard & read. So (said he) madame did the Jewes that crucified Christ Jesus read both the Lawe & the Prophets, & heard the Sonnes interpret after their manner. I (said she) heard any thing but such as the Bishops & this Cardinals have allowed & you may be assured that such will speake nothing to offend their crowne & state

you interpret the Scriptures (said she) Queene

in one maner, & they mis-report it
in another, whom shall I believe?
who shall iudge?

Answere (quoth he) God shall bee your iudge, for that
plainely speaketh in his word, &
further then the word teacheth you,
you neither shall believe the one nor
the other. The word of God is plaine
in it selfe, & if there appeare any
obscuritie in one place, the holy ghost
hath it more manifestly
in other places; so that there can
remaine no doubt, but unto such as
obstinately will remaine ignorant.
And now (said he) mayest thou take
one of the chiefe points with this day
it is controversed betwixt the
Papists & vs, for example, The
Papists alledge & boldly haue
affirmed that the masse is the
ordinance of God, & the institution
of Jesus Christ, a sacrifice for
the sinnes of the quicke & the dead;
we deny both the one & the other, &
affirme that the masse as it is

Sic it is now possible nothing but the
invention of man & therfore it is an
abhomination before God & no sacri-
fice that doeth God commandeth: now
Madame, who shall iudge betwixt
two thus contending: it is not reason
that either of the parties be forthe
beleved, they are able to proue by in-
fallible witnesse, let them lay
downe the book of God, & by that
gloss wherby therof proue their affir-
mation & we shall giue vnto them the
glory & ground; but so long as they
are bold to affirme & yet do proue
nothing, wee may say, that albeit all
the world beleved them, yet beleeue
they not God but reprove the lyes of
men for the truth of God, what our
maister Christ Jesus did wee know
by his Euangeliste, wt. the Christ
doth at the ende of the world doth, now
doth not the word of God plainly
affirme or that Christ Jesus neuer
said nor yet commanded masse to be
said at his last supper, seeing that no
such thing as this masse is made
mention of within the holy Scripture /

yor ord ouer sage for mee said the
gussns, but if they were here that
I haue heard they would answere yo
Madame (quoth the other) would to God
that the learnd st Papist in Europe
& he that yo would be st Bellius were
present with yo Grace to sustenie
the argument, & that ye would patiently
abide to heare the matter vrged
to the end; for then I doubt not madame
but that ye should heare the vanitie
of the Papisticall religion, & how
small ground it hath within the word
of God.

Yea (said she) you may perhaps
get that sooner then yo Bellius.

Assuredly (said the other) if euer I get
that in my life, I get it sooner then
I Bellius, for the ignorant Papiste
cannot reason quietly, & the learned
& subtile Papiste will neuer come
in our audience madame to haue the
ground of their religion spar'd out
for they know that they are neuer able
to sustenie an argument against fire and
sword & their owne lawes for Judges
to say.

Ye say p^us^ quoth the queene, but I can
not believe that.
It hath ben so to this day quoth he.
For how often have the Papists
in this other realme ben required
to come to conference, yet could it
never be obtayned, but still that
themselves were admitted for Judge.
And therfore madame I must yet
say againe that they dare never dis-
pute, but when themselves are both
Judge & p^tie^. When sowen that ye
shall let me see the contrarie I shall
grant my selfe to have ben driven
in that point.
And with that the queene was called
vpon to dinner, for it was afternoone.
At departing Iohn knox said vnto
her, I pray God madame, that ye
may be as blessed within the comon-
wealth of Scotland, if it be the
pleasure of God, as was Deborah was
in the comon wealth of Israell.
Of this long conference, whereof we only
touch a part, were diuers opinions.
The Papists grudged & feared yt
notwithstanding they could not. The godly thinking

thinking at the least that shee would
haue heard the preaching, rejoyced
but, they were vtterly denied; for
shee continued in her weeping and
displeasure, & quietly not to be ap-
prehended. Iohn Knox his owne
iudgment being by some of his
familiars demanded, what he
thought of the queene. If shee
be not in hell (said he) I am
mistaken, & that shall not, & must not
hurt against God & his truth,
my iudgmt. faileth me.

Iohn Knox iudgm^t of ye queene first and last

When the whole Nobilitie were con-
vened, the Lords of the priuie Coun-
sell were these, who were appoint-
ed The Duke Grace, The Earle
of Huntley Argyle, Athol, Morton,
Glencarne, Marshall, Bothwell,
Lord Ruthuen & Lord Iames. Of
these were certaine appointed to
waite vpon Court by course, but, that
order continued not long.
Duke Domell returned with the Cattell
to Flanders. The queene ordered in
her progresse in the moneth of

September travelled from Dun-
bridgh to Linlythq; stayed ther
at Johnstons. Doctor Jamie Andrewe
all with paine she endured with
her Idolatrie. She followed her
way comonly in that Journey: the
townes prepared her liberalie and
thro[ugh] wher she passed enterted. In
the beginning of October she return-
ed to Edinburgh at the day ap-
pointed she was delivered in the
Castle; great preparation were
made for her entertainment in the towne
in feasting in masking & in other
prodigalitie; Knox would fain
have Counterfeited Jeane what
power might put forth her eyes
that she heard & gladly beheld;
The boys were delivered unto her by
a goldin boy descending (as it
were) from the cloude; She per-
ceaved her owne praise she heard &
smiled: But, when the bill was
presented & the praise thereof de-
clared, she began to frowne, for-

for shame she could not refuse it
but she did no better, for incontinently
she gave it to the most impudent
papist within the realme to wit
to Mr Iohn Erskine. Edinburgh since
that day hath reaped as they sowed
they gave her some taste of their
prodigalitie & brave for liquor
was sweet she hath licked of that
breast ever since. Now all
men know what we meane. The
Queene can lack no. of the subiects haue
in Edinburgh at hath bene an ancient laudable custome, that
the Provost, Baillies, Counsell
after their election, repaired to
the Mithaelmas, sauld publiquely proclaimed the statutes &
ordinances of the towne: And
therefore Archibald Douglas Provost, Edward Hope, William Fowlartony
baylies sauld proclaime
that no adulterer, no fornicator, no
notorious drunkard, no misguided monger,
no obstinat papist that corrupted
the people should be found within

Balfor his Doctrine

within the towne within 48 houres
thereof, vnder paines contayned in
the statute: wherevpon in the
euenyng there began a riot &
malicious fray to shew their blade, for
without further inquisition of the
cause was the said high sheriff & bayliffs
thereof in ward in the castle, and
immediatly was commandment giuen y^t
other sheriff & bayliffs should be
elected. Some gainstood for a while
the new election, alledging that the
sheriff & bayliffe whom they had
chosen, & to whome they had giuen
their oath had committed no offence
wherefore that iustly they ought to
be deprived: but while charge
was doubled vpon charge, no man
was found to oppose their blade
to iniquitie, Hezabee, but quickly
will'd will'd obeyed as a law; and so
was Mr Thomas Mt Baldwyn chosen
for the other. The man no doubt was
both discreet & sufficient for that
charge, but the disposition of the
other, was against all lawe, God

God be mercifull to some of ye Towne
for, they were not all blamelesse
that how wthstd with yeir soberd
& contrary proclamation made
publiquely & made that the towne
should be patent unto all the
The gaynst true liegis who. gaynes liegis & so adulterers theives, whores, drunk
ards, idolatrers & all malefactors
got protection under the gaynes
rongs under that colour, because
they were of his religion: & so
got the Devill freedome againe
wch that before he durst not have
bene seene in the day light upo.
the toun streets, Lord deliu us
from that bondage.

The Devill getting the wrst in his finger will after forth his whole arme.

The Devill finding his purpose
was forward in his worke, & the
gaynes took upon them ye grate
boldnes then they & Lords bloat
ing wch before durst have attempted
before; for, upon Allhallon day
they braved us their messe with all
misthievous solemnitie; the minist.

The ministers thereat offended, in plane & publique place declared the miserie in wch they were fallen, that they should be sadd. The nobilitie were sufficiently admonished, that their zeale but affection ware not to rash that in doubt, where in ther before they seemed to be most resolute, to wit, whether that Jesabell might put to their hand to suppress the idolatry of their mother. And upon this question conferred in the house of m^r James M^cgill, the Lord Jame, the Earle of Mortoun the Earle of Marshell, Secretaris Lethington & Justice Clerke & Clerke of Register, who all ware sonde for the effect of the guene, affirming that the Jesabell might not carefully take her mesſe from her. In the Contrare did repair the ministrie m^r John Knox, m^r Georg Hay, m^r Robert Hamiltoun & sr. Knox. The reasons of both sides we will omitt leaue as they will be explayned after when the same question gothers tendencie be

the obedyence due vnto the mynde were
long reasoned in a assemblye.
The conclusion of the reasoning
was, that the question should be
remytted vnto Geneua
for the resolucion of the Church wher
in John Knox offered his labour.
But Secretarie Lethington (allegeing that they stood more in the information) said that he should
write; but that was only to driue
time, & the truth declared it selfe.
The Queenes partie required that the
Queene should haue her religion
free in her owne chappell, & the
other household what they list. The
ministers both affirmed & voted the
contrary. But, neither could reason
nor threatninge moue the affections
of such as were resolued in it.
And so did the votes of the Lords
preuaile against the ministers.
For the commishon of the Earle of
Murrey with had ouerrun the
borders & vi^{th} South from the
Queenes arriuall was the Earle
James made Lieutenant. Some

Some suspected that such honor and
charge proceeded from the same
hatt & counsell that Saul made David
Captaine against the Philistines;
But God assisted him & bowed both
the harts of men both to feare & obey
him; & the Lord Bothwell himselfe
at that time assisted him, but hee
had remission for Liddisdaile) charge
execution was made in Edenburgh, for
20 outlaw Inverlan[illegible] were hanged
at that Justice Court, bribes, buddis,
nor solicitation could not the guiltie
if hee might bee apprehended. And
thus the Lord prospered him in that
his adversities. That same tyme the
said Lord Jaines tooke the Lord
Grey of England at Kelso for
good rules to bee kept upon both
the borders & orders in all things
And for his returning the queene upon a
night took away in her bedcap; & the gaynest
horse men had bene in the close of the first fray
Liddisdaile had bene enclosed about; in halyrood house.
who then assembled of her owne re-
manent servitors, or all men yet here
in feare for displeasure of ye Earle

of Arrane & for other purpose, &
for setting of the garde, was then
not, but the feare was so great y^t
the towne was called to the watch,
Lord Robert of Hadyngtoun & Sr
John of Cheddingham kept the watch
by turnes; & scowts were sent forth,
and straitly were commanded vnder
the paine of death to keepe their station.
And yet they feared nether ther was
no feare nether yet could heare any
appearance or suspition of such
thinge be tryed.
Short after the returning of the
Lord Grange there came from the
quene of England Dr Leuer
monsr with Comission to giue
the ratification of the peace made
at Edy^r. Wch answere was such
such as we haue heard before. That
shee behould aduise, & then shee should
send answere. In the mean of her
Counsell shee kept him still for
(for onely the feare of the Frenche
play the hypocrite in seeming to)
but how soone that euer her strength
holde, shee drives all others of that band
out of the house alone, there might bee

ther might be some skipping not pley
tonly for honest women; ther toman
talks wei m priest, she sone nothing m
Scotland but gravitie, wth resolved
altogether to her nature, for, she neal
brought ye m iiiuentitis to trymm
she her daning & other things ther to be-
longing

The generall assembly of the Church
conuocatid holden in December after
the guesner Synode; In the wch began
the rulers of the Church to draw them selues
apart from the societie of the brethren
And began to stirr & quarrell that any
thing should be concluded upon wtt
out their aduise. m. John Knox who be
fore had shewen himself very prudent
in the cause of God, & forward in the
ruling of his counsell in all doubtfull
matters, plainely refused now to assist
the assembly as ane, wher of many did
wonder. The Courtiers drew unto them
some of the Lords, would not conferre
with their brethren as before they were
accustomed. but kept them selues in the
Abbay. The superintendent Com. of the
Marches, the superintendent of Lowthian
ministers past unto them, wher they
were conveened in the Abbote lodging

within Holywood house. Bell the elder
began to open his grefe. The
Lords commanded that the ministers
leave the yeard into quiet & hold
Counsell without their troubled q^r.
The ministers denyed that they had
done any thing in secret, or other waies
then the common order commanded them,
& accused the Lords. The flatterers
of the yeard will means that they
keept not their convention with their
brethren, considering that they knew
the order & that the same was ap-
pointed by their owne advise, at
the booke of discipline subscribed
with the most part of their owne
hands, would witnes. Some began to
deny that ever they knowe such
thing as the booke of discipline,
& called also in doubt whether it
was expedient that such conventions
should be or not; for, gladly would
the yeard other secret Counsell
have had all assemblies of the godly
dissolved. The reasoning was sharpe
& quick on either part. The yeard

The queene faction alleged that it was suspitious to have it that Bps should assemble them selves & have conventions without their knowledge It was answered That wth out knowledge of the prince the Church did nothing for the prince perfitly vnder stood that within this realme ther was a reformed Church, & that they had their order & assembly by meanes of convention; & so without knowledge of the prince they did nothing

Then said Wthington the queene knowe & knoweth it well enough; but the question is, whether that the queene allowe th such conventions It was answered If the liberti of the Church should stand vpon the queenes allowance or disallowance, we are assured not only to lose assemblies, but also to lose the publique warning of the Evangell That affirmative was mentained, & the contrarie affirmed: Well said the other time will try the trute; But to my former worde. this will I add.

I will add, take from ye liberty of assemblies, & take from ye the Evangelist, for, without assemblies how should ye order and unitie in doctrine be kept: It is not to be supposed that all ministers shall be so perfect but that they shall need admonition as well concerning manners as doctrine, for it may be that some be so stiffe necked that they will not admitt the admonition of the simple, as also it may be that fault may be found with ministers without just offence committed; And yet if order be not taken both with the complayner & the person complained upon it cannot be avoyded but that many grievous offences shall arise, for remedy whereof of necessitie it is that generall assemblies may be, in the with the judgment & the gravitie of many may concurr to correct or to redresse the follie or errors of a few.

herevnto:

thereunto condescended the most part of
were of the Nobility as of the Barons
willed the Commissioners for the part of
the same to tell her Grace, if that
she stood in any supposition of any thing
that was to be intended in this assemblie
That it would please her Grace to send
such as she would appoint to hear
what order was proponed or condescended
upon after was the book of discipline
proponed, & desired to have been resolved
by the queens Ma.tie That was
granted & the question was demanded
how many of those that had
subscribed that book would be subject
unto it. It was answered all the
godly, Then the Duke said Lethington
if he will not answer, the Lord
Whittery I would that he were
straught out, not only of that house
but also of our number & company
for to what purpose shall labour
be taken to set the Church in order,
& to what end shall men subscribe
when never meaned to keep word
of that which they promise.

Lethington.

Lethington
proponeth
Reply to y.e
book of
discipline

Lethington answered, many subscribed there in side praetentum, as the barons are bownd to. One, to wit, John Knox answered, albeit ye think it that scripps paper, yet do it is most untrue for it is most impudent. That book may read in a obligue audience, & by the space of diverse dayes, the heads thereof were reasond, as all that here sit know well enough, & that yor selfe in most dewty; so that no man may be guided to subscribe that wch he understood not. Stand content (said one) that book will not be obtayned. Yet (so (said the other) require the last wch this poore comon wealth shall have of the thinge therin contayned, from the hands of such as stoppe the same. The Lairds perceiving that the book of discipline was refused, gave entrie unto the Counsell to treate thereof, requiring Idolatrie to be suppressed, their churches to be planted with true ministers, & some certaine provision to be made for them according to equitie & conscience

for

for vnto that tyme the most part of the ministery had liued vpon the vnthankfulnes of men, for many held in their owne handes the fruicts that the Pope & others of that sort had before abused.

And so somewhat was restored vnto the ministery. But then the bishops began to grudge against that which most vniustly they called their owne. For the Earle of Athaime was discharged of the Abbacie & diuers other things, wherewith before by vertue of a factorie, he had intromitted. And so were many others. And therefore the Baron required that order might be taken for their ministers, or else they would no more obey the bishops nether yet suffer any thing to be lifted vp to their vse after the generall arriuall then that they did before, for they verily supposed that the generall no would keepe promise made vnto them which was, not to alter their religion; nor could not commonwealth without ministers & ministers could not liue without prouision and

And therfore they hartely desyred the Counsell to provide some convenient order in that head; That somewhat mould the quesnes slatherie for the rode of kingeittie was not then strenthned in her thir hands: And so began they to practise how they should devyse the quesne sould some somewhat to schirffes the faithfull, And so devysed they that the thrid man should have intromission with the two part of their benefice, & that the third part should be lifted by sik men as there should be appointed for yeirly effect, as in the subsequente Acte are more fully expressed.

Apud Edinburgh 20 Decembr 1581

The xxij day for a smuche the quesnes matie by the advyse of the Lords of her secret Counsell foreseing the imminent troubles with evidently may to arise amongst the leiges of this realme for matters of Religion. To stay the same & to devis full intromeddinge that might there-

with a part of the Clergie & estat
of spirituall, with whome there was fur-
nished hand was thought good
& expedient by her highnes that a generall
convention should be appointed the
15 day of Januar instant where the
rest of the estats might have required
by the advise of the whole a reasonable adventure to be made & order taken
for staying of the apparant trouble &
quieting of the whole.

Which convention being by her ma. appoint-
ed & sundry dayes of counsell kept
be the said spirituall estat often-
times required, that the said order might
be taken & adventure made for the stay-
ing of the trouble & quieting of the
Country; Last of all in presence of
the queenes ma^tie Lords of counsell
for said & others of the Nobilitie of
this realme, compeared Jno Archbp
of St Andrews Robert bp. of Dum-
blane Patrick bp. of Murray
Henry bp. of Ross for themselves
& severall affirmed unto the queenes ma^tie

to be content of the two part of the
rente of their benefices & the fourte
part therof to be employed as her
Matie thought expedy[ent] & that the
rest of the reuenues thereof may not
be spared, nor yet what farther meanes
would sustaine the ministerie & minis-
ters of Gods word within this realme
neither yet how readie meanes were
to be found to support the queenes Matie about her
owne rente, for the comon affaires of
the Countrey, Therfore it is deemed
concluded & determined by the gude
Counsell & Estate of Scotland the said
Earles & Lordes of the Nobilitie & the rest
that if the fourth part of the
fruite of the whole benefices Ecclesi-
asticall within this realme may
be sufficient to sustaine the minis-
ters throughout the whole realme
& support the queenes Matie to mi-
nistrate & set forward the comon
affaires of the Countrey, haveing
therof the third part of the said
fruite or more whilest it be found
sufficient to the effect foresaid to
be

to be taken vp yearly in time
coming, while a generall order be
taken therintill, somewhat thereof
to be employed to the guidwyfe ma^tie
for intertaining & setting forward
of the comon affairis of the Countrey
And somewhat thereof to the ministery
& sustentation of the ministeris as
may reasonably sustene the same,
at the sight & direction of the guidwyfe
ma^tie & Counsell foresaid; And the
deficient & superplus to be applyed
vnto the old possessors. And to the
effect that the rents & yearly availe
of the whole benefices of this realme
may be clearly knowne to the guidwyfe
ma^tie & Counsell foresaid, It is
statute & ordayned that the whole
rentalls of all benefices of this
realme be produced before the
Lords foresaid at the time
vnder written; That is to say, the
benefices of this syde of the mouth
the 24 day of Januarie nixt to come,
& beyond the mouth the 10 of Februarie
nixt

next thereafter and ordayneth lres
to be direct to the Shreiues in that
part, to passe, charge & require all
& sundry Archbps Bishops Abbots,
Clergymen Baldes & Prayors on this side
of the mount personally if they
can be apprehended, and failing
thereof at the said Archbps Bps
Abbots, Clergymen Baldes & Prayors,
dwelling places, & the Deanes thereby
or Abbeys, and all such Deanes, Deans
chanters, subchanters, Treasurers
sonk, vicars & other Cleargy men
what soeuer, their Chamberlaines
Rectors personally or at their
dwelling places, or at the parishe
church where they should remaine
to exhibite & produce before the
queenes Matie & Lords foresaid, the
said 24 of January next comming
the iust & true Rentalls of the
averages & Rents of their benefices
to the effect foresaid & to charge
the prelates & other Cleargy
men on the south side of the mount
in manner & effect as foresaid, to &c=

to exhibite & produce the wrist & haue Rentalls of their benefice before the guenes ma^tie & Lords foresaid the xxiij^to of ffebruary to the effect foresaid; with certification to them that failes, the guenes & Lords & Counsell will proceede heranent as accordinge. And likewise to charge the whole superintendent ministers, elders & deacons, of the seuerall townes & shires of this realme, to compeir before the guenes & Lords of Counsell foresaid the said 24 day of Januarie nixt comming, to the effect & purpose aboue mentioned, with all what may tend to the purpose & enable to sustene the ministrie & whole ministers of this realme. That her ma^tie & Lords of Counsell foresaid may take order therintill as accordinge. And further that the guenes ma^tie & Lords of Counsell foresaid may ripely and diligently waigh & consider what

The Historie of the
what nede ther is of the support to be paid
to be taken yearly of the fruits of
the said benefices by her Graces
owne yearly rente to advertise
forwarde the comon affaires
of this realme against the said
24 day of January next coming;
That then it may be considered
in the said matter accordinge as
it shall fynde, & the whole Countrey
& Realme shall stande in quietnes.

Apud Lyntlyt 22 January
1561

After a speache the queenes ma^tie
by the advise of the Lordes of her
privie Councell dyrecte her lres
commaundinge all & sundry Archbpes
Bpes. Abbotes. & Priors. Deanes. Arch-
deanes. Subdeanes. Chantors. Subchantors. Chanons. Vicars. & all
other learned men. their factors.
procurors & attornies to com-
before her highnes & Lordes of the said
at Edinburgh. or where it shall
hap them to be for the tyme. so-

so many as dwelleth upon this side of the mount the 24 day January instant & them that dwelleth beyond the mount the 10 day of ffebruary next comming. That the wtravayls of their brethren may be knowne, so that therafter the Counsell might take order for the sustayning of the ministerie of the Church vacklgas by reason of the Warres And wranes the gentlemen may be gentlie otherwise with other affaires & may not themselfes attend upon the Court of ye said Counsell. Therfore her highnes hath given & granted & by this p[rese]nts giveth & grauteth full power & commission to m[aste]r James m[aste]r of Rathowin m[aste]r Clerke of Register Sr John Skeldender of Thirdstane Kt Justice Clerke & Sr Thomas Hamilton of Priestfield Knycht Advocat & ye Lo[rd] of Pittarrow to call before them within the burgh of Edinburgh All & Sundry ffreholders & Commissioners within the said burgh now presentlie being in Edinburgh or shall happen

thirdfter to repaire thether their
factors & servants And ffor enquiell
of them the tenalt of their bondages
& receive the same from them to the
effect foresaid And likewise that
the said Com.rs haue to warne all
superintendents ministers Elders
& deacons to giue vnto them the
names of the whole ministrie of
this realme That the iust rationall
being made & considered by the said
Com.rs of the availl of the said
bondages they may report them
home vnto the queenes ma.tie that
her highnes may take order therin
according to the iust tenor of the
first ordinance made thereanent

Apud Edinburgh 12 ffebruary
1561

ffor asmuch as by Statute & ordinance
made by the queenes ma.tie & Lords of
Secret Counsell & their highnes hes
directed thereanent diuers sundry their
lres & vthers Commandatory mandis
thereof deuers deuers sundry thankfull
subscriptiones

[illegible] burrowis, burrowis, yeiris, and other landfiard men were charged to
[illegible] & produce the rentalls of their
landis before his maiesty & Lords of Sessione
in manner following, that is to say, the
said landfiard men dwelling on this side
of the mount the 24 of January last past
to and on the other side of the mount the
10 of ffebruary instant, to the effect
that order might be taken therin conform
to the said ordinance, with certifi-
cation to them, if they failed, the saids
maiesty & Counsell foresaid would take
order therin as the same ordinance bears
with. Notwithstanding the with the saids
maiesty Counsell & others appointed by
him for reducing the said rentalls hes
continually since the said 24 day of
January foresaid, and daily doeth the
reducing of them, yet a very small
number of them hath produced their
rentalls, contemning thereby through not
only the Kings ordinance & proclama-
tione foresaid, but also the selfe
their authorite, as if they were

& Heires, not subiects, against whom
& quith & ill shee, for remedie whe-
of the guiders ma^tie ordaines with
the advise of the rest of her secret
Counsell, that factors & chamberlanes
bee appointed to intromitt, gather,
vplift & receive to our Soveraigne
Ladyes vse all & sundrie maillies,
fermes, byndis, kanis, calsents,
emolumentis, deuil, & profits & dueties
of what soever benefices whereof
the rentalls are not produced, conforme
to the said ordinance, And if any
rentall shall be produced bearing
not the iust dewtyes, but fraudu-
lentlie made to intromitt & vptake
so much of the profite & forbeir of
the said benefices as are omitted
forth of the said rentall, And the
Ingiverars of the rentalls & pos-
sessors of the benefices shall
neuer haue action to claime, reuoc or
recouer from the tennants & ser-
vitors
further then is contained within the
said rentalls as are produced by
them, And the tennants & possessors
shall be

shall be haldin to pay no more for
their teynds vnto the said possessor
of the said bene fice & impropriet of
the said Rentall, nor is contayned in
the same rentall as are vnderwritt
Item it is statut that the said Chamberlane
& factors to be appointit by the
gudmr ma^tie shall haue sufficient power
to intromett wt the fruits & pro-
fite of the said, in as much as effeiris
to ther factories & chamberlandis way
granted vnto them therevpon, And or
dynnit the Lords of Session to direct
forth lres at the said factors and
Chamberlands instance either fiering
or giding, or shaking thought & ex-
pyrit for ransing of them to be
answered of the fruits of the said
benefice to be forthcoming to the
gudmr ma^tie behoofe vntill further
order be tain therevntill.

Item it is statut be the Lords of Edinburgh in Iuly
for a rutht as the gudmr ma^tie by the
advise of the Lords of his Secret
Counsell & others diverse of the nobilitie
had before vpon the 22 day of Decemb^r
last by past, ordinat that if the fruit &

the fourth part of the fruits & rents
of all the benefices within this realme
were not sufficient for the suppport
of her Matie & other particulars therein
under written, were assigned to be borne
for the ordinarie charges of the Countrey.
Then, the third of the said fruits rents
& profits should be taken unto their
vses for said: also ordayned, that
to be directed, charging all & singuler
benefised men on this side of the
mount to produce their Rentalls
upon the 24 day of January last
past, and the tenth of ffebruarie
instant was ratified by the said
Lawe for inbringing of all Rentalls
of the benefices beyond the mount
with certification that who produced
not the said Rentalls at the dayes
fore said respectiue, the gaynes ma^tie
& her Counsell would provide remedie
according to the 4th certification here
in ma^tie with advise of her Counsell
as the said hath ordayned, that they
who had not produced their Rentalls
shall have full remission, shall be had

shall be had of their fruits by them
whom his Ma.tie shall direct thereto
And who hath not given in their
rentalls shall be punished
within like manner And further
hauing considered diligently
& deliberately upon the common affaires
& necessities concerning the quietnes
Ma.tie Subiects to be borne for the
common wealth of the realme and
sustentation of the ministerie and
readers conforme to the said ordinance
made thereupon before hath found
& declared the whole thirds parts of
all benefices of the which the
rentalls are produced to be by them
vsed by the ordinar or ordinaries to
be nominat by his Ma.tie to begin
upon this last Crop of the yeare
of God 1581 The same to be
imployed to the vses foresaid
together with the whole fruits of
the benefices whose of the rentalls
are not produced And also all that
is omitted of the rentalls produced
And that order be directed by the

by the guidnes ma^tie to the Lords of Session, that the old Rolls may be an forward of the remanent soume of the said Inestres provyding that the third part beforsaid be full wholls taken up by the persones to be deputed to the postabling thereof And that order to continue & stand ay quhill further order be taken by the guidnes ma^tie with the advise of the estates. Item anent how highnes by the advise of her Counsell foresaid hath statute & ordayned, that all annuells, maills, & dueties within frie burrowes or other townes of this realme, as well pertening to the Chaplenries, as Kendaries & to fre yeirs; together with the rents of the fre yeirs landes quher ever they be, setting & disponing thereupon be whomsumevir with and we taken by such as her Graces shall deputt thereto, for mayntayning of the Schoole by her highnes to be erected at Stirling, Dalkeith, & other grammer Schooles as shall

Ye shall ffeyme be ffe to hir highnes
with advise of hir Counsell And
ffurnesing that nothing ffe more tend
dious for the ffore said hospitalitie
then the places of ffryars that are
ytt standing undemolished And also
to the intertayning of Scholes, colledges
& other vses ffore said, admitting the
ffrovest & baylies of Aberdene Elgin
in Murray, Inverness, Glasgow and
other burrowes of this Realme, where
the same are not demolished, to mentaine
& vphold the said ffryars places standing
in the said townes vpon the common
good therof & to vse the same to the
Common weale & seruice of the said
townes ay & while the guenes ma^tie
be ffurther aduised & tak ffynall or
der in such thinges notwithstanding
any other gyft, ffeu & infeftment
to what somever ye ffeuar of the ffore
said places, with their yards, & herbe
ye tinente by & ffra the ffore said
ffore

The names of the Nobilitie
& Lords that were present at
the making of the ffore said Acte
hereafter ffollowith ffe

verba

The Historie of the

James Duke of Chattelherauld.
Georges Earles of Huntley
Archibald Earle of Argile /
William, Earle Marshall /
John, Earle Athole —
William Earle Monteithe
James Earle Mortoune /
Alexander Earle of Glencairne
James, Commendator of St Andrewes. /
Wittmeame /
John, Lord Erskyn
John Lindesay of Dowhouse Knt
Justice Clerke /
The Cesars —
The Clerke of Register /
And Secretarie.

The Lords of Secret Counsell that were nowe at voting & making of the Act, the said Lords were James Duke of Chattelherault, Georges Earle of Huntley, Archibald Earle of Argile William Earle Marshall, John Earle Athole, Tom Earle Monteithe, James Earle Mortoune.

Alex

Alexander Earle of Glencarne,
James Comendator of Dunfermline
John Lord Erskyne, the two
The Clerke of Register, Justice
Clerke, Secretarie, Comptroller
After the first Act, the Earle
Glencarne said Mastmighty God I say
my Lorde of the two part: The
whole Rentalle being gathered
the sume of the third according to
their owne Calculation was found
to extend to

The ministers seeing in the beginning
in publique Sermons opponed the
Blasts to such corruptions, for they
foresawe the purpose of the Devill
Elderly pryde stood the Buttresse
at the gavell of her Flatterie
shott, 56 in the Schools of Edin-
burgh John Knox said, Well, if
the end of this order pretended
to be taken for sustentation of the
ministers, be happie, my iudgment
fayleth me, for I am assured that of the thirde
the Spirite of God is not the

Iudgment

the Author of it, for, for sh J. K.
two parts freely equum to the Devill
& the third must be Divided betwen
God & the Devill, Lord, bears witnes
to me that this day I buy it, yis it
be long the Devill shall have three
parte of the third & iudge yⁿ then
what Gods portion shall be.

This was an vnsavorie sayning in
the eares of many Some ashamed
not to affirme the ministers being
suspended, the gaynes will not
gett at the yeares end to buy hir a
paire of nine shoode And this was
Mr Peter Hothingtone. There
were appointed to modifie the minist
hire thirsende The Earles Argile
Murray & Morton: Hothington, the
Justice Clerke; the Clerke of Re-
gister. the Lord of Pittarrow nar
appointed to pay the ministers thi-
rsende attending to their modestie

Let this be noted. Who would have thought that when
Joseph ruled Egipt, that hie
the[n] should have travelled
for victuells & have returned with
empti sacke vnto their families

men-

men would rather have thought that Pharaohs office twa yeirs, or yit maill, should have bene diminished, nor that the household of Jacob should stand in danger to starue for hunger? But so the sad & sinfull feirdis were the mediciners (because it was a newe office, the feirs must also be newe) That the ministers should not be ouer wairie, that an 100 merk was sufficient to a single man being a comon minister. Three hundreth merk was the highest that was appointed to any, except onto the Superintendent & vnto a few others shortly, whither it was the niggardnes of their awne hairte, or the tears that they had to mirth the giuers will I know not, But, the poore ministers reasoned, & whereto tryed out to the heauen (of their Complaints in all assemblies do witnes) that neither were they able to liue vpon the stipends appointed, neither could they get payment of the small thing that was appointed to them, would the Comptrollers keepe the good actes, & haue satisfied the giuers or els his awne gracit

very point that hee gatt the
dition of proverbe The good Lord
of Hilligrowe was an enemie to
profession of Christ but the meakle
Deuill reuenge the Comptroller, for
hee & his Collectors are become greedy
Bottes.

To put an end to this ridiculous
matter; when the Brethren complayned
of their povertie, It was disdainfully answered of some Other
Lords many Lords haue not so much
to spend; Whom men did wonder that
the patrones of ministers wealth of
them both, would studie rather
to diuide the Church of Christ Jesus
when that many Lords were wanting
upon their worldly busines, and
therefore that the stipends of ministers who had no other industrie
but to liue upon that wch was appointed
ought not to be modified according
to the liuing of other temporall men;
who might & did dayly augment their
reuenue by some other industry; Whereto
such reasons were layd before them
they gatt no other answeare but they
gaines can not spare no greater summes

Often

often was it tryed with their
dares, Oh haggid Servants of
the Deuill & miserables servants
of Jesus Christ if that after this
life ther were no hell & heauen
for to the Servants of the Deuill
to yor Dumbe Dogs & horned Bishops
to one of the first idle bellies (I say)
ten thousand was not enough. But
to the Servants of Christ that
painfully preach the Evangell
a 1000. how can that be sufficient
One day medaconing of this matter
the Secretaris burst out in a rage
of his Choler & said, The ministers
have this much paid unto them by
the yeare & whoyt the guerdon
reward meerite for it was ther ever
a minister that gave thanks to God
for his Matie liberalitie towards them
One smiled & answered assuredly
I think that such as receive any
thing of the queene are
unthankfull if they acknowledge
it not both in hart & mouth But

But whether that the ministers be
of that rancke or not I greatly doubt
of: but I am assured they receiue
nothing: neither they receiue any
thing at all from the guene, wch
men may reason: for I am assured that
neither third, nor two parte doth
appertayne to any of her predecessors
within this realme the 8 thousand
yeares by gone, neither yt hath the
guene bettar tythe to that wch she
possesseth, but it perteyning to others,
or taking to her self, then such as
crucified Christ Jesus had to deuide
his garments amongst them; and if the
truth may be spoken, she hath not
so good title as they had, for suth
scripture proueth to be the reward of such
men: And in that point she is doubtfull
I wold more gentle then the guene
& her flatterers, for they parted not
the garment of our master, till that
he himself was hanged vpon the
crosse: but, she & her flatterers
deuoure the spoyle till that poore

yoore Christ is yet preaching among yᵐ. But, the wisdome of our God taketh tryall of us by this meane knowing well enough what shee & her faction hath purposed to doe. Yet the Reguisite that haue the two parte, some that haue their third part, & some that haue gotten Abbacie & fee lande, thanke the guyde, and sing gladdo Dnᵉ, the poore preachers will not yet flatter, for feeding of their bellie.

These words were iudged proud and intollerable & indeede, no smale displeasure to the Speaker, that we put in memorie, that the spiritis to come may knowe that God once made his truth to triumphe. But, braue that sonde of our soules delighted more in darknes then in light, God hath restrayned of freedome & hath put the whole body in bondage; yea, the greatest flatterers haue not obtayned fee as they supposed, yea the latter plagues appeare yet to be worse then the first. Bee

Lord mercifull vnto yor ô Israel, and
mitigat yor not according to our de-
seruinge but looke thou to the equitie
of the cause wch thow hast put
into our handes, & suffer not iniquitie
to oppresse thy trueth for thy owne
names sake ô Lord.

In this meane tyme, to wit, in
ffebruarie the yeare of God 1562
way Lord James first made Earle
of Murray & then married ane
ane Lady Keyth daughter to the
Earle Marshall. The marriage was
publisshed in the Church of Edinburgh
In the marriage they both gaue
an admonition to behaue themselues
moderatly in all thinges, for said
the preacher to him, vnto this day
the Church of God hath receaued
comfort by yor & yor labours, in the
which if hereafter, yo^{e} shall be
found faintar, then that yo^{e} were
before, it will be said that yor
wife hath changed yor nature.
The greatnes of the Banquett
the

marriage of
ye Earle of
Mar.

And the vanitie of that thereat offended many godly; Efter began the masking rob from yeare to yeare hath continued since; Mr Randolphe a agent for the queene of England was then come home after sundrie ambassages with the queener for his maisters sake shee drunk to him a cuppe of gold wch he accepted with greater ioy for the favour of the giuer then of the gift & value thereof & yet it was honble Ye thinges that there were in handling betwixt the two queenes wherof Hr thington Secretarie Cecill & Mr Randolphe were ministers were of great weight as wee will after heare Ther came the Earle Bothwell the marques Elbanf Lord John of Coldingham & they kept in Edinburgh, murdered the whole towne trade & barrie, ransackt the Secretare sought his house for his good daughter & sisters sake; and that was done in daylight at the Earle of Murrays whose house the said assistone was.

Yeare supposed to have bene. The
horror of the fact & the rarities of
it highly tomoued all godly harte
the assemblie also the nobilitie
for the most part were in the towne
& so they concluded to graue in this
as they did, as by this subsequent
supplication doth appeare.

To the queenes Ma.tie her most
graue Councell her Graces faith-
full & obedient subiects the
professors of Christ Jesus his
holy Euangell wisshe the spirit
of right & sounde iudgmt.

The feare of God conteined in his
holy word, the naturall & vnfeigned
loue we beare vnto yor graces, the
dutie which we owe to the quietnes
of our Countrey, & the terrible
threatnings of our God pronounced
against disobedyent realmes & citties in the
rash hastie & vnaduysed commyng
mitted & then the Commissaryes obsti-
nately defended, Commyttyes against
part of yor subiects humbly to reduce
of yor

of yor Graue right & true
iudgmt. against such yor sons as
have done what in them lay to
kindle Gods wrath against their
whole realme: the iniquitie by them
committed is so haynous & so horrible
that at it is a fact most vile & rare
to be heard of within this realme,
& principally within the bowells of the
Kirk, so should we think of soles
qualities in the same if negligently
or yet for worldly feare we passe
it over with silence. And therfore
yor Graue may not think that we
repine any thing (unto that we
crave ayen malefactors condignely
to be punished) but that wch God
hath commanded yor Graue to doe &
hath also commanded yor Graue to doe to
every one of yor Subiects; for, by
this meane hath God knit together
the prince & the people. That as
he commandeth honor & feare, and
obedience to be given to the powers
established by him, so doth he in-

in expresse words commaund and
declare what the office ought
the Dukedome, to wit, that as he is
the minister of God bearing the
sword of vengeance to be taken
on euill doers, & for the defence of
vertuous & quiet men; so ought
he to execute the same without all
partialitie, so often as ye Gods laws
he is required thereto; seing ye it is
manifest that this crime is horrendly
committed, & that in the eyes of yor
whole realme nay rather openly assembled
in so haynous, for who heretofore have
heard within the bounds of Edinburgh
slaie & done vnder silence of night
that ye have seen rigorously (that is
hostilitie) pursuing a woman (as a
reuerend) to the death, seing me
thinks, that this crime is so haynous
that allgodly men ought not only to
be displeasure to fall upon yor
yor whole realme, but also that
such libertie breed contempt in
the end perdition; if remedie in time

[illegible] mind [illegible] not divided
with in it selfe [illegible] impossible if
[illegible] punishm[en]t [illegible] not executed
for the same [illegible], Therefore we
most humbly beseech yo[ur] Grace that
all affection sett aside you declare yo[ur]
selfe to be right in this cause, that
yo[ur] may give prudent Iudgm[en]t to
all yo[ur] subiects, that the feare
of God joyned with the woman tranquil
virtue hath ever in all seasons dominion
in yo[ur] royall heart. The further
madame of consciense we speake,
that as yo[ur] Grace in yo[ur] name
doth cause of ye obedience (wch to
render in all things lawfull we
are most willing) so in the same
name do we. The whole scope of the
holy Christ Evangele within this
yo[ur] Graces realme, cause of yo[ur]
Grace & yo[ur] Counsell shall give punishm[en]t
of this crime for reformance
wherof that without delay the ymage of
Antichrist of this most haynous crime &
the

of the pursuit of this pretended William may be called before the Chiefe Justice of this realme, to suffer all & to be punished according to the lawes of the same. And yf he answere not he humbly prayeth.

This supplication was presented by Queen Jane. The Prosecutor of the Castle at the first stroke asked who durst answere for the rebell. Nay Lord said they answere A thousand gentlemen in Edinburgh. There was a stand to oppose them selves thereto in publique. But they suborned the guard to giue a gentle answere vnto such time as the conuention was dissolued. And so they did. &c. She loueth no traist but to traist. & to maintaine murther & whordome in Scotland. She alledged that her title was a straunger. She had young to name, but she should put such order vnto him & vnto all others that hereafter they should haue no occasion to

to complaine. And so concluded, that
the visitation of her Majestie
and the nobles, for, how shall she
punish in others that sin which in
herself is seen without punishment
with kings & Cardinalls, ye most
romanly; as the maske daunsing of
Orleans twin sisters, wherin ye queen
& most noble ladies were made as roman to
king Henry & Charles the Cardinalls
into their chaires & gaue, as roman
harlots at the brothell are vnto their
companions; the manner was thus.
At the entrie of king Harry of Navarre
in the towne of Orleans, the matrones
with nine noble virgins were appointed
to present themselues in the kinge
palace as might be deuise, which they
obeyed (for, romanly the shamefull
matrone is not hard to be intreated
to panite) after feeding & pleasing
the Cardinall of Lorraine had a gentle
nod, he said to the king, Sire
la premiere est vre. et fault regarde
le second, that is to say, vre the first

the first thoyse is yours, & must be
the stond of the ring of the
Cheminens that hes had his first
election, but, becaus Cardinall
ord tomyamont is dige. the Cardinall
of Lorraine had the next, & ther
after the brether were put out, &
every man comanded to provide
for himself the best he might.
what try was ther of hasbands
for ther maids, & wives for ther
husbands of ancient matrons for
ther daughters, & of virgines for
ther frends, or for some honest
men to defend ther gudes;
Or els we will remember no dige
day then one. & that horrible
murthur of the Cardinall
of Lorraines religion was shortly
fought, & lot all the world under
stand what terrible may looke
of such magistrates for such
crymes to them forgiuen wherin
the guylt was brought to light.

[illegible] hir not a whore (abbeit
for Doctrine heard more then [illegible]
will write) but she was brought
vp in the company of the wildest
whoremongers Ouer all Fyfe that
no man regarded in respect then honest
men regarded the company of their
wyfes) In the company of
such men (we say) was our gueene
brought vp; what shee was or
hir life hes bein heirtofore God
we doubt not will further declare.
But ymmediatlie of that mermitis
fearefull assault was could gott
none but more & more they presumed
to doe violence vnto the gueene & mightie
meaning. Some at Lochlevin throughout
Oueranes his Daughter was faire & de-
lighted therin; Others lamented,
began to beare the matter verie
heavilie. At length the Lord Duke
his friends assembled vpon a
night vpon the Causey of the
Abbeth of Kylrowning (who then

Quene then was ioyned to the
The Hamiltons ag^t Bothwell & Huntly, & for at was vnderstand
ag^t Bothwell & Huntly, & for at was vnderstand
of ye marquis yet notwithstanding was the principall
man at the beginning to haue
vpraised many faithfull and
among others was Andrew Stewart
Lord Ochiltree a man rather
borne to make warre then to bear
vpon the Calsey, & Ismaniste
the quarrell; And being informed
of the former vnderwritten, said, Nay,
sayth he that shall not be performed
so long as God shall assist me.
The victorie that God of his
mercie hath giuen vnto vs will
by his grace maintaine. And
so commanded his Lordship to
Andrew Stewart then & and
his seruants to put themselues
in order to bring forth their
ordnance & so long we abode &c.
Did others. The word came to the
Erle Bothwell & his that
the Hamiltons were vpon the
gates, horses were made that

that the Hamiltons should be
dung not only out of the toune
but also out of the Countrey. Lo.
John of Coldingham had married
the said Earles Bothwells sister
a sufficient woman for such a man.
Allia deuae. That Lord Robert &c.
they joyned both with the said
Earle Bothwell. But, that chatter
of the Marquis & Soul (God
prouide if they call him) is most to
be commended. For in his Chalmer
within the Abbay he start to an
halbart, ten men were scarcelie
able to hold him. But, as hap was, the
inner gate of the Abbay keipt him
that night & the danger was to
twist the Bresse & Baltrums &
he was a great mile from
the shott & stenting of bullets.
The maister of Maxwell gaue
intelligence to the Earle Bothwell
that if he stirred forth of the
lodging, he & all that would assist
him

[illegible] This [illegible] of the
should [illegible] it him in the [illegible]
nbest words did somewhat [illegible]
downe that blott. The Earles
of Huntley & Murray being
in the Abbey wher the marquis
was tomd with tom[illegible] and
from the guests to stay Tumult
al that they [illegible] for, Gothwode
[illegible] wrote commanded by the name
of Vidason to keep their lodginge.
It was whisperd of many that
the Earle of Murray in [illegible]
way as much sought as any hatred
that the hamiltons bare agt the
Earle Gothwode or yt he
agaist them. And in very deed,
either had the Duke very false
[illegible] or else by Huntley
& the hamiltons the Earle of
Murray death was after com-
spired then inde. The [illegible]
whereof bare [illegible] so farre that
upon a day the said Earle being
[illegible] for his [illegible] to haue come to the

to the Common weal thereof by and
of the Duke owne Servants to
turne & to abide wth the queene
The bruit thereof spread over all,
what ground it had we can not
say, but shortly thereafter the
Duke & some of the Lords removed
at Glasgow; their conclusion
was not known; The Earle of
Murray came to Edinburgh where
the Earle Bothwell lay; The queene
& the Court were departed to
Alloa & remayned sometimes at
Stirling & sometimes in Falkland
The Earle of Bothwell by the
meanes of James Balfour Burges
& then Merchant of Edinburgh
desired to speake with Jn° Knox
secretly, wch the said Jn° gladly
granted & spake him upon a
night first in the said James Lodg Bothwell
ing; & thereafter in his owne House comuning wth
The sume of all their comunication Jn° Knox
& conference was; The said Earle
lamented his former mordinat

The Historie of the
inordinate liefe & treasonable
that he was provoked by the
instigement of the guises Regent
to do that with his soldiers wanted
as well against the Lord of
Ormestone whose blood was
guiltless albeit not in his default
But his chiefe dolour was that
had my behaud himself towards
the Earle of Arrane whose
favour he was most willing to
recover if possible it were that
he might & desired the said
Johne to give him his best counsell
how he might have
my Lord of Arranes favour, I
would advise upon the Court
with a grave & sure servants to
serve my purposes, where none
I am compelled to serve for my
owne safetie a number of wicked
unquiet & unstable men, to the utter
destruction of my living that
I have.

To the which the said Johne answered
my Lord

my Lord, would to God that my
mē. wēre counsell & iudgmt. that
might comfort & relieue yo^u. for,
albeit that to this houre it hath
not chanced mee to speake with
yo^u. face to face, yet haue I
borne a good mind to yo^u. how &
haue bene sorrie at my hart of
the troubles that I haue heard yo^u
to bee involued in; from my Lord
my grandfather, good sthr. & fat.
haue brued yor. gr: gr: fathers sore
some of them haue dyed vnder their
standarde. & that is a part of the
obligation of our Scotish kindnes;
But this is not the cheefe, but as
God hath made mee his publique
mēssinger of glad tydings, soe
my will is earnest that all men may
imbrace it, wch. gif softly they ran
not so long as that their remaineth
in them ignorance malice & envie; I
am sorie that yo^u haue geuen
occasion vnto men to bee offended
with yo^u, but I am more sorie that
yo^u haue offended the ma^ie. of God.

who by such meanes of their gouer-
nement, the other part of men,
Therfore my Counsell is, that ye
begin at God, with whome if you
will enter in couenant Wyrmediately
I doubt not but he shall bow
the hearts of men to forget all
offences. And as for me if you
will continue in godlines, you shall
find me as boldly as
any that serueth your Lord shuld.
The said Lord did perceiue him that
he would bring the battle of
Stranet mind if he might be
content to attempt him in his fauor
with his promised to do, for
earnestly trauelled in that matter
that it was once brought to such
an end, at all the faithfull praised
God for that agreement. The great
est stay stood vpon the satisfaction
of the Lord of Dunnegore, who
by the his former hurt was
driuen in that same time of the
comming your shuld by the said
Lord

Lord Bothwell, for some mis-
Alexander Carburne taken by him
& carryed with him to Bothwell
but quietly enough sent back again
That non trouble so greatly dissolved
his Lord that he almost gave over
further travelling for amity. But,
yet upon the earnest of the said
Earle & upon the Solicitation of his
friends he ventured in Lothian, and so
brought it to passe that the Earle
of Orkney reposed his satisfactio
in all things to the judgmt of the
Earles of Athole & Murray, unto
the said Earle Bothwell submitted
himselfe in that kind & thereupon
his hand rest. And so was conveyed
by vertue of his power to the Lodg-
ing of the Church of Holyrudhouse
The Earle of Athole went with his friends
& the said John Knox with him to bear
witness & the ratification of the end of
the agreemt. As the said Earle Both
well entered at the chamber dore
would have done those hostes that
friends had appointed and Orkney ha=

mystone

The Lord of Pitharlow were
the thirde frende that remayned
the said Lorde a[illegible]strange gentlye
cast vnto him, embraced him, and
said, if yor heart be vpright
[illegible] ceremonie may serue and
content me. The said John knew
not any one of them both of their
frendes said, now my Lorde God
hath brought yow together by the
labour of simple men in respect
of such as would have travelled
therin, I know my labours are already
taken in an euill part, but because
I have the testimonie of a good
conscience before God, that what I
have done. I have done it in his
feare for the profit of yow both, for
the hart of yours, & for tranquillitie
of this realme. Seing I say that
my Conscience beareth witnes to me
what I have sought & continually
seeke, I more patiently beare the
wicked wordes & iudgement
of men. And now I leaue yow in
peace. & desire yow that are the

the ffreinde to study what shall at
all time may intreat all former
offences being forgot.

The ffreindes on either partie imbraced
other & the 2 Earles departed to
a windowe & talked by themselves
familiarly a reasonable space &
thereafter the Earle of Bothwell
departed for that night, & upon the
next day in the morning returned
with some of his honest ffreinde &
came to the Dremon with the Earle
foresaid; whereat many rejoyced. But
God had another worke to worke thro
the wyde of men, truly of sin. The
thirt day next they dyned together,
& thereafter the said Earle Bothwell
& Mr Georye Hamilton rid to my
Lord Duke Grace who then was in
Lyntrithgow. what Communication was
betwixt them it is not certainly
known but by the report both the
said Earle of Murray made to the
Queenis Grace & unto the Earle of
Murray by his Lordships self upon
ffryday. The fourth day after their
reconciliation the Dremon being

being ended, the said Earle of
Orkney came to the house of the
said John Knox & brought with
him Mr Richard Strange and
Alexander Guthrie, to whome
he had opened the griefe of
his mind before that John Knox
was called, for he was strugled
(as manly he could) to abstaine
his Sermon, & diverting of
worldlie cares; wch ended the said Earle
called the three together & said
I am treasonablie betrayed, wth
the first words began to reasone John
Knox demanded; My Lord who
hath betrayed you? Judas or
other (said he) but I know it
is, but my life that is sought
I regard it not. The other said
my Lord I understand not your
darke maner of speaking; if
I shall give you any answere
you must speake more plaine
(said he) I take you three
to witnes that I am now this unto
you, I will write it unto the
Queene the first of Iune for it lyes

to layd to my charge. The Earle
Bothwell hath shewn to me in
Councell, that he shall take the
guiltie & put him in my hands in the
Castle of Dumbarton & that he
shall slay the Earle of Murray,
Lethington & others that non injuries
him & so shall I only rule all. But
I know that this is devised to abuse
me as before, &c. I know that he
will inform the guiltie of it, but I bid
ye to witnesse that I open it here unto
ye & I will passe incontinent & write
to the guiltie Matie & unto my brother
the Earle of Murray. John Knox
demanded, did ye consent my Lord
to any part of that treason? he
answered, no. Then said he, in my
judgment his words albeit they were
spoken, can accuse him treason to ye,
for the performance of the fact
depended upon ye^r will, which to ye^r
sone ye has disassented, & so shall
that also lose evanish. Dye by
the selfe rules that ye make it,

for

for, if it is not to be suppos'd, that he will accuse yᵉ of that wch he himself desired, whether to yᵉ would not consent. Oh, said he yᵉ vnderstand not what malt is vsed against me. If it be so to consult with my Lord. said he, I must consent & determination, wch I hear vpon neither of yᵉ parte. Therfore my Lord in my iudgment it shall be more sure & more honᵗˡᵉ to yᵉ to depend vpon yᵉ mistresse & to abide the vnmust attestation of an other (if any follows therof, as I think ther shall not) then yᵉ to accuse (especially after so late reconciliation) & haue no other witnesse but yᵉ owne affirmation; I know, said he, that he will offer the combate vnto me. But that would not be suffered in Fraunce. But I will do that wch I haue purposed. So departed & tooke with him to his lodging the said Alexander Cuthrie & mr Richard Strange, from whence

from whence was dited & written a
lre to the queenes Matie according to
the former direccon wch lre was
directed with all diligence to the
queenes Matie who then was in ffalkland
the Earle himselfe rode after & came
to his ffather the Duke gracie how he
was intreated ye have but the roman
bruite, But from thence hee wrote an
other lre with his owne hand in
cypher to the Earle of Murray com
playning vpon his rigorous handling
wthout mr by his owne ffather & by
his ffreinds affirmed further that
hee feared his life in respect that hee
got not ye dame restored, But there
vpon hee remained not, but brake
the Chamber wherin hee was putt,
wth great dint past to stradling
from thence hee was conveyed to the
hallyards where hee was keipt till that
the Earle of Murray came vnto him
& convoyed him to the queene being
in ffalkland, who then was sufficient
ly instructed of the whole matter

vpon

vpon sa fashion reported had
vanished aggreshond wt Orangy
hamiltons & the Earle Bothwell
here said who knowing nothing of
the former adgotisment came to
Stalland with augmented the former
suspition; But yet the letter of
John knox made all things to be
plaid more circumspectly for he
did plainly forewarne the Earle
of Murray that he suspected the
Earle of Arran to be stricken with
phrenesie, & therefore willed not give
great credit to the suddain wits
words & invention; And as he admo-
nished, so it came to pas for within
ten dayes his sisters mariage he
seemed as wondrous signes that he
saw in the heavens; he alledged
that he was bewitched, he would
have bene in the queenes bed, and
affirmed that he was her husband
finally he behaved himself in
all things so foolishly, that his
phrensie could not be hid; And
yet were the said Bothwell &
Abbot of Kylwinning sent in the

in the Castle of St Andrewes & confronted the[m] the heynes with the said Earle of Arrane, who ware stoot [illegible] that the Earle Bothwell wrayed to him such thinge as he advertised the governor Erle of. But stiflie denyed that his brother the said Abbot of Kinlos knew any thinge thereof, either yet that they intended any violence against him; But alledged that he was mistaken & to think & write otherwise whereat the governe highly offended committed him to ward with the other two first in the Castle of St Andrews & thereafter caused them to be conveyed to the Castle of Edenburgh wher Steuart of Cardwell called Captaine Jamie was duelie keiped for the rigorous entreatment that he showed to the said Earle in his first tymes being appointed keiper unto him. To consult upon their examinations the whole Counsell was assembled at St Andrews the 18 day of March in the yeare of God 1562. In which it was concluded that in consideration of the former

former supplication the Duke
of Rox should render to the gover-
nor the castle of Dumbarton, the
custodie whereof was granted
unto him by appointment, till the
lawfull succession should be
knowne of the governs body, But
will prevailed against reason
& promise, for he was the third
day after the Lairdes of Lusteader
& Grange were sent from the gover-
nor & Counsell to receive it.
Things ordered in this sort, the gover-
nor returned to Edenburgh, & then
began dancing to agrove hot, for
her friends began to triumph
in earnest. The intimation hereof
came to the eares of John Knox
after, that was done that should
to him from time to time the
estate of things, & amongst
other he was assured that the
governe had danced verie lustily till
after midnight, because that she
did receive letters that persecution
was begun against in Germanie
upon occasion of his Ma^t. And

And now understand ye kinges & rulers learned yt that iudge the Earth. Psal: 2.

he began hardly to tax ye ignorance, the vanitie, & the iniquitie of ye minister against all vertue & against all those in whome hatred of vice & loue of vertue appeared: the report hereof made vnto the queene the said Iohn Knox was shut out; wch Alexander Cockburne who before had byne his beholder, & then was very familiar with him, was the messenger who gaue him some knowledge both of the report & of the reporters. The queene was in her bed chamber with her ladies, ye ladies the women yt were mett were the Lord Hamie, the Earle of Morton, Secretarie Lethington, & some of the guard that had made the report. he was called & accused as one that had irreuerently spoken of the queene & that he went to bring her in hatred & contempt of the people & that he had ouerleaped the bounds of his text. And vpon these & the like made the queene her self a long harrangue & oration, wherto

The 2 summoning of Jn: Knox with ye queene

Herod. Madame, this it often
tymes the wicked receyue which
God giueth to the stubburne as
a curse, because they will
not heare God speaking to the
comfort of the penitent & for a
mendement of the wicked, they are
often tymes called to heare the
false report of others to their
great displeasure. I doubt not
but it came to the eares of good
Herod that of me Christ Iesus
called him a fox; but they told
him not how odyous a thing it was
before God to murther an innocent
as he had lately done before, causing
to behead S. John the Baptist, towards
the daweing of an harlotts daughter
Madame, if these letters of my
words had been honestmen, they
would have reported my words &
the circumstances of the same,
but because they would have credit
in Court, lacking vertue worthy
thereof, they must have somewhat
to please your ma. if it were
but flatterie & lyes: But, such

sark, I pray you if any yet remain
take it from your hearts with terror
to your everlasting discharge.
For madame if you were sorry had
heard the whole matter that I uttered
if there be in you any sparkle of
the spirit of God, or of honestie
or wisdome, you could not justly be
offended with any thing that I speak
and because that you have heard
their request, it rests you I pray to
hear my suite the same I might
obtain me mitred will I nill I wot soon
upon the next day after that the
sermon was made to my Lord said
he madame was this. And now o
kings understand, be learned yee
Judges of the Earth: After, mada-
said he, that I had declared the
dignitie of kings & rulers, the
honor whereunto God hath placed
them, the obedience that is due
unto them being Gods commande-
ment I demanded this question, But,
o alas what do not shall the
most part of princes make before

before that ungodlie Iudge,
whose throne & authoritie so
manifestly & shamefully they
abuse; that the complaint of
Solomon in this day most true,
to wit, That violence and oppres-
sion occupie the throne of God
here in this earth, for, while
that murtherers, blood thirsty
men, oppressors & malefactors
dare be bold to present them-
selues before Kings & princes
the deare saints of God are
banished & exiled, what shall
we say, but that the deuill
hath taken possession in the
throne of God, with ought
to be feared full to all wicked
doers, & a refuge to ye innocent
oppressed. And yit albeit
they, yea princes will not under-
stand, they will not be learned
as God commandeth them, but,
Gods lawes they despise, his
statutes & holy ordinances they
will not understand for, in

sore in seeking & flying they are more
vigorous then in reading & hearing
of Gods most blessed word. Idle
fiddlers & flatterers both commonly
retaine the youth & are more gracious
in their eyes then men of wisdome
& gravitie, who by wholsome admo-
nition might breake downe into them
some part of that primitive & tride
wherin shall all are borne, but in
generall taketh root & strength by
wicked education. Of dancing
madame I said, that albeit in
Scripture I find no praise given it
& in prophane writers that it is
termed the great shame of those
that are mad & in extremitie them
of sober men, yet do not vtterly
damne it, providing that two
things be avoyded. The former
that the principall vocation of
those that vse that exercise be
not neglected for the vse of
of dancing; 2. ly that they dance

The historie of the
[illegible] the Philistines, their
[illegible] for the yeare that
they take in the Iubile yeare
of the Lord, double for all manner
of both they do, or they shall
receive the reward of damned
that will be to dwell in
hell, unless they speedily repent
so shall God turne their mis-
fortune sorrowe, for God will
not alwaies afflict his people,
neither yet will he alwaies remain
at the tyrannie of tyrants. If
any man Madame (said he) will
say that I speake more, let him
openly accuse me, for I
think I have not only touched
the time, but the very words as
I spake them.
Many that stood by bare witnes
with him that he had written
the very words that he openly
had spoke. The queene looked

told about to some of the ministers
& said, ye are verie angrie with me
enough as ye have shewn them, but
yet they were told me in more other
manner: & indeed I did shew that
my mother & ye are not of one religion
& therefore I can not blame ye albeit
ye have no good opinion of them but
if ye hear any thing of my self
that misbecomes ye, come to my self
& tell me, & ye shall hear ye, madame
quoth he I am assured that ye malice
are enemies to God & to the Lord
Jesus Christ & that for maintenance
of their crowne corrupt & worldly
glorie: that they regard not to spill
the blood of many innocents, & there
fore I am assured that their in
terprise shall have no better
successe then others have had that
before them have done that they do
now: But as to yor owne particular
madame I would be glad to do
all that I could to yor greate contentm.

Reuerende Mr. Grynd

I haue receyued that your lres not the bound
of my vocation, I am called madame
to a publique function within
the Church of God & not priuately
by God to rebuke the sinnes
& vices of all, I am not appointed
to accuse euery man in particular
to their face his offence, for that
labour were infinite, & if you or any
other be so frequent that you blush
not more then doubt I not but
that you shall fully vnderstand
both what I like & mislike, al
well in your ma^ties as in all others
if you craue wilbe signified
vnto me any certaine day & houre where
it will please you I to heare the
form & substance of doctrine wch
is established in publique in the
Church of this realme, I will
most gladly attende vpon your
graces pleasure, time & place, but
to waite vpon your chamber dore
or els where & there to haue no
further liberty but to whiche your

but to whose [illegible] my mind in yor grave
saw, or to bidd to yor whit other
shuld be [illegible] of yor, neither will
my conscience, neither will the preasone
wherby God hath called me suffer
it, for albeit at yor graves Com-
mandment I am here now yet can
not I tell what other men shall
judge of me, that at this tyme of
day am absent from my book,
waiting upon the Court, yor will
not alwayes said shee but at yor
bodies & herald him backe. And the
said John Dowglas replyed with a reasonable
merie Countenance: whereat some
of Pages offended: said, bee ye not
afraid with words of him we an-
swered, why should the glistring
coat of a Gentlewoman affray me.
I have looked in the faces of many
angry men, & yet have not bene
afraid thereof me sure. And so left
shee the guarde & the Court for that
tyme.

In

In the meanetime the negotiation
of a Mariage betwixt the
Queene of England & the Archduke
Letters, Writings, & Post ran very
frequent, great travell the way of
the interview & meeting of the
two Queenes at Yorke, & some progres
hahon was made therfore in both
the realmes, But, that failed on
the part of England, & that by
occasion of the troubles moued in
Flanders (as was alledged) which
rendred the Queene & her Counsell
attend vpon the affaires of
England for avoyding of in-
conveniences.

That Summer there came an Ambas-
sador from the King of Sweden
requiring mariage of the Archduke
to his M^t the King, his Maistrimt
was noble but his petition liked
our Queene nothing, for, such a
man was too base for her estate,
for had not she been great Queene
of Flanders, Why so Sweden, what
is it

what is it? But happie was the man that of such an one was forsaken & yet she refused not any for inferiors to a vertuous liuing. The Earle of Lennox & his wife were committed to the Tower of London for trafficquing with the Papists. The young Earle of Marr was a trauelled in that businesse & was apprehended with some letters with were the cause of his & their trouble. The Earle of Murray made a priuie raid to Dauid vpon the Hamiltraid. said day thrusse apprehended fifthe theaues, of wch number were drowned; others were executed in Edburgh. The principalls were brought to Edenburgh & there suffered according to their merite vpon the burrough muire. The queene was nothing content of the prosperity & good successe that God gaue to the Earle of Murray in all his enterprises, for she hated his vprightnes, & the image of God wch euidently did appeare in him; but at that tyme she could not well be reuenged without perill.

The assemblie of the Church at

at midsumer ye 24th of Jany is be
ar^rothed. In the wch yeare many
notable heads wer added tow^rds ma-
king good order to be kept in the Church.
for the papists & the idolatrie
of the quene began to trouble
the former good order; Some mi-
nisters, such as m^r John Thorpe
had left their charges & entred
into other vocation more profitable
for the belli: Against whome were
plots made although to this day
1566 in may: they have not ben
put in execution. The tenor of the
supplication read in open audience
& approued by the whole assembly
to be exhibited to the quenes
ma^tie was this:

Thorpe left preaching & took him to the lawe.

To the quenes ma^tie our most
ho: & vertuis Counsell, the Ru-
lers & ministers of the
Euangele of Jesus Christe
within this realme togither
with the Comm^ty of the whole
Churches desire grace & peace
from God the father of our
Lord Jesus Christ with the
spirit of right true iudgm^t.

Leauing:

The Church of Scotland

Hauing in mind that fearefull
Sentence pronounced by the Eternall
God against the Prophet that
saw the Sword of Gods punishment
approch & did not minister warning
forewarne the people; & the
Governour & Rulers that they may be
prudent, we cannot but signifie vnto
your highnes & vnto your Counsell, that
the estate of this realme is such
for this present, that vnles redresse
& remeid be shortly provided,
that Gods hand cannot long spare
in his anger to strike the head
& the tayle the noble & ignobill trees
& infull people, for as God is
unthonqable true, so must he
punish the wicked dayes the
grieuous sinne that before we read
he hath punished in all ages;
after that he hath long called
for repentance & mercie shewen
And that your grace & Counsell may
understand what be the things
we desire to be reformed, we
will begin at that we assuredly

knowe to be the fountaine and
spring of all other euill that
now aboundeth in this realme to
wit, that Idoll bastard seruice
of God, the masse: the fountaine
we call it of all impieties, not
only because many take boldnes
to sin by reason of the opinion wch
they haue conceaued of that Idoll
to wit, that by the vertue of it
they get remission of their sinnes
but also because that vnder the
colour of the masse, are nourished
adulteries, fornication, blasphemyes
of God, of his holy word, damnable
& such other manifest malefactes
maintayned & defended: for, let
any masse sayer or earnest main-
teyner thereof be reasoned
in any the forenamed crimes, no
excuse can be had, for all is
done in hatred of his religion;
so are wicked men permitted
to liue wickedly, & falsely defend
ed by that odyous Idoll. But
suppose that the masse were

have dimission at no parliaments,
yet it shall be so ordered in spite
of them that we can not rise
with all impunity to destroy the reuoca-
ing of the same as well from our
Bishops as from others within that
realme in calling heaven & earth,
yea & our owne consciences to witnes
that the obstinate maintenance of yt
Idoll shall in the end be to yor
destruction of soule & body. If yor
matie demaund, why that now we are
more earnest then we have bene here-
tofore: we answere; our former
silence nawise excused vs, because
we find we frustrate of our hope
& expectation, with war, that in-
crease of time yor grauer hart
should have bene mollified, before
as that yor would have heard the
publique doctrine taught within
that realme; by the mouth of so many
have war, that Gods holy spirit
should so have wrought yor hart that
yor should have confessed yor Idol-
latrous Oath before God it nothing
but abhomination & vomit) to have

to haue bine tryed by the true
touchstone the written word of
God, and that yee draw finding
it to haue no ground nor founda-
tion in the same should haue
giuen that glorie vnto God, yt
yee would haue dispersed his
truth vnto yor owne priuate will
and opinion, of what antiquitie
that euer it hath bine, Notwith-
standing we mynd not heere discourage yee,
nor longer to hold you vnder
our rod would make our selues criminall
before God as yee blood gilthines
in yor owne iniquitie, for, we plainely
admonishe yow of the danger to come/
Che ffore that we requyre yo
punishment of horrible sinne,
such as are adulterie, fornication,
open whordome, blasphemie con-
tempt of God, of his word and
Sacrament, wch in this realme
for lack of punishment do euen
now so abound, that they be reputed
to be no sinne: And therfore as
that we see the great signes of
God wrath now manifestly appeare
to vs:

so doe we forewarne that he will
strike ere it be long, if his lawe without
punishm.t be permitted thus manifestly
to be contemned; & if any obiect that pun-
ishm.t cannot be remanded to be
ordered without parliam.t we answer
that the eternall God in his parliam.t
hath pronounced death to be y.e punishm.t
for adultrie & for blasphemie; whose
acts if yo.r gut not to ye estimation of mens
hearts are but his lo.rd lieutenante having
no power to give life where he remandeth
death) as that he will requite yo.r & all
others that foster yo.r patrond of impietie
so will he not faile to punish yo.r for
neglecting of his iudgmt.

Our third request concerneth the poore,
who be of three sorte; the poore labo.r
of the ground, the poore desolate boy-
ses, Orphanes, widdowes & straun-
ge. the poore ministers of Christ Jesus
holy Evangell with all are so tru-
elly intreated by this last pretended
order taken for sustentation of
ministers, that their latter miserie

farr

for surmounteth the former, for
now the good labourers of ye ground
are so oppressed by the roysterie
of those that play their thirde,
that they for the most part ad-
vance upon the good robert sowth
they may to the queene or to any
other that for the very indignat
goods to whome God immediat
substentation to begge or dye
of the lyuyng, they are so dis-
that it is a wonder that the sunne
giueth heat & light to the earth,
wher Gods name is so frequently
called vpon & no marue (accord-
ing to his thomandem.) shewer
to his creatures; And as for y^e
ministers, their liuings are so
appointed that the most part
shall liue but a beggers life, &
all toweth after that iniquitie
the idle bellies of Christe enemies
must be fed in their former dele
state; we dare not tourn ab from
yo^e ey are honest our consciences
with it

which it is that neither by the
lawes of God nether yet by the
iust lawes of men it may thing due
vnto them, who now do most truelly
serue of the zeale & with the true
vsadg of their benefices as they
ought them: And therfore most
humbly require, that some other order
be taken with them, nor that they be
left ye occasion to misuse about the worshipe
of God either yet abuse any subiect
within this Realme; for we feare that
such preferring to their former estate
be neither in the end pleasing to them selves
nor profitable to them that would place
them in that tyrannie: & if any think
that a competent part belonging it to be
assigned to them, we do not deny not
forbidd that the labourers of the
ground be not oppressed the poore be
not vtterly neglected, & the ministers
of the word so shamefully intreated
as now they are. Finally that those
idle Belial who by lawe ron to and
nothing shall restore that they devise
their sustentation not of debt but

humble The Hystorie of the
that of ... humble
... ther ... that ...
... may be taken that the poore
... may find some relief
... that ... some portion
... the other may be supplyed by
... stention of the goods within
... same and a bill for that some
... publique wherin may be provided
... for the poore within Boroughes that
... Collectors may be appointed to
... gather, & that sharpe Corrosyve
... may be taken as well of their
... restraint as of their deliverance. The
... further consideration to be had
... to our ministers. wee somewhat amisse
... to your wisdomes & to this yr humble
... complainte ——— 11

Our fourth petition is for the mainten-
ance & glebes wisely appertaining
to the ministers without the which
it is impossible to them quietly to follow
their charges; & therfore we desire
order to be taken thereunto without
delay.

Our fifth motion with the nicke name
of

[illegible] with [illegible] gentlemen &c.
Not only trouble & have troubled
ye ministers in their function; but also
do forbid the superintendents in their
visitation; whereof we humbly crave
remede; wch we do not see much for
any feare that we have of ye ministers have
of gentle; but for the love that we
beare to the comon treasure. After
this we cannot hide from yor ma.
Counsell, that if the Papists thinke
to triumphe heir, they may go to do
what they list when there is nor shall
able to resist them. That some will
thinke that the godly must begin whir
they left, who heretofore have borne all
things patiently in hope that lawes
should have bridled the wicked, wher-
of if they be frustrate (albeit
that nothing be more adverse to them
then tumultes & disorder) yet will men beware the uttermost
before that in their cases they
behold that how the Lord demolished
wch with the wicked & in ye God help
within this realme studied by them.
Last we do pray for such as have received
remission of

doe their duty, be removed &
[illegible] the ministers with their
bands, & by no meanes goe over
Councell, that we feare that the
people shall retaine the rules in
their hands, vntill such time as their
ministers be sufficiently provided
for. Further, that the Churches to
be repaired according to an Act
set forth by the Lords of Secret
Councell before the Parliament
in this Country. That Judges be
appointed to heare the causes of
Sabbath breakers, for the Church can-
no longer sustaine that burthen
especially because there is no
punishment for the offenders.
That Papists & hearers of masse
throughout all the Bounds of this
Realme, such
as have entered into bondes by the
Popes Bulles, & such other to any
the like, after the Lawes made at the
Parliament holden within this Realme,
may be severely punished, for
else men will think that there
is no true meaning of
such Lawes. Further we most

some wrists that made shorter
haue been ofte, becaus that the time
so requird. But the mor learned of
the Quire & Brotherhod Lethington,
about others, could not abide such
hard & vnheard of, like dueis saw
it written (said he) to a prince
That God would strike the head
& the tayle, That is, the Papists
did what they list, & non would
begin wher they left. But above
all others that was most offensive
that the ground was cast of
that she would raise vp Papistrie
& Papistrie against God. But that
in the prophet Isaiah was no lesse
then treason, for, cathes must be
made that she never meant such
thing. To whom it was obiected that
the prophet Esayas spak such manner
of speaking. It was no doubt
but there was more ad quem in the
Quire, for it was supposed that
ther was of the kings stock. But

Esaiah
Answer to
Lethington

But howsoever it were their words
make manifest that they spake to the
Court & Courtyers & Judges, Rabies
preachers, & wrote, & yet saith the
Lord shall cut away the head &
the taile, & so called the first nobler,
& knit that such as was once sold
before vi: And if this offend ye that we
say, men must begin where they left
in tyme they cast it as they do, we
would desire ye to teach us not so much
how we shall speak, but rather what
we shall do when Ministers are
stricken & Superintendents disobeyed &
complaine rebellion devised against all
good order. Complaine said Lethington
whom to, said the other, to the guidnes
me, said he how how long shall we do
so: quoth the whole Till that ye gett
remedie said the Justice Clerke,
give me their names & I shall give
you letters: If the sheepe said one
shall complaine to the wolfe that the
wolfes whelpes have devoured their
lambes: The complainer may stand
in danger but the offender we feare
shall have libertie to hunt after his

Kingdom. Such Companions long haue
Lethington are very vnfauorable
to her, I am assured that the gaine
will neither stoot nor yet maintain
Papistrie. Yet yet a strange said
another, shall you else, but if I can
not assure you; for her manifest
proceedings might breake the contract
After such taunting reasoning of
both the sides, the multitude con-
cluded, that the Queenes libertie
as it was conceiued, should be
preserued entire, only that the Nobi-
litie should forme one more agree-
able to the present necessitie, he
promised to keepe the substance
of our but, how would yee other
haue vs to thinke in a more
gentle manner? The first mis-
answered, that had spoyled the
Church of their Patrimonie, e
wold content that in this distemp
should vse the libertie that
God had granted them, prouided y
shee was not remoued to subscribe
to the flatteries of such, as more
regarded the pleasures of men e
rather

of men & women, when they might
truth of God. And so was this
former supplication [illegible] to be
reformed as they thought best. And in very deed he
framed it so, that when it was delivered
by the superintendents of Lothians
Fife &c, & when that they had read
somewhat of it, they said, here are
many fair words, I cannot tell
what the hearts are. And so for
our printed Orations we were
termed the most named to flatterers & dissemblers. But for that
Session the Church received none
other answer
Short after the convention of the
Church thereof that unhappy variance
with John Gordon Lord of Aboyne
made upon the Lord Glamis, who
was slain hard almost at Aberdeen
murthered. The occasion was for
certain lands & rights which he
was owing & was in answer
and to obtain his own right
whereat the said John his friends
& servants were offended

Esther fowle made the said yor Sute
upon a Saterday night betwixt
xij & one. The fowler of the said
Esperey were either not with him,
or els not well willing to fight
that night, for they took stroke
but yeve & so that left marke
The said John was taken & put
in the Talbuy where he remained
certaine dayes, & then broke his
word: some iudged at his Fathers
Comandement, for, hee was mak-
ing Preparation for the yeomen
coming to the North; as was told
after heere.

The interview & meeting of the
two yeomen delayed till the next
yeere. Our Soveraigne tooke
purpose to visit the north &
was letted from trauelling the
month of Iuly, whether there
was any thrust partion & mur-
derie betwixt the Tweidside
in the South & the Earle of
Northby & his party in the
North, or, to speake more plainly
betwixt the yeomen Heir, Elfe, &
Hanbly

Huntley, how can not certainly say
but the surprisers were wondrous vehement
that there was no good will borne to the
Earle of Murray, nor yet to such as depended
upon him at that time. The historie we
shall faithfully declare & leave the
judgment free to the readers.

That John Gordon brake his word we
have already heard, who incontinently thereafter
to his father George then Earle of
Huntley; and understanding the queenes
coming made great provision in Strabogie
& in other parts, as it were to restrain the
queene & Murray. The queene & Court
remained fifteine dayes to deliberate
upon the affaires of the Countrey, when
some began to smell that the Earle of
huntley was under gathering, as hereafter
yee shall be declared.

Whilst things were so wonderfully in the north
the Earle Bothwell brake his word,
came forth of the Castle of Edinburghe
the 28 of August. Some say that he
brake the stanchers of the window, others
whispered that he gatt a rope & slidd
by the gaitt. One thing is certaine, to
wit, the queene was little offended
at his staying. Ther past with him
a Gentleman of the Chaytaines named

[illegible] Aberdeen. The
said Earle shewed himself not
very offended, for his tenor
was in Lowthian. The Bp. of St
Andrews & Abbot of Cambuskenneth
first convention that same tyme
in Falkland to whom he repaired diverse
gyftes. The said Bp. spake the
Duke, unto whome also came the
Lord Gordon from the Earle of
Huntley requiring him to put to
his hande in the South as he should
do in the north, so it should not be
known to any of his friendes that should
stay that journey. The Bp. but
he never rested, could not alter his
minde, but at his going
to bed said; The journey is gone no
further, to morrow in the morning
shall we hear what they
will say. It was constantly
affirmed that the Earle Bothwell
& the said Lord Gordon spake to
gether; but of their purpose no
thing mention.
The same yeare at midsummer
tyme were appointed Commissioners by the

Church of Scotland

by the generall assembly. To
Carrick & Cuninghame, mr Couper
Day who the space of a moneth
preached with great fruite in all
the Churches of Carrick. To Kyle
& to the parte of Galloway was
appointed John Knox, who besyde
the doctrine of the Evangele shewed
unto the rulers, wisely fore warned
some of the troubles & burnyng of
the daungers he feared, & that were
appearing shortly to follow; and
exhorted them to set themselves in
such order as that they may be able
to stand the authorite, & yet not to
suffer the enemies of Gods truth
to have the upper hand.
Wherupon a great part of the barons
& gent of Kyle, Cuninghame and
Carrick professing the true doctrine
of the Evangele, assembled at
Ayre. And after exhortation made
& confession had, subscribed this
band. The tenor whereof followeth.
We whose names are under written
do promise in the name of God &
in the presence of his Sone our Lord

Lord Jesus Christ, that wee
every one of us shall & will
maintein & assist the preaching
of the holy Evangell, now of
this present merrie offered vnto
this realme; And also will main-
teine the ministers of the same
against all persons in power &
authoritie that will oppone them
selves to the doctrine professed
by us received, And further
with the same solemnitie wee
protest & promise that every
one of us shall assist others yea
the whole body of the protestants
within this realme in all lawfull
& iust actions against all persone
so that whosoeuer shall hurt molest
or trouble any of our body, shalbe
reputed & holden to the whole, & yet
that the offender will be content
to submitt himselfe to the iudgm.
of the Church now established a-
mongst vs; And this wee doe as wee
desire to be assisted & favoured
of the Lord Jesus & reat[illegible]

Erastromyted worthy assessit &
honestie in the professione of the godly
At the Brought of Ayre the fourth
day of September the yeare of God 1562
Subscribed by all these with their
hands as followeth
Mr Wm Wallace provest of Ayre
James Corbet
Wm Montgomerie
John Crawford of Wolstoune
John Mure of Caldwell
Hugh Wallace of Carnell
James Chalmers of Gadgirth
Hugh Montgomerie of Hessilhead
John Hamilton of Dreghorne
I Wm Conyngham with my hand
Stedom
Hargushill
Mr of Boyd.
John Corbet of Bar
Wm Conningham of Cunninghar younger
Robert Kar of Corsland
Robert Crawford.
David Cranfurd.
Wm Cunningham
Charles Campbell Burges of Ayre
James Dalrymple of Stayre

morgo

Wm Gibson
James Kidd
James Kennedie Burges of Ayr
George Robertsone Burgess there
Robert Brown burgess there
Glendonne
Robert Boyde
R. Haylford.
Mathew Campbell of Loudon Knt.
Allane Lord Mayhouse
Jno Cuninghame of Cayntone
Cuninghame head
Skilton
George Cranford of Lefnorthe
John Mar of Dowallon
Hugh Cunnighame of Watterson
Robert Cuninghame
Stinharvie
Middilton
John Wodrow of Craigie
John Dumbar of Blantyre
Robert Chalmer of marlaw
Robert hunter of hunterstone
Robert Paulin.
Archibald Boyle
Alexander Kyllott
James Lockart

Wm Edward

The Church of Scotland

Wm Stewart of Auldrig
Hew Dumbar of Blackstany
James Hamyltoun of Southlay
Adam Blayr of Barbaroc
Edward Reid of Shawellhous
Hugh Wallace of the Meanfurd
Robert Hamyltoun of Craigdon
Andro Brown of Monkredden
Wm Craithrart
David Cochrane of Dykarsh
Jno Kennedy of Drugarnoth
Patrick Kennedy of Dalfurat
Allane Blayr of Baltom
Wm Blathrart brother to the Lord Blayrart
Wm Kennedie of Drugarnoth
John Kennedie of Lyrtmithaoll
John Boyd of Marstone
Robert Hamyltoun of Kynnyddarbutt
Ginwart Chrystie
Thomas Blayrart with my hand
Allane Blayrart of Blawarne
Adam Reid of Barskymming
John Blayrart of Gyrshouse
John Reid with my hand
John.
Robert Boyd of Tebmont

Wm

The Historie of the
Lo: Hamylton of his shalowthe
John Marbyahidaill
George Dowis of Kelwod
Chis Marshall of Corstaire
These things done at Ayre the
said John passed to middr Bail
of Galloway, wher in conference
with the master of maxwell a
man of great iudgment & discretion
he communicate with him sic things
as he feared, who by his motion
went to the Earle Bothwell to
shaue himself for, it stand a
faithfull subiect to keip
good quietnes in the parts committed
to his Charge, & so would his minde
of the breaking of the ward be
the more easily pardoned.
John Knox writ vnto the Duke grace
earnestly exhorted him, neither
to give eare to the Bishope his
bastard brother, nor yet to the
persuasions of the Earle of
huntlay for, if he did he assured
him that he & his house shalde

shall come to a sodaine ruyne. By
such meanes were the south parte
kept in reasonable quietnes during
the tyme that the troubles were in
breeding in the north. And yet the
Bp. & the Abbot of Cowe Kaguell did
what in them lay to have raised some
trouble. For, besides the fearefull
bruits that they spread abroad, some
time that the queene was taken, some
times that the Earle of Murray and
his band were slayne. & some that the
queene had given her selfe unto the
Earle of Huntly. Besides such
bruits, the Bp. to breake the quietnes
of Kyle when quietnes was greatest
raised the Mailures against the
Readys for the payment of the Bishops
dayes fines. But that was
stayed by the labours of indifferent
men, who favoured peace. The
Abbot of Cowe Kaguell required
dissolution after John Knox for
maintenance of the masse. which was
granted unto him & held in
Maybole three dayes, to which he took
upon him to prove that Melchisedek

offered

dissolution

offered bread & wyne vnto God
both war the grounds that the
masse was builded vpon to be
a Sacrifice. That in the
Sacrall of these dayes there
could no reason be rendered
for ye Iewish Priests oblation, as
in the same dissertation (whilk
to be had in print) clearly may
appeare. The Papists constantly
looked for a victorie, therfore
they would make some brag of
ane forming. The Abbot further
vpreasoned himself to the subject
about the vyces of ye Clergie
then to affrayd him, that after
ane hee was wearyed of that
exercise.

After the guesse was somewhat sa-
tisfied of hunting, other pastime
they came to Aberdene, where the
Earle of Huntley mett her with his
Lady with no small traine, remaind
in Court, was supposed to have the
greatest credit, rewarded with
the guesse to Strathbogie: mett
her againe at Keithy may, looking
that she should have passed on th

forth him to Strabogie. But in
the iourney Britaine word cam to her
that Iohn Gordon had broken promise
in not re-entring in ward, for his father
the Earle had promised that he should
enter againe within the Castle of
Striueling, & there abide the queenes
pleasure. But whether with his fa-
thers knowledge & consent, or without
the same was knowne not. But he re-
fused to enter, with so offended the queene
that she would not go to Strabogie
but passed through Stratyla to Innerness
where the Castle thereof was denyed
vnto her. The Captaine was commanded
to keepe it, & looked for reliefe, for so
had Iohn of Gordon promised. But
being thereof frustrate, the Castle
was rendred & the Captaine named
Gordon was executed vpon. The rest
were damned & the hands of some
bound, but released. This was the
beginning of further trouble, for
the Earle of Huntley therat offended
began to assemble his folkes, and
feared not to speake that he would
be reuenged; but alwaies his wife

his wife Barbara Sauis countenanc
to the queene; yet it is verily suppo
sed that no other harme the
queene her selfe could iustly find
content with) was meant onto her
owne person, but the whole malic
lay upon the Earle of Murray,
Secretarie Lethington & upon the
Lord of Pettarroch. yet the queene
began to be affrayed by proclam
ation caused warre throughout
Scotland against Murray &
there charged all substantiall men
to be in Edinburgh the fift day of
October, there to remaine the space
of twentie dayes. In her returning
from Inuernes she required the
Castle of Hynlater with was like
wise denyed. so was Huntendone
with more inflamed the queene: the
Earle of Huntley was charged to
cause deliuer the said house vnder
the paine of treason. To shewe some
obedience, he caused the keyes of
both to be deliuered by his Steward
Mr Thomas Keyth. But before
had the queene sent young Bargenie
Steward Sonne to raise the Iames, who

to

who to this day hath neither bene stout
hagged nor true, with fyve score of
souldyors to lye about the said place
of Strabogie. They lodged in Oulane
not far distant from the said place,
vpon a night John Gordon came
with a company of the town took
the captaine, slew certaine of the
souldyors & disarmed the rest. This
fatt done (as the guesse all dyed)
vnder trust, so inflamed her, that all
hope of reconciliation was past; & so
the said Earle of huntley was charged
vnder paine of puttinge him selfe to the
horne to ye sent him selfe & the said
John before the guesse & rebuked within
fyve dayes; wch charge he disobeyed,
& so was denounced rebell, whither
it was law or not no disputs little
therevnto. But it was a good cause to the Earles
to others that after were bruted with
the same measure; for he was sought
at his place of Strabogie, but escaped
the rebell entered, for the Earle
assembled his folk out of all parte
of the North, he marched forwards
towards Aberdene; & vpon the 22 day

to wch Duke
Argile, murray
& Glencarne
with all their
companies
after joyned

the 22 day of October the yeare of
God 1562 came to the Earle of Murr
his Armey was iudged to haue
eight hundred men. The gaynes
Armie in number & manhead far
surmounted his, & yet he tooke no
feare, for he was assured of the
most part of them that were with
the gaynes, at the fight did witnes
within the towne they stood in great
feare, & therefore it was concluded
that they would assayle the enemie
vpon the fielde. The Erle of Murr hayd
& Rosse tooke the vantguard &
promised to fight the said Erle
without any other helpe. They
passed forth of the towne before
the howre, they put them selues in
Array, but they approached not to
the enemie till that the Earle
of Murray & his company were
come to the fielde, & that was after
ten at afternoone for, he was
accompanied with his company only
to haue beholden the battaile, that
all things turned otherwayes then
the most part of men supposed.
The Earle of Huntley with the

was the night before I sent my wife
to have resorted him selfe & his company
but that morning he could not be warned
before it was ten howers & when he
was vpon point his spirits failed him
(by reason of his corpulencie) so that
rightly a long time he could do nothing
some of his friends fearing the danger
left him. when that he looked vpon
both the companies, he said This great
company that approacheth nearest to
us, will do us no harme, they are of
freinds. If only yonder small
company that stand vpon the hill
side. you are our enemies. but we
are enough for them if God be with
us. And when he had thus spoken
he fell vpon his knees, And made
his prayer in this forme. O Lord
I have bene a bloud thirstie man by
my meanes hath much innocent bloud
bene spilt, but wilt thou grant me
victorie this day, I shall bear this
in mind all the dayes of my life. Note gentle reader, he confessed he had bene a

The Lord of Huntleyes prayer

a blood shed the man & that he had
bene the cause of the shedding of
much innocent blood, but yet would
he have had written & what was that
to him but to have had power to have
shed more & then would he have left
his sins for altogether & they might
dayly add the names of hypocrite
& murther further fears not him of
the present danger or wrought quietly
But to the historie. The Lords hoyse
effor bosses assembling the Earle of
Murray & his to be strengthened upon
their part, made forward against
the Earle of Huntley & his who
stood in Corrichy burne (some call
it Fare burne) but ere they approached
neere by the space of a shot of an
arrow, they cast from them their spears
& long weapons & fought directly
the one against the other of the Earle of Murray
part of the Hill & his company. The danger assigned
The Lord of Wharrone a man both
stout & ready witt, with the
now Lord Oyndsay & Tutor of
Pitsligo, said, let us cast downe

[illegible] to the former, & let them
not come among us, for I doubt
no doubt but they fled by two and
two, and so they did. So that they that fled
left them selves apart from the rest
number that were marching upon foot
in order. The Earle of Huntley seeing
the ordinance fly, said unto his com-
panie; our friends are honest men, they
have left promised, let us now remount
the rest. And so he did, but as sure as
ever did marshal forward.

The Lord Hume in some words made
a parliament oration & willed every man
to call upon his God, to remember his
duties, & not to fear the multitude,
in the end concluded thus; O Lord thou
that rulest the heaven & the earth, look
upon thy servants, who shed blood
this day, & most earnestly sought, &
now with amazement are sold & betrayed, &
refuge to none unto thee, God be judge in
this cause. O Lord this day direct
us & the Earle of Huntley & the rest
of our friends, if ever we have
earnestly sought the destruction
of blood, let us fall in the edge of the

of the Isles and Erle of Rosse with their
& mightie maintenance shoud possible
or for thy great service sake
Short after the speaking of these
the Lords under the former ranke be-
ioyned; for Huntlyes company
made great haste; they were espied
by the Lord of Lindsay & the Lo-
rd of Ogilvie & Marqus Home
of them that stood behind, and
followed the Earle of Murray, but
gaue no stroke till the Huntlyes
company gaue backe. For the
space there were slaine about 28
or 24 men & in the flying there
fell eight or nine & there were
taken. The Earle himself was
taken alive, his two sons Iohn
Lord Gordon & Adam Gordon were
taken with him. The Earle mi-
deathly after his taking desired
the life, without any mouing or yet
dissembling of any thought whereof
death might haue ensued. And so
because it was late, for was ne-
ver agaire of trouble & he was
conueyed to Aberdeen & was layd
in the

in the towmth throff, that this Sonne with his wiues witches had quaine might bee fulfilld, who all affirmd (as the most part say) that the same might should bee in the towmth of Aberdane with out any wound vpon his body; when his Lady gatt knowledge throff she blamd her seruands with ill Gunett; but she stoutly defendd her self (as she dwell can doe) & affirmed that she was a trud answare, albeit she spake not all the truth, for she knew that her should be shore dead, but that could not preiudge my Lady. She was angry & sharp for a season, but the Deuell the messe of witches haue as great credit as her this day 12 of June 1566 as they had 7 yeares agoe

The Earle of Murray sent message vnto the queene of the marvellous victorie & humbly prayed her to show that obedience to God as publickly to conuene with them to giue thanks vnto God for his notable deliuerance; she gloomd both at the message & at the request & scarcely would giue a good word or

or Elish maintenance to any that she
knew came of Alexander of the
Earls of Murray, whose progenie
was of old a very enemie unto
her kindred and fought against him for
his quarrell & brought claimes
of many dayes she bare no better
affection unto, whereby it might have
been evidently espied that she
rejoyced not greatly of the success
of that matter: And albeit she
pursued against John Gordon
diverse others, yet it was the
destruction of others that she
sought upon the morrow after
the discomfiture. The Lady Forbes
a woman both wise & fearing God
came amongst many others to visit
the corpse of the said Earle, &
seeing him lye upon the cold stone
having only upon him a double sloppe
of canvas, a paire of Scots grey
hosen, & tawed with an Otters
skin, She said what stability
shall we ever hope to be in this world
that lyeth here that yesterday in
the morning was holden the wisest
the

The hyt hyst a man of greatest power
that was within Scotland And in verry
deid She hyld not itt a miracle in mony opinion
vnder a gyrd Nor may not such an one
thes 300 yeirs in this realme prodwell
that spiritid & worldly as Some sobbyd
him, that in the end he perischid in them,
as shall all thos that dessyis God &
trust in themselves

The Lady Sorbis words.

John Gordon at his death tuk possessd
many horrible things devisd by his father
by his brother & by him selfe; there
were letters found in the Earle gordons
that discloasd the treason of the Earle
of Huddirland & diverse others,
m^r Thomas Keyth who before was
the whole Counsellor to the Earle
foresaid disclosd what soever he under
stood might hurt the Gordons & their
freindes So the treason & amity dis
closd wch was that the Earle of Murray
with certaine others should have bene
murthered in Striveling, Dunnyvne
should have bene taken & keept at the
devotion of the said Earle of Huntly.
These things (we suppose) did the

the queene left the Meath, & came
to Dundie, Lard Johnſtons ſtrive
ling to haue ſlaine him. The
Earle of huntlye his body was car
ryed a boute in a boat, & laydeth
out beyonde in the Abby of holy
roodhouſe, till the day of his fu
ſaltor as after ſhalbe declared.
The Duke apprehended the Lord
Gordon his ſon in law, becauſe
that the queene had ſtrictely co
manded him ſo to do, if he re
ſiſted, priſon his hands; before
he did him, the Earle of murray
laboured at the queenes hand
for the ſafety of his life, with
hard was graunted, ſo was he
put within the Caſtle of Edin
burgh the twentie eight day of
Nouember 1562, where he remayned
till the 8 of Februeary, when he
was put to an aſſiſe, arreſted &
conuicted of treaſon, but neuer
he ſtood againe firſt to the
Caſtle foreſaid, & thereafter was
tranſported to Dumbar where he
remayned priſoner till the moneth of
Auguſt the yeare of God 1565 as
now will after heare.

In this

In this meanetyme the troubleowne hat
in ffrance & the mislikyngs betwixt
familiarite betwixt the two quenes
was greate Lethington was sent with
secret Comission both to the quene of
England & vnto the Cardinall. The
marriage of ye quene was in all mens
mouthes, some would have yt prove
some the Emperours brother Duke
Lord Robert Dudley some Duke de
Nemours & some prince Philip at
the Lord Darby; what Lethington
Credit was we know not, but short
after ther began an vtis to be talked
of the Earle of Lennox & his
sone the Lord Darby; yt was said
that Lethington spake the Lady
Margaret Douglas, that Robert
Melvin caried a horse to the Lenox
twise yt from the Earle of Lenox
or from his wife, herfore it was
not ffowler servant to the same
Earle came with letters to the quene
quene by the with lycens to repair
to the Earle of Lennox to come
to Scotland to travell in his lawfull
busines. That same day that the lycens

armes against me, that saied I were best
this day haue taken the deadly ha-
tred of all the Hamiltons within
Scotland, & haue done to them in deed
dispitefull part that I had not
their throats.

The Earle Bothwell who before
had broken word, fearing ye wher-
fore, was gone to passe to Flanders
but by storme of weather was driuen
into England where he was stayd
& was offered to haue bene receiued
by the Queene of England, But of
quarrell answere was, that he was
no Rebell & therfore should haue libertie to
passe where elsse he list & not
there to Lethington belonged not a
little, for he trauelled to haue
friends in euery portion of the
Countrey & so obtained the said Earle
leyfure to passe to Flanders.

The winter after the death of the
Earle of Huntley the Court remayned
for the most part at Edinburghe.

The Yeare

The Preachers fyrst sermon made vpon Yoolmes
in the Abbay of Halyrudhous after the
Queenes Marriage. The preacher
reproued
the Court

Vpon the xxvij day of the moneth then began to abound
aboue measure in the Court, all kynd of
excesse in eating & drinking, in setting
vp of stoues, playes, banquetting, immoderate
dauncing, & whordome, that thereof ensued
whereat the Courtiers began to storme &
began to grudge & quarrell against the
preachers, alledgyng that all their
mery yeares were reuoked to sadnes, whereunto
one of them gaue answere as followeth
It remeth to our dayes that we are called
hayfeld, whereof albeit we wonder, yet
we are not ashamed, seeing that the
most worthy seruantes of God that be
now or haue been troubled in this vniuerse
haue so been stiled. But whereas ye do
say, that same God who from the be-
ginning hath punished the wickednes
of this world, hath poured forth his
vengeance vpon such abusers, we feare
shall not spare you, before the dyet of
this same with full execution for the
pleasure whereof you do resist altogether
some admonitions, & haue you not some
greater then any of the sitting where. Friendly

The preachers
admonition
after the Earle
of Huntlyes
death.

neuer yet sinfully yᵒᵘ fell, yᵗ he
hir nayber, & yᵗ he dooue hir
to mort vnder his feet, robberie
labor, witchcraft, murther, or
yᵉ like & such yᵗ were rebuked
was not his common talke when
the traitors haue kayled their fall
then will they hold their peace
haue yᵒᵘ not heard it affirmed to
his drone face that God should
reuenge that his blasphemies was
in the eyes of such as were not
neyber to his iniquitie: Then was
the Earle all hunt by accused
by yᵒᵘ as the maintayner of idolatry
& only hinderer of all good order
him hath God punished euen ac
cording to the threatnings that his
& yᵒᵘ eares heard, & by yᵒᵘ hands
had God executed his iudgements
but what amendment in any ta
ken he sayed in yᵒᵘ? idolatrie
was neuer more greater hot, vertue
& vertuous men were neuer in
more contempt, vice was neuer
more bold nor lesse feared punished
& yet who gaynsayth the gracious

Court

Ye Court: who but the Protestants horrible slanderers of God & his holy Evangele, better it were pmo. plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, then thus to oppose his blessed Evangele to mortage of god admits you not that this same age shall ye behold nor admits the spirit of righteous judgment guideth me not

This whensoeuer provoked the hated, not only of the Bourtyers, but also of diuers others against the Protestants, such as hee in credit neuer last flatterers, their brethren of the Court were irreverently handled, what was that but to raise the hearts of the people against them, they did what they might, such speaking would cause them to do losse, And this was the fruite the greatbers gathered of their vnfaithfull prohon sore

The generall assemblie of the Church holden the 25 of December the yeare of God 1562 as yee shall In the 10th great complaints were made, that Churches had ministers that ministred had their stipend that withheld nine

The Assembly of the
Comon wealth mett to heare
the Articles & to inquire the youth
amongst whom one m^r Robert
Cunyngham scholler in Aberdeen
was complayned upon by the
Lord of Dun; & sentence pronounced
against him. It was further com-
playned that Idolatry was vsed
in diuers parts of the realme;
for redresse whereof some thought
best that new supplication should
be presented to the Queenes grace
& they demanded what answere
was receaued of the former. The
Superintendent of Lothyan
complayned the disobedience of it,
but (as he) it receaued no answer
It was answered for the part of
the queene (for her purposes were
made then) that it was well knowne
to the whole realme what trouble
had ariseen since the last assembly;
& therefore that they should not
wonder albeit that the queene
had not answered, but beleeued
that the Parliament wch was appointed

with way determined in May. they doubted not but that such order should be taken as all men should have ane sure to stand content. This satisfied for that tyme the whole assembly. And this was the grave The intent & practise
advise of the godly & the Ordinance, with
such words as before we have said. The
assembly notwithstanding provided for-
ward in establishing of such orders, as
whereby evil might be remissed, & the
might be maintayned. And because there
was a great slander risen upon Schaw
Master of whom mention is made in the 2d
book of this historie, Ed. Master charge
was given unto John Knox minister of
Edinburgh & unto sundrie of the elders
of the Church of Edinburgh to passe
to the towne of Edinburgh where the
said slander was raised & to be found
there the third of January next for
the tryall to be taken in the slander
raised & to hear the Artickles & complaint
of the said Schaw & after the tryall,
to report the truth to the Session of
the Church of Edinburgh. Da rotulus
with the assistance of the Superintendent
of Lowthians Commission was given to

most suspitious of all others for the
wife of the said Sr Paule did anoint
mattons way absent from him the
space of eight or nyne weeks in dunde
with him (or at least a great part
thereof) they supposed; and he lay
nightly in a house without other company
then a child of 7 or 8 yeares of age
The Iudges notwithstanding the so
suspitions, having a good opinion of
the honestie & godlines of the man
knowing what they could (conscience
not hurt) to purge him of the slander
But God who would not that pre-
varication should be cloaked & concealed
within his Church, otherwayes had de-
creed; ffor he brought the brother
of the gentlewoman to the house
having no mind of such matters who
being ignorant of the circumstances
as one that was come to the feast
& knew the verity in all circum-
stances; this witnes nor any which
could not be suspected by the
Iudges, made the matter so plaine &
cleare that all suspitions were

was to mould for her. It was
soon beyond the woman, away, how
it was that saw'd the child to
be rubbed bright'd alleging it to be
his owne, how it was that saw'd
frequent mis-places betwixt them
& from S. Paul's tarryed many
dayes & times; how some
that over the said S. Paul's saw
that conveyed as witnes how
with drew him selfe & left the
town; by that means plainly
telling upon him the crime. And
so he com with full intimation
returned to Edenburgh & ratified
the fact unto the Church, who
saw'd to be publiquely sentenced
the said S. Paul's to have ye sentence
pronounced, who not regarding
ing ye end for his dyvs crime
& contumacy was publiquely ex-
communicated & deprived of all func-
tion within the Churches of Scotland
& so left his dwelling.
For true saw'd we insert this horrible fact & the order kept in

minister shewed of this same, shewd
to some women a sight of heaven, in that
notation that attended upon the admonition
of the Apostle, where as stand take
heed least that they, seeing no man in
the beginning of the Evangele was
admitted not permit more light, &
yet we have heard how false Sathan
had betrayed against him, God grant
that we may hear of his repentance
rather yet ought his fall any thing to
prejudice the authorite of the doctrine
wch he taught, for the doctrine of God
hath authorite of no creature but hath
the assurance of God himself how
weak & miser[able] that ever the instrument
be by whom it pleaseth God to establish
the same, the treason of Judas, the fall
of David, & the abnegation of
Peter did derogate nothing to the
glorie of Christ his Evangele, nor yet
to the doctrine wch before they had
taught, but declared the one to be
a reprobate & the others to be mi-

instrumente in whose mouth
must needs put moment in Iudgt
the other saie that the world
may see what difference there is
betwixt light & darknes betwixt
the verie shape of the Church
of God & the corruption that
raigneth in the Synagogue of
Sathan, the Bishops shall Rabbie
after, how many of that sort have
bene & still remaine openly
knowen whose mouthes are full
of cursing & bitternes & feet
swift to shed blood as yet will not name, yet are
they called & worthilie to be
called Bloudie Bishops
shame blush for, what impu-
dencie the Lords servants of
Symon & of his father the Deuil
for, crack what they list of Christ
& his Apostles, & of Paule their lure
& torne reuelation Ward writes
whom he shrinks blonde. But we
returne to the historie of things
done in Court.

Amongst

Amongst the Noveltyes of the Court
was one named Hobson Chattelet a
French man that at that time gott
all there could with the queene in
planning the Enterprise (for so was they Chattelet
that name) he was a man of quicke
talke sweetly, wise mens wealth judge
with fashion more like to the brethren
then to the rowlines of honest women)
In this Dance the queene shee Chattelet
& Chattelet broke the queene Chattelet
had the best dresse at this time.
Chattelet was so familiar wth the queene
abouve ayth & lett that openly would
any of the Nobilitie have accesse vnto
her: the queene would lye vpon Chattelets shoulder & sometimes shyvily
she would steale a kisse of his neck
& all this was honest enough for it
was the gentle allowance of a Straing^r
but the familiarity was so great that
vpon a night he openly did rest by
himself vpon the queenes bedd; but
being espied, he was rebuked away.
But the next morning, the queene called

called the Earle of Murray &c

The gaoler is strooken with a womanly affection & loues him

Chattelet death

burning forthwith a womanly affection, shewed him that she loued him: he should flie Chattelet. But him neuer fearing nor regarding the offer at the first made promise to doe but after calling to mind the iudgments of God pronounced against the shedders of innocent blood, & also that none should dye without sufficient testimonie of two or three witnesses, returned & fell vpon his knees before the gaoler & said, Madame I beseech you graunt me not my life, the blood of this man require not me, you graue hath vnbraided him so familiarly before that you haue offended all your Nobilitie, & me if he shall be secretly slayne at your commandement. what shall the world iudge of it? I shall burning hate the first time of all that euer I saw him. After the lawe according to his offending. But said the gaoler you well know, let him speake I shall doe (said he) Madame what

what mind hyth he to passe yor honor.
ffoorth Chastellet was brought back
from Lindores to St Andrewes
& minate, put to an assise & fol-
hedd the 22 day of Januarij the yeare
of God 1562. he begged licence
to write to ffrance the cause of his
death with saing he in his tongue was
sure estrayt wrongs & distroppe sufferit
that he drawis Crist was found in a lose
too much sufferit: At the close of yor
diction when he sawe that ther was
no remeid but death he made a godly
confession & protested that his detesting
of the truth of God & following of
man his iniquitie was justly reuen-
gement upon him. But in the end he
concluded hearing unto the heavenly
with these words O crowne the dawe, y^t
is towards mistresse what that ye intend
to do, hasten may determine, he signifi
that talked the remeid of his dawing
for he lacked his head that his tongue
should not utter the secrets of his
delaide by the Lord from the rage of
false murderers Rulers.

Chastelets confession

In the yeare of God 1562. Chr was an

an extreme sore dearth in Scotland: But
in the Northland, where the harvest is late
the corne had traveled: there was an
extreme famine in the north many dyed
in that countrey. The dearth was great
over all, but the famine was generally
there. The boll of wheat gewe
the boll of Oats 20li: for I do not draw
in the weyght of measure, nor
of all things appertaining to the
sustentation of man in meate &
mens apparell their accustomed price.
And did God according to the threat-
nings of his Law punish the idolatry
of our wicked parents for nigh a tract
that space before to defile the land
with that abomination against that
God so potently had purged by the
power of his word; after the tyrannous
practising of the Papists against
the true religion whereof
that wicked woman Queen Mother
God to strike the staffe of bread,
& to send his maledictions upon the
fruits of the earth: But alas who
looked or yet looketh to the polycye
of God in his plagis?

The punishm.
of god for main
tayning of evil
wicked mens

Dearth & famine
in the north

Dalrymple
Histories

Lethington

Lethington was absent & before we have
heard in the queens affaires. The parliament
at that tyme in 1563 made diuers lawes
of the realme but specially one of
moste, against whom the Duke of
Chattelrault the Erle of Arrayne with
diuers others of their faction rouled
& swore it. Besides the first proclamation
ther had letters cast in the contrarie with
pretestation of death to the contraueners
The brethren were sadly offended, and
doubting that the queene by her proclamation did but mark them, determined
to cast to their owne hands & to punishe
some for example of others: And so
some thirtie of the westland were
apprehended; intimation made to others
as to the Abbot of Crosraguell, the
parson of Dinguhair, & such that
they should neither complaine to the
queene nor Counsell but should execute the parliament that God had
prouided to idolaters in his lawe, by
such meanes as they might, where
euer they should be apprehended. The
queene stormed at such freedome of

The stoutnes of the brethren in the west

of speaking, but she could not amend it, for the spirit of God of boldnes & of wisdome had not then left the most part of such as God had vsed instruments in the beginning. They were of one mind to maintene the truth of God & to suppresse idolatrie: particular strife had not deuided them, & therfore could not the deuill working in the guyles of men do then what they would; And therfore she began to inuent a new craft, she sent for Jn. Knox to come vnto her, who lay at Dalketh, she hauelled with him secretly two houres before her purpose. She had need to be the instrument to perswade the people & quietly the gentlemen of the west, not to put hands to punish any man for the vsing of them selues in their religion as they did them. The other perceiuing her craft willed her grace to punish malefactors according to the lawes & the first promise & quietnes, & so the part of all them that professed the Lord Jesus with in Scotland. But of her mind thought it to include the lawes, she said,

Jn. Knox sent for by the quene

[illegible] said he feared that some would let
the people understand that without
warrant they should not be suppressed
for murmuring & offend their ma[jes]ties
yet Gualter answered that they should
take my sword in their hand & shed
all [illegible] quoth he [illegible] & god
is quicke to grieve & [illegible] for one
sin wch if they transgress yet sparing
the wicked & punishing innocents
they that in the fear of god execute
judgmt when God hath commanded offend
not God, although they do it not, neither
yet if they that binds kings from
hurting innocent men in their rage
The Examples are evident for same
all feared not to slay Agag the fat
& delicate king of Amalek when king
Saule had saved, neither feared Elias
to [illegible] false prophets & Baals
priests, albeit that king Ahab was
present, & think has was no magistrate
& yet feared not to strike thereby &
[illegible] & [illegible] in the very [illegible] of filthy for-
nication; And so madame yo[ur] g[race] may
be

be that there the Iustices may (from
may lawfully) summon & haue (summon)
the power & terror that God commandeth
to be (summoned). And this (truth)
would (earnestly) (pray) you & me to
take good aduisement, & that (you) (pray)
should let the (Magistrate) understand that
there (attempts) will not be (suffered)
(vnpunished) (after) (power) by Act of
(Parliament) it (is) (giuen) to all (Iudges) with
(in) their (owne) (bounds) to (search) (assemble)
or (the) (heades) of the same & to (punish)
them (attending) to the law: And therefore
it shall be (profitable) to (you) (me) &
to (vnderstand) what it is the (thing) you (pray)
(for) (truth) (both) to (receiue) from (you) & (me).
& what it is that (you) ought to do (vnto)
them by mutuall (contract). They are
bound to obey (you) & that not but in god,
(you) are bound to (keepe) the (lawes) (vnto)
them, (you) (draw) of them (seruice), they
(draw) of (you) (protection) & (defence)
against (your) (bad) (deeds), now Madame if
(you) shall deny (your) (duties) vnto them (with
(godly) (lawes) that (you) (summon) the
(malefactors) (think) (you) to (receiue) full

salve obedyence of thone. I feare madame
yow shall not
Therewith shee being somwt offended
passed to her lodgeing. The said Iohn
left her, mistrusting the Earle of Murray
of the whole reasoning. Who rewarded
with speedy diligence to have returned to
Edinburgh without any further com-
munication with the queene. But be-
fore the sun vpon the morrowe were two
dyed. Watt Milvin was the one, com-
manding him not to departe while that
he spake with the queene. Ma. which
he did, & met her at the halting by
west Kynnesse, whether it was the
nights sleepe, or a deepe dissimulation
lurked in her breast that made her to
forget the former anger, wise men
may doubt, but therof shee nought
word, but began diuerse other purposes
such as the offereing of a ring to her
by the Lord Duthen, whome, said shee,
I can not loue, for I know him to be
mishandled & yet he made one
of my priuie Counsell, whom blame
yee yee said the other, therof, &c.

Lithington (said shee) was the whole
cause, that maner I absent (said hee)
for this absence therfore I will speak
nothing in that behalfe. I understand
said the queene that you are appointed
to goe to Newcastle for the election of
a Bishop in Durham to be established
in the Church heere; yes (said hee) the
Quarters have great need, I have sent
to require it. But I heare (said shee)
that the Bishops of the North would have
their Archbishopricke restored (said she
the other) madame that is not my election
If you heare them (said shee) as well as
I doe you would never perswade him to
that effect, nor yet to any other within the
Church: what he hath done (said hee)
madame I never knew, nor yet will
I enquire, for in times of darkenes what
could men do but grope & goe wrong
even as darkenes carryed us; but if he
feare not god now, hee deserveth many
more then men: & yet said hee madame I
am assured, god will not suffer his Church
to have so fatt benefice as that an unworthy
man shall be placed where free election
is & the spirit of God is earnestly called

called peace to devide betwixt the two
nobles, said she, do as ye will, but that
man is a dangerous man. And therintill
was not the gaine devided, for he had
wrought the most part of the gentlemen
not only to nominate him, but also to elect
him: nothing prevailed by the said John
Com^r he delayed the election & left
with the m^r of Maxwell m^r Robert
Pont (who was put in election with
the fore said B.) to the end that the
deformation & conversation might be the
better tryed of thes that had not known
him before. And so was the Devil
taken of sight, ye so for that gentle
lord yet was he at that tyme the
man that was most familiar with
the said John in his house & at table.
That, now to the former conference
where the gaine had long talked with
John Knox & he being often willing
to take his leave, she said, I have
one of the greatest matters that have
touched me since I came in this realme
to open unto you, & I must have your hearing
in it. And so began to make a long discourse

The governor
and Gent. of the
Bp. of Athens

of her sister the Lady Cayle how that she was not so virtuous & vertuous in all things as that she wished her to be, & yet, said she, my Lord her husband who I love, entreateth her not in many things so honestly & so godly as I think you yourself would require. madame, said he, I have been troubled with that matter before & once I went forth and to it & that was before your greater affriends that both she & her friends seemed fully to stand content And she herself promised before her friends, that she should never complaine to creatures till that I should first understand the controversie by her owne mouth. or else a faithfull messenger I now have heard nothing of her part. & therefore I think there is nothing but towards: well, said the queene. It is other then you believe, but do this much for my sake at once again to set them at unity. And if she behave not herself as she ought to do: She shall find no favour of me. But in any wise (said she) let not my Lord know that I have requested you in this

matter

in this matter, for I wold be verie
lovit to offend him in that or in any other
thing. And now (said she) as touching
your warning yesternight, I promise to do
as ye required. I shall cause to be summond
all offending, & ye shall know that I
shall minister justice. I am assured then
(said he) that ye shall please God, & bring
rest & tranquillitie within your realme, both
to your self & it most profitable then all
the offers power can be found thus they
departed.

This conference over heard & noted to lett
the world see how deeply many gentlemen of
Scotland can dissemble, & how that she
could cause men to think that she bare no
indignation for any controversie of religion
whilst that yet in her hart was nothing
but perrone & destruction as shortly after
did appeare. John knox prepared &
prepared himself for his journey and
purposed to Dumfriss. And from Glasgow
according to the generall commandment he
wrate his letter to the Earle of Argile,
the tenor whereof followeth.

The Lord Jesus, &c. shall not tarrie the
letter commendable of my service unto
your Lo: If I had known of your Lo:

sodaine Dexting the last time I shewed
mee to yo^u I had spoke
vnto yo^u somewhat of my griefe, but, say-
ing that yor Matie should have remayned
still with the queene, I delayed at
that tyme to utter any part off that wch
now my conscience compelleth mee to de-
clare yor behaviour towards yor wife is very of-
fensiue to many godly. her complaint is
grieuous that yo^u altogether withdrawe
the vse of yor bodye from her, & so be
yo^u have great will to look vnto yor state
for, albeit that yo^u in yor owne selfe left
no more hyred seruants then any ffle-
shly Day on earth, yet by promise made
before God are yo^u debtor vnto her; as
reasonably yo^u shall be required of her,
but if that yo^u burne on the one syde
(albeit yo^u do not so) & she in yor
Default vpon the other, yo^u are not only
men sworne before God but also what
mo^re yo^u lyeth to kindle against yor selfe
his wrath & heavie displeasure. These
words are sharpe & God is witnesse yt
in dolor of heart I write them. But
howsoeuer they are true & pronounced by
God himselfe, I dare not but admonish yo^u
yor euening

yᵉ reuiuing that yᵒᵘ as it were slumbring in
sin, the proud stubbornes whereof yᵒʳ
God hath often complained, will nothing
serue yᵒᵘ before God, for if yᵒᵘ be not
able to conuict her of any crime yᵒᵘ ought
to beare with other infirmities as yᵒᵘ
would that she should beare with yᵒᵘ in the
like, I in the bowells of Iesus Christ yᵒᵘ
my Lord beseech yᵒᵘ to haue respect to yᵒʳ owne
saluation, & not to abuse the lenitie and
long suffering of God for that is a
fearefull treasure that yᵒᵘ heape vpon
yᵒʳ owne head while that he calleth yᵒᵘ
to repentance, & yᵒᵘ obstinatly continue in
yᵒʳ wickednes, for, wickednes it is that yᵒᵘ
abstract yᵒʳ comfort & company from yᵒʳ
lawfull wife; I write nothing in defence
of her misbehaviour towards yᵒʳ God in
any part, but I say if yᵒᵘ be not able to
conuict her of adulteris committed since
yᵒʳ last reconciliatione with was in my house
that yᵒᵘ can neuer be guiltie before
God of this so cruell & strange intreatment
of yᵒʳ wife. And if by yᵒʳ false imputis
he be committed as it beseemeth, then before
God, & vnto yᵒʳ owne conscience I say
euery moment of that filthie

filthy glose shall turne to yᵉ in
yᵉ ayres dissolue sure, yea it shall be
the occasion & cause of everlasting
damnation unless speedily yᵉ repent
& repent yᵉ cannot except that yᵉ
desist from that wicked deed mind
my Lord that the servant knowing
the will of his Lord & doing yᵉ contrary
shall be plagued with many plagues
& my Lord it shall nedanting but
indigesting more bitter then yᵉ gall
Therefore now yᵉ hart earnestly
to consider how feareful a thing it
is ever to have God to be enemie
In the end I most heartily pray yᵉ
Lord not to be absent from Edin
burgh the day of this instant for
such causes as I will not write this
much only I forewarne yᵉ Lord
that it will not be profitable for
the comon quietnes of this realme
that the Papists brag & that
Jezabel be not let that day thus
I crave further to trouble yᵉ Lord

whom God assist, & hast from Glas-
gaw the 4 of May 1582.

Sit subscribit
Yor Lopps to command mr godlines
John knox

This bill was not well conceyved of the said
Erle, & yett did he utter no part of his
displeasure in publique, but outwardly
shewed himselfe most familiar with the
said John; & yee to the dyett & gave in
iudgment for these whose the bill & the
rest of the register were cassed after
followeth.

The Duncan were direct against the mess
mongers with a commission & the Provost
of Edr for the day was appointed the
19 of May; a day only before the Parliam.
Of the Clergie they nominated the bishops
of St Andrews. The Abbeyes of whithorn
The Priorie of Pittenweem Mr Hamilton
of Comerby. John Gordon of Barskby
with others diuers. The whole estate
convened whole to reasse for this the
queene a stid Counsell of the Erle
of Rosse & the old Lord of Dalkeith
the Lord for the younger was absent &
the Protestants had the power in hande

who affirmed that she must sit by her laws
lyne, or else she could get no obedyence.
And so was the declaration made for their
arraignment. The B. of this land of the
Orkneys first made it mete to enter before
the Earls of Argile who sate in iudgmt;
but at last he was compelled to enter
within bar of mercy man (who now alleges
in the Lord) Robert Stornaly in stead
of the B. of Orkney, had before him a
steele hamer, wherat the B. of this
land was not a little offended because
the B. priviledges were not there
current in Scotland (no day. God
grant our posterite may be of longer
continuance then we possessed it) the
B. & his fellowes after much adoe &
long drift of tyme, came in the generall
will. & were remitted to warde, some here
where, some to another. The Lady
Orkney (must not be for the Iewells
sake) got the B. for her part.
All this was done of a most deepe craft
to abuse the simplicity of the Scotish
that they should not presse the generall
with any other thing touching matters
of religion at that parliament with

wch began within two dayes thereafter
the obtayned of the Estates not
sodayn thereof, for this was the
reason of many, yea of what the queen
hath done; the like of this was never
heard of within this realme; we will
beare with the queene, we doubt not but
all shall be well. Others were of contrary
contrary judgment & spake things as
after they came to passe, to wit, that
nothing was meant but right, & that
the queene here soone that ever the Parliam.t
was past, should be payed
at leasure, & therefore willed the nobilitie
not to be offended; But because
many had their private commodities to
be handled at that parliament, therefore
this was not regarded.

The Earle of huntley whose forfaitheid
layne vnburyed till that tyme, it was
brought to the tolbuyt, he was armes
his armes rent of, himselfe the Earles
of Bedforde & Rutland Heralds
Lord Lorning Warder to Dirame
were that day forfaited, the Lady

The iudgm.t of some

Huntley forfaited.

the lady huntly trashily spake, did
assist the support of a moral law.
In that parliament were restored the
Earl of Errol & Sir Hary Maxwell
Balnaues John Lesley, & Alexander
whitlaw. Such shifting guides of
The pride of women in that pliam.t women as was, were at that parliam.t
was never seene before in Scotland.
Three sundry dayes the queene rode
to the Tolbooth. The first day she
made a painted oration, that might
flatterers enough have bene heard amongst the flatterers
Dyonis the worse of a goddesse
for it not bee Dyd not a woman.
God sone that sweet face, was ther
such Orator speake so properly
& so sweetly of all things misliking
the preachers, they spake boldly agt
the targatting of their taylz, against
the wast of their vanitie, with they af
firmed should provoke ye vengeance
not only against the Scottish nowne
but against the whole realme, and
especially agt those that maintayned
them in that dyonis abusing of things
that might have bene better bestowed.

Murray were appointed for order to be
taken for assembly, & for reformation
of other enormities; But all was thrise
put at the Earldome of Murray and
confirmed, & many things were to be
satisfied that concerned the help of
friends & servants, & therefore they
might not urge the queene, for yf
they so did she would hold no parliam
& what then should become of them
that had meddled with the slaughter
of the Earle of huntly. Yet the
parliament passed over, & when it was
asked any thing of the nobilitie, if
she must do for her marriage, then
should the religion be the first thing
that should be stablished, to wch
answeared that the acts of the assem
bly stood not altogether, they feigned
& gayned at matters with a bald head,
for the first when it is asserted being
to strike hard to be restored againe
The matter fell so that betwixt the Earle
of Murray & some there of the Earle
of John Knox, that familiarly after

Duke religion
Earle of Murray
wealth wife
Athnyotted

after that tyme they spake not togith
nor there agane, & whatsoeuer for the
space of 24 houres after his discharge to the
Erle of Murray & or ever with his affaires he made
him a discourse of their first argument
and what stode betwene
that first & they spake togither in
Edenburgh how God had provided him
that above mens iudgment & in the end
made this conclusion: But seeing
that I perceiue my selfe frustrate
of my expectation, yet may that
suffice you should have learned God
to your owne affliction & the aduance-
ment of his truth in your singular vocation
I remit you to your owne witt, & to
the conducting of those who better can
counsell you. I pray God this day
I leave you writte ouer your memorie
whereunto to what honor & profite
of all those who with you serue God if
you so long continue, none within the
realme shall be more glad than I
shall be, but if after this you shall

Jan[y] 20 1566
Discharge to
y[e] Erle of
murray.

ye shall Inquire & say & speak that ye shall
then tell to mark by what mirrors god exalted
yt wch was neither by burning with iniquities nor
then yet by diminishing of ye right to wch
this bill & pursuance was so obeying to the
ffatherent of the said Earle that they triumphed
of it & were glad to have gotten their ends
for sondrie wyes that so great sanctitie
was detrimt to the said Earle of John Knox
therfore from that time that they got once
that occasion to seperate them they wold not
beast ayle in the burning flame, yt wold
not to burne, till that God by the water of
affliction began to slaken it, as we shall
after heare [illegible]

Lastly, marke that they Edinburgh & the
gentrie should altogether have been sorie
to have forfalten God, or mervey Lord with God
& his word was farr from the heart of the
most part of the Churchyde of that age
as ye have heard. They began even straight,
to rob to spoile & the ministrie & ye
Archbps, & so in the rest of the Bishops, & the
restitution of the Abbayes & to the
maintenance of the Church & the ministers
of the Churches & thereby they thought to

to have dispelled the godly that were highly
offended at their slaughter. The first of which
assaults began some of them had intercepted
Izaak that stole against adulterers & for the
more part the globes were so wrapped that no
law of such lane might stand in order and
Ornaments. The Lords take claime no lane &
such acts with both a like. The Lords are in
agreement but wish men read & then assembled
if without cause we come home
In the progresse of this corruption and
before the parliament dissolved Mr Knox
in his sermon before the most part of
the Nobilitie began to enter into a large
discourse of their late mariage which that
realme had felt & of mightabilitie with
her spirit also from the whole multitude
with God had marvelously delivered from
the bondage & tyrannie both of body &
soule & that now my Lords said he
cause my God through Jesus Christ that
in my owne the spirit I may speak forth
the secrets of my heart, for ye yet shall
shall be witnesse of that I shall make
any lye in things that are by past from
the beginning of God my light worketh
and the rather I have cause with you &

in yᵉ quest of yᵉ wretched hypocrite, Ask yᵉ
owne conscience, & let them answere yᵉ be
fore God, if that I (not I but yᵉ holy Ghost
by me) in yᵉ wᵗʰ yᵉ watchfull & carefull will yᵉ
not duly to regard yᵉ worke of God in his
name, & to obey yᵉ voice of yᵉ true pro-
phet from yᵉ beginning so that yᵉ would only
regard your owne lusts & pleasures, & yᵉ
glory of yᵉ owne eyes & worldly commodities
In yᵉ mᵉ of Adams daughter I have bine
with yᵉ, & Johnston & Hamilton, & yᵉ
traytor of Edinburgh, & yᵉ worst of my
hart yᵉ that darke & dolefull night when
in all yᵉ my body with sorrow feare
& dread was bound, & yet in my mind, & God
forbid that ever I forgot it, what was I
saying in my exhortation unto yᵉ. And wᵗ
fallen in mind of all that ever God
promised unto you by my mouth? yᵉ yᵉ selves
yᵉ best to testifie, whether not one of yᵉ
against whom was death & destruction threat
ned, yᵉ escaped in that danger. And how
many of yᵉ enemies hath God slayne
before yᵉ eyes? shall this be the thankfulness
that you shall render unto yᵉ God? To

betray the cause when you have it in your
owne hands to stabbe the it at your pleasure
The world shall say you may betray the nobility
of this your Country that nothing but God and you
may iustly reprove, & the Church will not agree
with you in this, you are not bound to agree
with her in the deuill, let her family
understand for part of your minde & should
not from your former stoutnesse in Gods
cause shall strengthen you in your enterprise
But if you find nothing but such a rebelling
from Christ Iesus as the man that first
& most sadly flyeth from Christ in religion
deliuereth himself to most heavy, you
heare that some say that we have nothing
of religion established neither by law
or example, albeit that the malicious
words of such can neither hurt the truth
of God nor yet us that therupon depend
yet the Quarter for his treason against
God & his Church & our Queene & com-
wealth deserueth the gallowes, for as
religion being commanded & established
by God, so are all within this Realme by
publique parliament, and must & will say
as

also ye vnd that that pretended mariage betwixt
Lenfell & ye Q. was neuer allowed before yt
in this realme, nor if the king then liuing
were king & the gouernor in this realme
be lawfull gouernor, that mariage can not
be allowed. And now my Lords to put end
to all yt hath of the gouernor mariage take
bid them to Edinburgh & knight shall doe
for the best & ye, but my Lords in the
day, Crosse the day beare in mind after
when soeuer the nobilitie of Scotland
shall be had into Edinburgh, you see
so fare as in you lyeth to banish the Christ
Jesus from this realme, you burne Gods
vengeance vpon the Countrey a plague
vpon your selues & yor chaunge your selues
shall be vnfort to yor Soueraigne.

These words & this maner of speaking was
verie euill misliked. The nobles & whole states
were both offended, the hie stiff stomakes
disdayned him for that presuming of his boldnes
& flatterers, so stale to the Queen to geue
aduertisment that Knox had spoken of
the queenes mariage. The Queene sent

The Erle of Glencarden Douglas of Drumlanrigg by Birnam was the man that gaue the charge that the said John should not bide him. Sir he before the queene with his Dirige after dinner. The Lord whitby Diuers of the faithfull Bare him com- pany to the Abbaye but none gat in to the queene with him in the Cabinett but John Barbyre of Dun the Dyocesan tendent of Sayncte Andrewes.

The queene from agt Jn°. knox

The queene a weeke might scarce be gott to stay out that newes knowe was hard but as shee was to haue said shee burne in yor. all yor. rigorous prac- tizes of preaching both against my selfe & my mother you I haue sought yor. fauour by all possible meanes, I offered vnto you the pro- & auoyded whensoeuer it pleased you to admonishe me & yet I cannot bee gott of you. I sweare to God I shall bee one wronged. And with these words scarcely could Marrotte her priest chamber boy gott mayster to hold her in her dy- ing for shee burned & the howling beside wordly mourning stayed her breath.

The said

The said John Knox did patiently abide all the first fume, yat occasioned this answer

Jn° Knox answeares

J. Trew it is, Madame, yt I have bene at diuers tymes troublesome vnto yor grace, & to the rest; I never required yor grace to be offended at me; but, when it shall please God to deliuer you from that bondage of darknes & errour in the wch you have bene nourished, for the lack of true preaching, yt then ye will find the liberty of my tongue neither offensiue without the reuerence yat I owe vnto yor grace. Nether do I think yt ye have occasion to be offended at me, seing the matter is not myne of myself, but must obey him who commandeth me to speake plaine, & to flatter no flesh vpon the face of the earth.

But what have you to do (said she) with my marriage? Yf it please yor matie to geue vnto me patiently to heare me, I shall shew you the truth in plaine words. I grant yt yor grace offered vnto me more then euer I required, but my answere was then, as it is now, that God had not yet moued me to consent vnto the deuise of tyrannes, & vpon the chambers of Papistes, but I am

I am sent to preach the Evangell of
Jesus Christ to such as please to hear it.
It hath two parts, repentance & faith.
And now Madame in preaching repentance
of necessitie it is that the sins of men
be so noted that they may know wherein
they offend. But so it is that the most
part of yor nobilitie are so addicted to
yor affections, that neither God, his word,
nor yet their owne wealth are rightly
ponder; & therefore it bindeth me so to
speake that they may know their duties.
What have you to do (said she) with my
marriage, or what are you within this
Realme. I Dubitat borne within
the same, said he Madame, And albeit
I neither be Earle nor Baron within
the yet hath God me (how abiect that
euer I be in yor eyes) a professable
member within the same, yea, Madame
to me it appertaineth no lesse to fore
warne of such things as may hurt it, if
I foresee them, than it doth to any of the
nobilitie. For both my vocation & owne
conscience craues of me. And therefore Madame
yor

to yor self. I say that with yor leave in
publique place, when I hear that the
nobilitie of this realme shall not finde
that yow be obedient to him for faithfull
husband: they do as much as in them lyeth
to renounce Christ, to banishe his truth
from them, to betray the freedome of this
realme, & yor marriage shall in the end do
finale no profit to yor self.

Knox preaches this day.

At this word howling was heard, & many
might have seene in greater abundance
then the matter required. John
Knox of whom a man of meek & gentle
spirit stood besyde, & intreated what he
could to mitigate her anger, & gave unto
her many glad tydings out of the booke
of her own election, & how that all the
princes of Europe would be glad to
seeke her favour; But, all that way
he lost oyle in the flame of fire. The
said John stood still without any alte-
ration of countenance for a long season
while that the queene was cleane out of
herself for woe, & in the end he said,
Madame I am sorie that I have offended yor

from whom I delighted in the wearing of any of their abilliments, yea I can scarcely well abide the barke of my owne boyes whom my owne kind correcteth much lesse can I weyne my self to weeping: But seeing that I have offered unto yor Majestie no occasion worthy to be offended but have spoken the truth as my profession craves of me, I must submytte (albeit unwillingly) yor Majesties pleasure, rather then I dare hazard my conscience or betray my commonwealth with my silence.

Herewith was she guarded and commanded the said John to passe forth of the Cabinet & abide further of her pleasure in the chamber. The Earle of Huntley & Lord John of Coldingham came into the Cabinet & so they both remayned with her while the Lords of the house, the said John stood in the chamber all one whom were had never scene, so were all offended, & thought that the Lord Ruthuen bare him company, & therfore began but to speake talking of the Ladyes who were sitting in all their gorgious apparell when as they heard him merrily said: O faire Ladyes how displeasing were this life of yors if it should

Jn°. Knox talke among the gorgious Ladyes.

should have a bible & then in the end we might passe to heaven with all their gay geare; But, for even that knave Death that will come whether we will or not, whose hath layd on his arrest, the fairest riches will be but vile with this, & the best wear for faire & tender, & the silly soule & feare shall be so feeble & ill ran nothing tary with the gold, garnishing & gatting of worlds, nor glorious stones, that by such meanes procured her company of women, So that at the time till that the Lord of Dun willed him to depart to his house while new advertisment. The gaine would have had the consent of the Lords of Articles, & that such meanes of getting should not gainestand. But she was ruinated to the ground. & so that storme vanished in appearance but more in the heart.

About after the Parliament Rothingtons returned from his negotiation in England & France; And in the ffebruary before had written that bloody tyrant the Duke of Guyse, with some what broke the heart of our Queene for a season. But shortly after the returne of Rothington, friends and matters began to shine them selves again. The Bp. of St Andrewes sett at liberty the Bp. of St Andrewes sett at liberty

& the rest of the magistrat that he for
was put in prison for violating of the
lawes, Bethington thought himself not
a little offended that any braid should
have risen of the queenes marriage
with the king of Spaine, for he took
upon him that such thing never entred
into her hart. But how true that we
may shall after heare. The end of all
his arguittance & complaint was to
disturbe. Iohne knox had affirmed
that such a marriage was both proud
& upon the part of the queene by the
Cardinall devysed. Bethington in his
absence had run in hill a very euill
bruite among the nobilitie for too
much favoring the queene's affection
against the comon wealth; And therfore
had her at one that lacked no
worldly wisdome, made relation both
in England & Scotland; for in both
lands he travelled for the same
of the Earle of Bothwell & by that
meane obtayned promise of his favour
he had therwithall taken order for the
hasty coming of the Earle of Leuenox
& we shall after heare. In Scotland
he joyned with the Earle of Athole him

Bethington's practise.

Murdo who Beatlam

[illegible] Bargenie wt ye forwards ye Lord
of Jo began the Earle of Murray to be
verie early yet to the said Earle nothing
ton at all times showed a stout countenance
the west of the Sumer the guens [illegible]
in his progress through the west country
where in all townes & gentlemens places
shee had her messe, noth coming to the
place of John knox he began that time [illegible]
of prayer wch ordinarily hee vseth after
[illegible] sermon
[illegible] shee [illegible] at his table, & [illegible]
[illegible] from the bondage of idolatry
& [illegible] from the tyranny
of strangers & continued vs in godlines
& [illegible] many of [illegible] of [illegible]
[illegible] & [illegible] for a season wherin
that Lord of the familiars of the said
John asked of him why he so vsed for
[illegible] to continue for a season & not
all stedily that we should continue in
godlines his answer was that he durst
not [illegible] & [illegible] in God
word offended him that can stand quietlie, wch he
could not [illegible] in that realme where
idolatry had [illegible] & this was
[illegible] to be [illegible]
west Country the guens [illegible] in Argyle &

to the hunting: & after returned to Striuelin[g]. The Earle of Murray, the Lord Robert of holyrudehouse & Lord Johne of Coldingham past to the Northland. Ye shire of Murthesse were holden therein. Murthesse was pardonned, how withe were burnd, the eldest was so blinded with the deuill that she assumed no Iudge had power ouer her. That same tyme Lord John of Coldingham deserued this life in Gouerning: for it was affirmed that he remanded such as were to slay vnto the queene, that only she left her Idolatrie, so that God would not fayle to plague her, how wicked God meane that he had so farre burie[d] ther in iniquities, & had maintyned her in the same, & that no one thing displeasit them that he had flatterit, fostered and maintyned her in her wickednes agt God & his seruants.

The last remembrance of Lord Johne & ye queene

And in verry deid great cause had he to haue lamentit his wickednes, for besyde all his other miscarriages, he in the end for the queenes sake became enemie to vertue & all vertuous men, & ane ayder to iniquitie to the verry most of his age, yea, his greame was so kindled agt God

this word, that in his anger he burst
forth the first words of [illegible] the queens
ma[illegible] from [illegible] with the reading of
the [illegible] and shall [illegible] the dust
of [illegible] stick on the godly. What
[illegible] whereby [illegible] forth of [illegible]
their [illegible] under that men
did still not suffer us to write, when
if he had spoke to [illegible] it
it is no small document of God's mercy.
But, how soever God wrought with him
he gave regard to his words or mind, or
if he thought there to have [illegible]
by other, or not to have [illegible] from him
their [illegible] plainly that they
were [illegible] by the Lord of Ochiltree
and Mr John Wood, whom she hath heard
[illegible] so they flattered her not in her
[illegible] other doings, but plainly in
[illegible] to her face; that God
took always from her the person in
whom she had greatest pleasure, & that
she [illegible] but of further wickedness
he mention.

[illegible] the [illegible] day at Stirveling with her
Idolatrie in the chapell & the [illegible]

[illegible] the
[illegible] haly wod [illegible] your Lopt [illegible] faine
[illegible] bonly bowrid [illegible] of the thewrk mans
[illegible] who [illegible] their [illegible]
[illegible] obligusly then they had done vnto hym
[illegible] before. Vpon this [illegible] Blandyes
[illegible] that the Chanct of Edynburgh hauth the
[illegible] mi[illegible]dation of the Bible to[illegible], the
[illegible] in great number resorted to
the Abbay to their abhominacion, wth
[illegible] vnderstod, diuers of the brethren
being [illegible] offended, consulted how to
[illegible] that vnthrifte; And [illegible] were
[illegible] certaine of the most zealous
& wast wrightes in the religion to a
[illegible] vpon the Abbay, that they might
[illegible] such persons as resorted to the
[illegible] & withall [illegible] a great number
to assist with the Stowrmable [illegible] of the
[illegible] brethren [illegible] also in Order at the
[illegible] & the Lough Dames being [illegible]
made the shout to the Port to the towne
And Madam Dalkeith vnto the [illegible]
Dunkyllours (for mayden that court
could not then [illegible] on) with all
Delligence to the Confounder the Lord of
Robertsonne, who then was in [illegible]

in St Giles Church at the Sermon
royd for his assistance to save her
life & to save the gaynes whereunto
with greater hast then willingness
obeyed her desire & took with him the
Provost, the baylies & a great part
of the faithfull, but when they came
where the feare was bruted to have bene
they found all things quiet, except
the tumult they brought with them selves
& a rable men looking to the Provost
forbidding them to have feare of the
lawes; Cause it is a zealous brother
named Mr Patrick Adamson preached in
the Tolbuith & finding the Provost
toward, & the rest ready to give all
abhomination, said, the gaynes of this
is not here how dare ye then have
malignant rage only to do against the
law: no further was done, nor did, yet
the bruit hereof was caried to the queene
with such information as the Provost
could give who found such credit as
his hart could have wished for with

yeir was so haynous a blame in her
eyes that satisfaction for that fact was
thair nocht without blood; and thairfor
without delay wes summond Andrew
Stewart of Abbotrik Crawfurd
to find surtie to prosecute the law
for forthought felonie hame sukin
& violent invasion of the queenes
palace & for spoliation of the same
Quhilk lyk divulgat & ryfe amongis
all the brethren Thairfor that wes
within the toune convalescit upon the
first remedie & in the end concludit
that Johne Knox to whom the charge
was gevin to mak advertisment
when soever danger sould appeare
should write to the brethren in all
quarters requiring information as the
matter stood requiring their assist-
ance with bodie in armes as neid
requyrit

The Brethrein gadder
thair sodeinlie two or three dayes gathered
together in ane roume quhair [illegible]

it is not unknowne vnto [illegible] how
what to our [illegible] tranquillitie God graue
vnto vs in hymes most dangerous by
christian assemblies & godly conference
as often as any danger appeareth to any
member or members of our body; And
how that since we have neglected or at
the least not frequented our conventions
& assemblies. The adversaries of our
[illegible] holy Gospell have embo-
ldned & bolden themselues publiquely
& priuately to do many things dayly
in hatred of vs & most hurtfull to
the libertie of the true religion
now of Gods great fauour graunted
vnto vs. The holy Sacraments are o
[illegible] by many haue bene [illegible] ministers
haue bene (& yet are) o[illegible] only
[illegible] manifested. The blood of some of them
[illegible] most ministers hath bene shed without
feare of punishment or rebuke
to a [illegible] by vs. And now last and two of
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Mr Robt Pont
the bad with
a whingeon &
Customs Later

deadly

The Historie of the
the lane in the towne of Edenburgh the
24 of this instant October for the thought
felonie, wilfull and murther, for minding
of the queenes mariage of holyrodhouse
with unlawfull convocation that they with
common force did assault our Brethren, be
cause that they with two or three more passed
to the Abbay upon Sunday the 17 of August
to behold greate what persons repaired to
the masse. And that because that the Sunday
before the queenes grace being absent
there repaired to that idoll a verie small multi
tude, hauing openly the most part of the
ceremonies (for in the rendering of
their accustomed rites) that were the vsed
the tyme of greatest Clergie, because
say, our said Brethren passed, that in
most quiet manner, to note such abuses
that so fearfull rumors are dispersed
against them to make no doubt appon
nation upon a sonne, that a word may be
wrested to a greate treuelt upon a
greater multitude; And all least any
harme God no doubt hath in his

fearing the same a danger to you ever
after but of punishment made of you my lo
thinke of it a shame, that they professe the
truth of God should not for ordinarie
at the said day in the towne of Edinburgh
were as that we consider the advancement of
Gods glorie, the safetie of your brethren
your owne affaires together with the pres-
ervation of the Church in these present
daungers; it may be objected that no
questions be made in the contrarie, that
you may be supposed that either you shal
by it not understand, or else that it will
offend the powers; But my good
hope is that neither flatterie nor feare
shall make you so farre to degenerate from
Christ Jesus, as that against your owne
promise & solemne band you will leave
your brethren in Christ in trouble and
albeit there were no great daungers yet
cannot our assemblie be vnprofitable
for many things by reason of sundrie
which cannot be had vnles the most
godlyest convene. And thus doubting

And thus doubting nothing of the assistance of our God, if that we vniformly stand to his glorie, I need further to trouble you, I committing you hartily to the protection of the Eternall

From Edinburgh ye 18 Octob 1562:

John Knox^{re}/

The brethren adverteist by this bill, appeared themselues so many as was thought expedyent for dailly lourne & rowme to keepe the day appointed: But by the wanes of false brethren the bill came to the hands of the guiders, the maner was this; It was read in the toune of Ayr where was present Robert Bowmingham minister of Hayllsfurd, who then was holden an earnest professor of the Evangell, who (by what meanes we know not) got the said bill & sent it with his letter to Mr Henry Dymlair then provest of the seat & colledge of Justice and Shiref. By^e of Fosse, a professit hypocrite & a conceived enemie to Christ Jesus, who God after strake according to his deserving. The said Mr Henry being enemie to all that vnfeignedly professed the Lord

The minister of Hayllsfurd & the Bysse of Fosse

the Lord Fo: as, but chiefly to Gr: know for the liberte of his tongue, for, he had affirmed, as ever still he doth affir: That a Boye that wrieth profit & feedeth not the flock was by his owne labours ill both a theife & a murtherer: The said Mr Henry, was say, thinking himselfe happie that had found so good occasion to trouble him who so lift his hastie, posted the said Lo: with his Counsell to the gaoler who then lay in Strivelinge

The Lo: being readie it was concluded by the Counsell of the Cabinet, that it by the next great Counsell, that it might be treason, whereof the gaoler was not a little rejoyced, for, thes thought one to be revenged of that he grudged envied. It was concluded that the nobility should be written for, that the condemnation should have the greater authority The Day was appointed about the middest of December, with many best of the whole Countrie, of their brethren, such as the Mr Maxwell the old Lord of Lethington, & the said Lo: President In the meane time the Earle of Murray returned from the North, to whom the Secretary Le-

Lethington offered the matter as best like to him
The m^r Maxwell gave unto the said John as
it had been a discharge of the familiarity
with before was betwixt them, only
that he would satisfie the parties at her
owne sight. The answere of John knox
was, he knew no offence don by him to
the partie ma^d. Therfore we wist not
what satisfaction to make. no offence
(said he) have ye not written letters de-
shiring the brethren from all parts to con-
vene to Edenbro Stone stronger & tolbuith
Crawstoun day. That I grant said the
other, but therin I acknowledge no offence
done by me; the offence said he, to contriste
the partie rather: Nay for so wist a
rest said the other, for, ye after things
wold be quite no offence within the space
ye after; The tyme, said he, is now other
for then the Soveraigne was absent, now
shee is present. It is neither the absence
nor the presence of the partie, said he,
that hurtis my conscience, but God plainly
speaking in his word; what was lawfull
to me the last yeare, is yet lawfull, be-
cause my God is unchangeable; well, said

The ende of maxwells discharge by Jno knox

Reasoning betwixt the m^r of maxwell & Jno knox

said the m^r I have giuen yo^w my Counsell
do as yo^w list, but I think yo^w shall re-
pent it if yo^w bow not vnto the gouerne
I pray stand not (said he) m^r what yo^w
meane I neuer made my selfe any aduer-
sarie partie vnto the gouerne m^r. except
into the head of religion: & therwith I
wish yo^w will not driue me to bow; well
said he yo^w are wise enough, but yo^w
will find that men will not beare with
yo^w in times to come, as they haue done
in tymes by past. I I God stand my
friend said the Father, as I am assured
he of his mercie will, so long as I de-
pend vpon his promises & shed heare
his glorie to my liefe & worldly crosse
I little regard how men shall shew
selues towards me, neither yet wherwithall
any man hath borne with me in times
past prouided it be that of my mouth
they haue heard the word of God, with
in times to come, if they repent, my hart
will be opened & after a season will
lament, but the mitomodithe will be
theire owne.

And after these words I inclined vnto the Lord

the Lord as Lothian was witnes, they
regarded; but vnto this day the gr of
ember is yt they met not in such sa-
crity as they did before.

The bruit of the accusation of Mr Thos
being divulgat, mr John Hand of Lendy
advocat (a man of gentle nature & one
that professed the Doctrine of the Evangely
came about vnto mr Knox
to inquire the cause of that great bruit
To whom the said John was plane in all
things, & showed vnto him the double of
the lre; with heard & ron, words he said
I thank my God, I came vnto you with
a fearfull & sorrowfull hart fearing
that you had done such a crime as Lawis
might have punished, wch would have
bene no small trouble to the harts of all
such as have receaved the word of life
wch you have preached. But I depart
greatly rejoyced as well because I
perceive yo owne comfort even in the
midst of the troubles, as that I clearly
vnderstand that you have committed no such
crime as you are accused with; yr will

yow will be offended, but God will assist yow, & so hee departed.

Before they disayned not to come to his owne house

The Earle of Murray & the Secretary past for the said John to the Clerke of registers house, & began to lament, that hee had so highly offended the queene ma. the wch they feared should come to great inconvenience to him selfe, if hee were not wisely foreseene. They shewed what paines & travell they had taken to mitigate her anger, but they could find nothing but wrawardnes, unlesse that he him selfe would confesse his offence, & put him in her graces will; To wch heads the said Jn. answered as followeth. I praise my God through Jesus Christ, said hee, I have learned not to rey reuelation and lesson at every thing that the godlesse multitude doth reuolue, neither yet to feare the things that they feare. I have the testimonie of a good conscience that I have given no occasion to the queene ma.tie to bee offended with me, for, I have done nothing but my dutie, & so what shall befall me, my hope is that my God will give me patience to beare it.

The Secretary gat her anger

Jn. hues answeare

But

But to run for any offence my conscience
witnesseth there is none, far be it from
me.

How can it be defended said Lethington
have ye not made convocations of the
good subjects.

If I had not said he a iust defence
for my fact, let me smart for it.
Let us hear said they, your defence, for
we would be glad that ye might be
found innocent.

May said the other, for I am informed
that by duetie & oath by ye my lord
Secretaire, that I am alwayis recommended
& my rude ignorance vnderstood, therefore I might
be reputed a fool if I would make you
privie to my defence.

All these words they spoke both offended
& so the Secretarie departed. But the
said Earle remayned still & would
have intised me further discourse of the
estate of the Court with the said John;
who answered: My Lord I vnderstand
not what ye would of the affaires of the
Court, & therefore it is not meet that
you & I trouble you with the communing
thereof: if you stand in good race I am

I am content, & if you be not, at I feare
you do not alwaies, or elce you shall not
do ere it be long, blame me not, you
have the Counsellors, whom you have chosen
my weake iudgment both they & you be-
liked, I can do nothing but behold the
ende, with I pray God be other then my
troubled heart foreth.

Jno knox called before the Counsell & examined

Within foure dayes the said John was called
before the Counsell betwixt six
& seaven houres at night; the season of
the yeare was the middest of December
the houre nothing in the towne that Jno knox
was sent for by the Counsell, the Congrega-
tion of the Church followed in such number
that the entry of the house was full, all the
staires even to the chamber doore where the
Counsell & nobility sate, who had beene
reasoning among themselves before, but
had not fully satisfied the desolate
minde: And so was the Counsell retyred to
her Cabinet, & the Lords were talking
one with another at conveniencie. But
upon the entry of Jno knox they were
commanded to take their places, as they
did sitting as Counsellors one right the other.

The

The Duk according to his dignitie betuix
the one syde; upon the other syde sate
the Earle of Argile; & consequently
followed the Earle of Murray, the Earle
of Glencarne, the Earle Marschall, the
Lord Ruthen, the Comon officiars & Heiter
to the Constable, the Justice Clerk
wt Johne Byrne of Coudie Advocat &
diuerse others stood by; he rouse from the
table sate old Lethingtoun father to the
Secretarie wt henry Sinclair then Bp.
of Ross & wt James Macgyll of
Rankeller. Things thus put in order, the
guard came forth, & with no little noyse
prince was placed in the chaire, having
two faithfull seruants for the nonce
well vpon the one syde & Secretarie
Lethingtoun vpon the other syde of the
chaire. whervpon they waited diligently
all the tyme of that conference, sometimes
the one stuffing my Lo eare, sometimes the
other. his Hienes talked one familiar
maner, to wit, womanly gravitie, for
when the lord John knox standing at
the other end of the table bare headed,

she

the first smiled, after gaue a lowde laughter. whereat when her glasebee gaue the glaunce affirming with little round nose, this is a good beginning, she said but, wil not you wherat I laugh yond gaue me greater, great newes this shall be if I can tell him greater. At that word the Secretarie who feared her wil she sare, she him again, & with that gaue him a letter after the misfortune thereof, had deuised his message & speach to John Knox in this manner. The gouernor maketh him to vnderstand that you haue trauelled to raise a tumult of the subiects against her, & for verification thereof she is desirous to haue some letter subscribed with your name. Yet, because her grace will do nothing without good aduisement she hath summoned you before this part of the Nobilitie, that they may witnes betwixt you & her. Let him take aknowledge said she, his owne hand writ. Then shall we iudge of the contents of the letter. And so was the letter sent from

from hand to hand to John Knox; who
hearing information of ye said, I gladly ac-
knowledge this to be my hand writt
also I remember that I did a letter
in the moneth of October craving Ratifi-
cation to the brethren in diuers ye quarters,
of such things as I declared unto them, that
their opinion have I of the faithfulness of
the Scribes, that willingly they would not
adulterate my Originall, albeit that I
left diuers blanks subscribed with them,
so I acknowledge both the hand writt
& the ditment

You have done nicely, said Withington then I
would have done:

Whatdid said the other it not serue?

Well, well, said the gaoler, read ye your
letter & then answere to such things as
shall be demanded of you.

I shall do the best I may, said the other
And so with low voice he began to read
as before it is expressed.

After that the letter was read to the end
it was presented againe to M. John
Scott (for the gaoler commanded him
to attach him as he after did, but very
gently)

After this say that the letter was read
the

the queene beholding the whole to be
true. I said yt I was my Lords a moste
dewe right subiect, & true faithfull liege man,
& that no man yat can swear to
Lethington Lethington addressed him to John knox
& said vnto him, know ye not, & are ye not sorie from
yor hart, & do ye not repent that such
a matter hath passed you? yea & from ye
bottom to the knowledge of others?
knox John knox answered my Lord I am truely
sorie for it, & repent, I must be taught of
my offence.
Lethington Offence, said Lethington, if that were
no more, but the contestation of the
queenes letters, the offence cannot be
denyed.
knox Remember yor self (my Lord) said the
other, that ther is difference betwixt a law
full contestation & an vnlawfull, if
I have been guiltie in this & have offe
offended since I came last in Scotland,
for, what contestation of the Lord hath
there been to this day, vnto which
my toung served not? & before this no man
layd it to my charge as a crime?
Lethington Then was there (said Lethington) & now

O now in now, we have no need of such
conversations as sometimes we have had.
John Knox answered: The time that
hath bene in deed now before my eyes,
for, for sooth the devil never displayed
himself more, then it hath bene at any time
before, except that the devill hath gotten
a visard upon his face. Before he came
in with his owne face discovered, by open
tyranny seeking the destruction of all
that refused idolatry; but now I think
you will confess the best men lawfully as-
sembled them selves for defence of their
lives; and now the devill commeth under
the Cloake of Justice to do that which
God would not suffer him to do by strength.
What is this said the queene, me thinke
you trifle with him; who gave him auth-
oritie to make convocation of my lieges?
is not that treason?
No, madame, said the Lord Ruthen he
maketh convocation of the people to
heare prayer & sermon almost dayly;
O what dare we, grave or others will
thinke thereof, we thinke it no treason.
Hold your peace, said the queene, & let him
answere for himself.
Speak, madame, said John Knox to

Queene

Lord Ruthen

Queene

Knox

treason with the Dowglasis (whom I take to be a far better Iyalothion then yor grace is) That all conventions are not parliamentalle, & now my Lord Ruthen hath given the instant, wch if yor grace will deny, I shall addresse my selfe for the proofe.

The queene I will say nothing said the queene agt yor beliefe now, nor against yor conversing to yor Dowmont, But, what authoritie had ye to convocate my Subiects wtout my Commandment

Iames I have no occasion said John Knox to depart from the former purpose, yor grace, Madame, to satisfie yor grace two questions. I answere that at my will I never convened fourtie persons in Scotland, but at the desire of the Lords then had assembled I have given diverse advertisments & what multitudes have assembled thereupon And if yor grace reply & say that this was done without yor graces Commandment I answere, so hath all that

God hath blessed with in this realme
from the beginning of this action, Therfor madame I must be rendred by a
right love that I have done against the
Lawis of God my Creator in writing of
this Law, before that I be forced to
yor consent for the doing of it, as my
Lord Secretarie would have made me,
for what I have done I have done at
the Commandmt. of the generall Church
of this realme. Therfore I think
I have don no wrong.

You shall not debarre so said the queene
Let it not Cum for, my Lord, to attr[illegible] the queene
a Crime of treuthe, I think ther
be Acts of parliamt against such
whil forere.

That was granted of many.

But, whereunto till said John Knox Knox.
can I be accused?

Read this part of yor owne buke the queene
said the queene wch began. This
fearfull sentence is direct agt them
That wit the Bishops forsaid to make
no doubt the exhortation upon a seve-

that a Iole may be vsed to seduce
treuthe vpon a greater multitude, he said
he guess what say you to that:
while many doubted what the said Iohn
should answare, he said vnto the queene
Queene If it be lawfull for me madame to answare
for my selfe, or shall I be damned before
I be heard.
The queene Say what you can said she, for I think
you have enough to do
Queene I will first then desire of you good
madame, of this must be, and you whi-
ther if you know not that the
obstinate traytors are deadly enimie to
all such as professe the Doctrine of
Iesus Christ, & that they abhorre nothing
so much as the destruction of them, & all
the true doctrine that is taught within your
realme
Iames The queene held her peace; But, all the
Lords with one voyce said, God forbid
that either the liues of the faithfull or
yet the staying of the doctrine should
in the power of the traytors, for wise
experience hath taught vs what treuthe
lyes in their hands.

I must:

This ends at about 2 Ds of ye 4th Book, at p. 370. of ye Edition in fol. An. 1644.